



TRAVELS  
THROUGH  
THE UNITED STATES  
OF  
NORTH AMERICA,  
THE  
*COUNTRY OF THE IROQUOIS,*  
AND  
UPPER CANADA,

IN THE YEARS 1795, 1796, AND 1797;  
WITH AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF LOWER CANADA.

BY THE  
DUKE DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULT  
LIANCOURT.

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London:

PRINTED FOR R. PHILLIPS, NO. 71, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD;  
SOLD BY T. HURST AND J. WALLIS, PATERNOSTER-ROW, AND BY CARPENTER AND CO.  
OLD BOND STREET.

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1799.











# TRAVELS

THROUGH

*The United States of North America, Canada, &c.*

IN THE YEARS 1795, 1796. AND 1797.

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A RESIDENCE of five months in Philadelphia has afforded me a degree of previous information relative to the United States, from which I cannot fail to derive essential service in the course of my intended journey. I have had the good fortune to meet with an agreeable young Englishman, who is well informed, is a pleasant companion, and is uncommonly fond of travelling. His name is GUILLEMARD, and he is descended from one of those French families, with which our unhappy differences in religious matters enriched England. He has been induced to visit this part of the world, solely by a wish to obtain accurate information relative to America, without any view whatever of pecuniary advantage from his expedition: a rare instance of liberality of mind. With a fortune handsome, though not large, he deems himself sufficiently opulent; and the inquisitive turn of his mind, as well as his disinterested temper, disqualifies him for those pursuits, by which many persons in this country rapidly enlarge their fortune. I am persuaded he is the best travelling companion I could have found, and I shall endeavour to impress him with a similar opinion of me before the close of the summer.

*5th of May, 1795.*

We intended to have set out at an early hour yesterday morning, but our departure was delayed till this day at noon; a trifling delay, however, considering the length of the journey, on which we enter. We

have left Philadelphia. Our party consists of Guillemard, myself, his English servant, our three horses, a fourth to carry our luggage, and my faithful dog *Cartouche*, who has been my constant companion these six years. I left Philadelphia with pleasure; but I bear with me a strong feeling of gratitude towards a great number of its inhabitants, who have treated me with the utmost kindness. I am particularly impressed with sentiments of affection for the members of the respectable family of *CHERO*, who received me as one of their friends, and who must appear highly amiable even to those, who have not so many reasons to praise them, as I have. They are good, estimable, and agreeable, in every point of view: my warmest thanks, my best wishes remain with them.

Notwithstanding the kind reception, which I met with in Philadelphia, I am glad I have left it. A poor foreigner, constantly overwhelmed with civilities, which he is unable to return, must even at best lead an unpleasant life. He endures a state of constant dependence, fraught with melancholy reflections, which the apprehension of being burthensome generally inspires. He imagines himself indebted to pity for the kindness he experiences, which, did it actually spring from that source, would be cruelty. Often does he indulge such reflections with injustice, mistrust being the inseparable companion of the destitute, on whom what is called philosophy has but little influence.

Hitherto we have travelled in the same road, through which we passed about a fortnight ago. In this place I shall insert the journal of that little tour, which, although it bears no proportion in length to the account that I propose to write of the remainder of my travels, will not, I trust, prove wholly uninteresting.



## A TOUR TO AND FROM NORRIS TOWN.

ON the twentieth of April Mr. Guillemard, CALEB LOWNES, and myself, set out on horseback from Philadelphia, through Ridge Road, on our way to Norris Town. This road, like all the public roads  
in

in Pennsylvania, is very bad, for provision is brought to that city from all parts in large and heavy laden waggons. The constant passage of these waggons destroys the roads, especially near the town, where several of them meet. Ridge Road is almost impassable.

The district of the city extends about four or five miles north and south, and is bounded on the east by the Schuylkill. This extent was originally assigned to it by WILLIAM PENN, when he formed the plan of the city. He promised to every settler, who should purchase five thousand acres of land in the country, one hundred acres within the city-district, and two town-shares; a promise which was faithfully fulfilled by him and by his successors, as long as any town-shares and acres of land within the district remained for distribution. William Penn kept only five or six thousand acres for himself. This land is in its soil of a very indifferent quality, but its vicinity to the town occasions it to be bought with great eagerness. It is covered with country-houses, which, in point of architecture, are very simple; from their great number they however enliven and embellish the whole neighbourhood. Very few of them are without a small garden; but it is rare to observe one, that has a grove adjoining, or that is surrounded with trees; it is the custom of the country to have no wood near the houses. Customs are sometimes founded in reason, but it is difficult to conjecture the design of this practice in a country, where the heat in summer is altogether intolerable, and where the structure of the houses is designedly adapted to exclude that excessive heat.\*

Land in this neighbourhood is worth about eighty dollars an acre; three years ago it was worth only forty-two. Two miles from the city Ridge Road intersects the entrenchments, which the English constructed during the last war, for the purpose of covering Philadelphia, after they had penetrated into Pennsylvania through the Chesapeake. The re-

\* The reason is, because the country was universally wooded, when the building of these houses was first begun; and in a country thus wooded, to clear the space round the dwelling-house was just as natural, as to plant round the house in a country otherwise bare of wood.—Translator.

mains of these works are still visible. But the presence of the English is more strongly testified by the ruins of many half burnt and half demolished houses, so many expressive monuments of that inveterate animosity, with which the war was carried on, and which was highly disgraceful to the generous sentiments of a people, who well know, that every evil inflicted on an enemy, even in time of war, without the plea of necessity or advantage, is a crime. Alas! the evils of such a state, however alleviated, will still be far too numerous.

As the country on this side of Philadelphia possesses more variety than on any other, it is here we discover the most agreeable prospects, some of which are truly charming; and more so, the nearer we approach the Schuylkill. The contrast between the rocks, which form the banks of this river, and the numerous meadows and adjacent corn fields, gives this prospect a mixture of romantic wildness, and cultivated beauty, which is really delightful.

The road we have entered does not join the Schuylkill, except near the falls. This name has been very improperly given to a slight inequality in the level of the stream, produced by pieces of rock of unequal size in the bed of the river, which, as they accelerate the motion of the water with a certain noise, obstruct, no doubt, the navigation; yet so far are they from forming any considerable water-fall, that they are entirely covered at high water; and at that time small vessels, which ply along the right bank, pass these falls, although not without danger. A small rivulet, which, a short distance above these falls, runs into the Schuylkill, turns several tobacco, mustard, chocolate, paper, and other mills; none of which are considerable buildings; but their great variety enliven and beautifies the landscape. Above the falls, a Mr. Nicholson possesses large iron-works, a button manufactory, and a glass-house. But none of these works are yet completed. The buildings, however, which appear to be well constructed, are nearly all finished. A particular building is assigned to every different branch of labour; and the largest is designed for the habitation of the workmen, of whom Mr. Nicholson will be obliged to keep at least a hundred. These build-  
ings

ings are on the right bank, and the warehouse, which is to receive the manufactures, is on the opposite side. The pieces of rock, which occasion the falls, form an easy communication across the river, and would greatly facilitate the construction of a bridge, were such a project to be carried into execution.

The situation of this settlement is extremely well chosen; for, on the very spot where the navigation of the river is intercepted, all the materials necessary can be procured from both sides of the water. The sand required for the glass-house is brought from the banks of the Delaware; the cast-iron from the higher parts of the Schuylkill, and the pit-coal (which is sold in Philadelphia at two shillings, or four sixths of a dollar per bushel) from Virginia. The completion of the canal, which is to unite the Schuylkill with the Delaware, will greatly facilitate the sale of the manufactures. The want of these commodities, which have hitherto been drawn chiefly from Europe, ensures them a certain market; in short, every thing promises success to this undertaking. All these natural advantages however must perish, if ever there should arise a want of money, large and prompt supplies of which are requisite to give activity to the whole; as well as judgment, industry and economy.

There is in America a scarcity of persons capable of conducting a business of this kind. There are also but few good workmen, who are with difficulty obtained, and whose wages are exorbitant. The conductors of Mr. Nicholson's manufactories are said to be very able men. But then a whole year may elapse, before the workmen fall into a proper train of business, so that Mr. Nicholson's situation does not afford the most flattering prospects of success, if his returns be not rapid, as well as large.

The conductors of the manufactories being absent, we were not able to obtain more ample information concerning this establishment, and for the same reason we could not learn, whether it be intended to make use of the same machines, which are used in the great iron-works in Europe. The whole road from Philadelphia to Roxborough is full of granite, and covered with a sort of mica, which is reducible to the finest dust.

About



About half a mile from Mr. Nicholson's buildings, on the bank of the Schuylkill, is the house of one ROBERTSON, where we intended first to stop.

Robertson, a quaker, and brother of Caleb Lownes's wife, is a miller and farmer on his own account. He possesses an estate of two hundred and fifty acres, of which thirty only are covered with wood. The land is, on the whole, of very inferior quality in this district. There is but little wheat cultivated here, the common grain being maize, called in America Indian corn, rye, and some oats. An acre generally yields from twenty-five to thirty bushels of maize, from eighteen to twenty bushels of rye, and about ten bushels of wheat. Mr. Robertson manures his land; but it is a surprising fact, that he fetches his dung from Philadelphia at the high price of three dollars a load, containing about five cubic feet, when he might easily procure it in abundance on his own farm. Seven such loads are allowed to every acre, and his land is manured every three or four years. His meadows are superior to the rest of his grounds; in common with all other American farmers, he mixes plaster of Paris with his seed. Four oxen and two horses are sufficient to do the work of this farm, a part of which is so steep, as to be incapable of cultivation. Day-labourers are procured here without much difficulty; they receive four shillings a day with board, or five shillings and nine pence without it. The price of Indian corn is five shillings a bushel, of wheat from nine to twelve, and of barley six. Hay is generally sold at sixteen or eighteen dollars a tun, but at this time it is thirty-three. Common meadows yield about three tuns, but those in a good situation, which are properly cultivated, and sown with clover or other grass, at times produce eight tuns. Mr. Robertson buys lean cattle, from the fattening of which he derives a profit of sixteen, twenty, or twenty five dollars a head. Robertson however asserts, that hay is the most lucrative produce arising from the meadows; at least it is that which, with equal profit, requires the least toil. I am astonished at the shallow arguments the farmers of this country offer, to justify this favourite system, of avoiding whatever requires labour. On this principle

Mr.

Mr. Robertson will not keep a dairy, or make either butter or cheese, though, were he to try the experiment, he would soon experience its advantages. It appears, that this custom partly arises from the scarcity and great expence of labourers, but still more from the prevailing indifference and indolence of the farmers, who prefer the indulgence of this disposition to a small advantage. It is also, in some measure, to be attributed to the national character, in which indolence is a very striking feature. In point of agricultural knowledge, Robertson is but little superior to the servant, who conducts his business; he is filled with prejudices, and is even ignorant of many things, which in Europe are considered as the A B C of husbandry.\*

He appears, however, to be far more skilful, as a miller. His mill, which is said to be the first that was built in America, is worked by a rivulet, called Wiffahiccon, which turns twenty-five other mills, before it reaches Robertson's. It has three water-courses, and three separate mills, two of which work for the manufactory, as they call it, and one for the public. The latter grinds all the corn which is brought hither, without the least alteration of the mill-stones, in its passing from the grain to the flour; which naturally renders the meal very indifferent: the miller's due is one tenth, according to the law of the land. ROBERTSON does not grind any Indian corn on his own account, nor has he any kiln to dry it. Meal from this corn is not bad, if speedily used; but it is not fit for being long kept, and yields but little.

The corn is brought hither in waggons, and the cranes, instead of turning it out of the vessel, lift it up from the waggons into the granary, which is very small; and the corn lies in heaps, the several floors being low, dark and dirty.

Robertson grinds yearly from forty-five to about fifty thousand

\* This indifference to improvement, of which the Duke complains, is always to be observed while agriculture is in its infancy in a country, and while there is enough of land, but little accumulated stock. It is the characteristic of a particular state of society; and does not originate from the accidental and peculiar causes, to which he ascribes it.—*Translator.*

bushels of corn, which he procures from Virginia and New-York; and some is even brought from the upper parts of Pennsylvania. There are, however, so many mills along the Schuylkill, that he receives but little from that part of the country. The grain procured from the other side of the bay comes by Philadelphia, from which it is brought to the mill, which is large enough to contain about ten thousand bushels. Six horses are constantly employed in carrying the meal to Philadelphia, and bringing back corn in return. This journey is often performed twice a day. The water of the Wissahiccon is never frozen, nor does the mill ever cease working, except in a case of the utmost necessity. Mr. Robertson employs about his mill five men, three of whom he pays; he gives one hundred and twenty dollars a year to the first, and eighty to each of the other two. The rest are apprentices, who receive nothing but victuals, clothes, &c. A barrel of flour is at this time \* worth ten dollars. Robertson complains of the quality of the grain of last year, which, he says, is not heavy, but in general hollow. I have, however, seen some very good grain of last year. I heard him say that grain, attacked by the Hessian fly, notwithstanding it becomes bad and hollow, yields flour, which, though somewhat indigestible, is not quite unwholesome. The banks of the Schuylkill were visited last year by great numbers of these flies.

The county-rates are the same at Roxborough as in the whole district of Philadelphia, of which this place forms a part, namely, from five to six shillings per cent. upon all property. The other taxes have of late been reduced to little or nothing. A person in affluent circumstances pays but one or two shillings towards the repair of the high-roads. Poor-rates are quite unknown, as there are seldom any poor in the country; and a small sum has been laid up in the bank, for the support of the poor,—if there should be any; which stock yields annually about forty or forty-two dollars, and these are added to the capital. There is also a moderate tax of six or seven shillings on every hundred pounds a man is worth, which he pays as an offering towards the public service of

\* Twentieth of April, 1795.

the state, that he may remain undisturbed in the enjoyment of his property. And this is six miles from Philadelphia—surely this must be a happy country.\*

The Wissahiccon flows between hills, which are high and covered with wood. A fine water-fall of about seven or eight feet, and as broad as the bed of the rivulet, supplies Robertson with more water than would be required for turning many more mills. The banks of the rivulet bear a wild and romantic appearance, and the brook, winding in the most beautiful meanders through the woods and rocks, forms a grand, yet gloomy, prospect, which catches and detains the eye, and disposes the mind to pensive reflection. The various situations of this sublimary life present to us the same objects in very different points of view. How different are the impressions I now feel, from the pleasing sensations with which memory and hope once enlivened my fancy—but I will depart, and be happy, that I may not enhance my misfortunes by painful reflections.

From Roxborough we proceeded on to Springmill. After having left the banks of the Schuylkill, we travelled through a tract of country intersected by a regularly alternate succession of hills and valleys. We found here several badly watered meadows, which are capable of great improvements. The farms here are very close to one another; all the land is cultivated; very little wood is to be seen, at least without going to a distance from the highway. As we proceed, the country becomes extremely beautiful. The corn-fields are now green, the leaves begin to sprout forth, and the fruit-trees are covered with blossoms; all nature revives, her face glows with life and beauty, and my temper has not yet attained so great a degree of apathy, as to render me insensible to the charms of this season, which always captivated me with irresistible power.

\* It is the proportion between, on the one hand, what may be gained in every situation, with the diversity of such situations—and, on the other hand, what is to be paid for public protection, with the degree of security and comfort such protection may give;—which is the late and precise point upon which an estimation like that which the Duke here makes.—Translator.

Yet the uninterrupted and high fences of dry wood greatly disfigure the landscape, and produce a tedious sameness. These might be easily replaced by trees which endure the frost, as thorns are supposed here (I think without any just ground) to be unsuitable to the climate. Some of the fields along the road are bordered with *thaga* or cedar, but these experiments are rare; and, in general, the land is inclosed with double fences of wood. The country is covered with neat houses, surrounded with painted railings; which indicate prosperity, without reminding us of those European estates, which are either enriched by a refined agriculture, or ornamented with costly and elegant country-seats.

Near Springmill we again saw the Schuylkill. Springmill consists of eighteen or twenty habitations, which lie close to each other, and are mostly either farms or mills; it is situated in a valley, far more extensive and spacious than any we have hitherto passed; and the soil is also superior. The greatest part is grass land, extending as far as the river; while the opposite bank, steep, woody, and even somewhat rocky, forms a beautiful contrast with the charming plains of Springmill. The prospect up and down the river is extensive, and strikingly variegated by green meadows and dark mountains.

Springmill is the place, where is situated the farm, mentioned by BRIS-  
sot in his travels, as being cultivated by a Frenchman, whose skill and philosophy he highly praises. This Frenchman, of whose name Bris-  
sot gives only the initial, is Mr. LEGAUX. His farm has been sold on account  
of his inability to pay the second installment of the purchase-money.  
He now actually rents fifteen acres, which he has converted into a vine-  
yard. But the present moment is by no means the time, in which vine-  
yards appear to the greatest advantage; the vine scarcely begins to bud,  
and is almost without life. The soil is very good, and, as far as we were  
able to judge, well chosen, both on account of its sunny situation and  
interior quality; and the cleanliness, as well as skill, with which the  
ground is managed, is very remarkable. No kitchen-garden can be in  
better order; the vine-pros are already fixed in the ground. The fifteen  
acres give employment to six labourers, whom Mr. Legaux procures  
without

without much trouble; he pays them three shillings and nine pence, and provides them victuals. His dwelling is a small stone cottage, one story high, about twenty feet in breadth and ten feet deep; a very indifferent, dirty kitchen, separated by a wain-foot partition from a real alcove, which contains a miserable bed, constitutes all the apartments of this cottage. In the small room were jumbled together in one confused heap, books, furniture, papers, glasses, bottles, and philosophical instruments. The sight of a man of liberal education reduced to such penury, excites a painful sensation.

Mr. Legaux was not at home on our arrival; we were informed that he was in Philadelphia, as, no doubt, we were suspected as unwelcome visitors. He was, however, at a neighbour's; and we had no sooner left his house to remount our horses, than we were called back, and he hastened up to us. To an unfortunate man, reduced to such a state of retirement, the visit of three strangers is an occurrence not to be slighted. He knew that one of the three strangers was a Frenchman, for I had left my card. The visit of a countryman at so great a distance from our native land, is far more pleasing than that of any other person. It is so at least to me, though the pleasing sensation I feel on such occasions, is frequently embittered by the thought, that at this unfortunate period of the revolution a Frenchman is sometimes the very worst company which a Frenchman can meet.

Mr. Legaux accosted us with a countenance which apparently bespoke content. His dress perfectly corresponded with the rest of his establishment. A long coarse flannel waistcoat, black breeches, and stockings full of holes, and a dirty night-cap, formed his whole attire. He is a man of about fifty or fifty-five years of age; his eyes are very lively, and his whole physiognomy indicates cunning rather than goodness of heart. In the course of the short conversation we had with him, he told us, that the cruel and rigorous conduct of the person of whom he had bought the estate, which he possessed at the time of poor Brissot's visit (this was his expression), had compelled him to sell it again, and to rent the small vineyard which he was now cultivating. He considers the

success of this enterprize as certain, and thinks that it will prove very lucrative to him. He assured us that his wines are already very good, though the oldest of them had not yet been in the cellar more than two years. They are Medot vines; and one vine of the Cape of Good Hope, for which he paid forty guineas, has already produced nearly two hundred layers. He said that his wine is of a peculiar flavour, yet more like the "*vin de Grave*" than any other wine. He pays a rent of sixty-two dollars for his fifteen acres. This is, in few words, the substance of all we could learn concerning his plantation. On our asking him why he settled in America nine years since? he acquainted us that he was an advocate in the parliament of Metz, but left his situation and his country to assist his friend, Mr. FOUQUEIER, in his functions, as intendant of Guadaloupe, and that this intendant having been strongly suspected of mal-administration in the colonies, had exculpated himself by throwing all the blame on him; Legault, whose purity of sentiments had ever been equal to his zeal for his ungrateful friend. None of his expressions bespoke that tranquillity and peace of mind, which a man might be supposed to enjoy who thus withdraws from the world to lead a sequestered life, and cultivate the ground. He even appeared dissatisfied with every one, especially with the Americans, of whom he repeated twenty times that we could never entertain too much suspicion. Although this man received us kindly, and spoke many handsome things of my family as well as of myself, assuring me that he had heard a great deal about me previously to my leaving France, yet I was displeased with him, and he excited in me rather disapprobation of what he termed his misfortunes, than compassion for his present situation; though my frame of mind was much in favour of the latter. What I heard concerning him, on my return to Philadelphia, has confirmed me in my opinion. He is a worthless, litigious man, who, during the nine years he has resided in America, has been engaged in upwards of two hundred law suits, not one of which he has gained. However strong may be our prepossessions against America, it is highly improbable that justice should so obstinately be denied to a foreigner. On the contrary, it is much more likely that a man who has entered



tered or defended two hundred actions, must have been actuated solely by a litigious disposition, and that none of his claims were well grounded; especially if he himself conducted the suit, which is extremely probable, as he was formerly a lawyer. Mr. Legaux's reputation at Philadelphia is not of the best complexion, and I can only believe that if an enquiry were made into the affairs of Gaudeloupe, the result would not prove favourable to this sage, this philanthropist, this philosopher, (on whom poor *Hist. p. 103* has so high an eulogium,) who cannot live in peace with his neighbours, but quarrels with every one about him.

We left the Schuylkill by Springmill, to strike to the shortest road to Norris Town: the land is of the same description with that which we had just passed: On the road from Roxborough to Norris Town we had now and then a view of the river, and at times also of a more distant range of small hills, rising in the form of an amphitheatre: this is a branch of the Valley-hills, which form a part of the Blue Mountains.

Norris Town is the chief town of the county of Montgomery, about seven miles from Philadelphia. This chief town of the county consists of ten buildings, in one of which the sessions are held; in another the judges reside when they come to hold the assizes; a third is the county jail; three others are inns; the rest are farm houses, shops, or habitations of labourers. All the houses are strongly built of stone. Norris Town, situated on an eminence, about a quarter of a mile from the Schuylkill, enjoys a grand and very extensive prospect, and forms itself, even viewed at a distance, a very striking and conspicuous object. The quarter sessions are held here regularly, but the circuit courts only once a year, and at times only every two or three years, when there are no crimes. The jail was built about two or three years ago, after that of Philadelphia. But, thanks to the penal code of Pennsylvania, it is seldom inhabited by any other person than the keeper. When we visited it, a Frenchman was confined there on strong suspicion of having forged a bank note: he is to remain in this prison until the next quarter sessions, when he will be either acquitted, or removed to Philadelphia, unless the circuit should happen to be held in that town. The prison-gate was open,



open, and the prisoner might have effected his escape without any difficulty; had he been the least inclined to do so. But he did not escape, either from a reliance on his innocence, which I wish may be the case, or from the risk of being taken again. It is no easy matter to discover the necessity, nay, the utility of such confidence as this, which is more nearly allied to indolence than humanity. It is just as difficult to assign a reason why a Frenchman, who is a villain, or at least a man of so bad a character as this prisoner, who in France would have attempted twenty times to escape from prison, yet remains quietly in Norris Town, where the doors stand open to him. Pretenders to philosophy; and Brissot for one, will say, that the certitude of impartial justice being administered to him, retains the prisoner more effectually in his prison than fetters; that in a republic every one considers himself as the guardian of the law, even against himself, &c. All this may satisfy those who are contented with words, but is not sufficient to explain this extraordinary fact to him who prefers sound argument to unphilosophical jargon. • It may perhaps best be accounted for from the circumstance that this man would find it impossible to subsist any where else but in prison.

The soil about Norris Town is very good, which is here somewhat more the object of culture than near Roxborough, yet is not even produced here in great quantity. The system of agriculture is much the same, and the average produce nearly the same, perhaps somewhat greater. The best land is worth from forty-eight to fifty-two dollars; the inferior sort from twenty-six to thirty. Labour is cheaper here than at Roxborough and Springmill. The price of provisions is lower than in Philadelphia, though not much; there being no nearer market than that town, all the produce of this country is carried thither. Beef is sold at, from six to seven pence a pound, bacon at one shilling a pound, and flour five one-half dollars the hundred weight.

The county rates of Montgomery amount to no more than about three shillings for every hundred pounds, and one shilling towards the repairs of the roads; thus a percentage of four shillings on all taxable property is the total amount of the public taxes. Poor-rates are seldom necessary,

cessary, though this place is not possessed of the same resource of a fund, established for that purpose, as Roxborough. There are at present no paupers here; and when there are, a rate of one shilling is fully sufficient for their maintenance. Each pauper is boarded in some family or other, and his board and lodging are paid for by the parish. It is the duty of the overseers to take care that the pauper be well treated, and that the parish be not imposed upon by improper charges. All the poor consist of persons afflicted by sickness, or rendered incapable of labour by old age.

The canal, intended to join the Schuylkill with the Delaware, begins at Norris Town, and half a mile of it on this side is completely finished. Its bed, which was parallel to the river, is about eighteen or twenty feet in breadth, and three feet deep. The canal is opened about three miles farther. Here marble rocks are to be cut through, which slope down to the river. This is a laborious, as well as very expensive, undertaking; as every cubic toise of rough stone costs nine shillings, and fifty workmen only are employed in this work. The canal, when finished, will be of great advantage to Philadelphia; but when will it be finished? It is begun near the town on a very bad plan; in some places it is filled up with sand that has been washed together to the height of ten feet, which can never keep water. It is reported, that Mr. WARREN, an English engineer, who superintends the construction of this canal, very particularly recommended that it might be dug on the opposite bank of the Schuylkill, as it would be much more solid there; but as it was much to the interest of the directors of the company, that the canal should pass through their estates, they were deaf to every other proposal, and the canal is now executed on the most difficult and most circuitous plan, with little prospect of success. The money for constructing the canal, began already to fall short of the sum required, and several subscribers kept back their subscriptions beyond the limited time of payment, even at the hazard of forfeiting the sum already paid, as well as all claims to the advantages resulting from the completion of the canal, rather than they would incur the risk of sinking a further sum, when the legislative power, apprised of the obstacles which obstructed the completion of the

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work, granted a lottery to raise a sum of four hundred thousand dollars, intended for the execution of all practicable plans of inland navigation, one hundred and thirty-three thousand dollars of which are to be appropriated to the completion of the Schuylkill canal. If the measure of a state lottery can ever be justified by the vast utility of the object to which the money it produces is applied, it certainly is so in the present instance. But among a corrupt people, crimes and vices are generally increased by the institution of a lottery; and can the legislature of Pennsylvania flatter itself, that it will not considerably add to the corruption and immorality of the inhabitants by an establishment so extremely dangerous, and of which a very immoderate use has already been made in America?

After having viewed the canal, as far as it is at present finished, we visited the quarries which yield the marble, of which nearly all the chimney-pieces in Philadelphia, as well as the ornaments of many street-doors, steps before the houses, and windows are formed. This marble is black and white, and very hard. It is found in great abundance in the quarries, which have hitherto only been opened in these places, and not to any great extent. It is, however, true, that we saw the principal quarry only, and that many others have been opened in the neighbourhood. We were even told of a quarry where the marble is all white, but it was at too great a distance to be visited by us. That which we saw is in the district of Plymouth, where there is also a mill with two saws for cutting marble, which lies on the rivulet Plymouth. The mill contains nothing worthy of notice, but its situation is extremely picturesque and pleasant.

The whole tract of country from Norris Town to within one or two miles from Roxborough, is covered with lime-stone, more or less perfect. The strata are mostly inclined, forming an angle of forty-five degrees, and in some places interspersed with hard quarry-stone; and even with flints. We found in the road a great quantity of hard stone; a quarry, or variety of the granite-stones, which contain about three or four cubic feet, seem to be washed up by the water. Between Roxborough and Philadelphia granite is again found, and the earth is covered with mica.

We are again in the same inn, at which we put up before. The landlord is making a well, and the ground, where they are digging it, being very loose, he lines it with a large wooden cylinder, five feet in diameter, and within the cylinder constructs a wall eighteen inches thick.

*May the 6th, 1795.*

From Norris Town to Trap the country is much varied, very hilly, highly cultivated, with little wood-land, many orchards and meadows, water in abundance, brooks, springs, and creeks of every size; two of the latter, which are by no means small, we forded, namely, the Shipack, eleven miles from Norris Town, and the Pachiomming, two miles farther on; they were both somewhat deep. The roads are very bad, and no attempts are made to repair them; we cannot, therefore, be surprized at hearing, that so many stage-coaches are overturned.

Trap is a village in the district of Providence, which is the largest and most affluent in the whole county. The soil, which is very good, is cultivated in the same manner as in other places; more land lies in grass here, than we have seen any where since we left Philadelphia. There are four different churches in this district, where, as in all the other states, the minister is paid by those only who belong to his sect. The speakers among the people called Quakers are the only ones who preach gratis. The manner of paying for divine service is the same as in Philadelphia; people pay for their seats in the church.

The provision produced in the district of Providence is sold in the market of Philadelphia. The taxes in this district, as well as in the county, amount to about eighteen pence for every hundred pounds of taxable property, with the exception of the poor-rates. The poor are rather numerous in this district, and six hundred and forty dollars are raised yearly for their support. The common price of labour is three shillings and six-pence a day, with board; and the price of land fluctuates between thirty-two and forty-seven dollars per acre, in proportion to the state of its inclosures, cultivation, and buildings. Bread made of rye or

Indian corn is the common food of the labourer, who, in addition to this, has meat three times a day.

We arrived at Trap, and intended to dine at Pottsgrove; but we were under the necessity of returning by the same road we had come. The servant, who should have joined us an hour before, did not arrive; and as we knew this delay must have been occasioned by some accident, we were determined to learn what it was. We met him about a mile from Trap, leading both his horses by the bridle, but without the baggage, which had fallen off four miles farther back, and our poor Joseph being unable to procure any assistance, and supposing that we should be uneasy on his account, had left it in the care of a woman, and had proceeded thus far to inform us of his misfortune. We therefore returned the other four miles, and placed the baggage again on the horse, but in so indifferent a manner, that after we had travelled two miles, it was again likely to fall off. Mr. Guillemard, taking every thing into consideration, convinced us, that the horse was too heavily, as well as unskillfully laden, and we therefore resolved to procure a waggon, to convey our baggage to the inn.

During our stay at the inn, to which we returned, we learned, in the course of conversation with a surgeon, that the number of gentlemen of his profession is pretty considerable in this district; that one is to be met with every six or seven miles; that their fee for a visit at the distance of two miles, is one shilling, and every additional mile adds one shilling more, besides the charge for medicines; that inoculation of children for the small-pox is very common; that the fee for this operation amounts to two dollars; that the most a physician of known abilities can make, in this part of the country, is one thousand three hundred dollars a year, but that very few make so much, in consequence of which, all medical men, with few exceptions, follow some other employment besides their profession, and become either farmers or shop-keepers, to increase their income.

Although the inn, at which we put up, was not that which had been pointed

pointed out to us, and was, in fact, no better than a small, miserable ale-house lately opened; yet we met with very good accommodation. We had tea and coffee for breakfast; bacon, tongue, and eggs for dinner, and every thing tolerably clean. Whilst we were contriving the means of sending our baggage to Reading, the stage-coach happened to pass, and took charge of it: we then continued our journey to Pottsgrove.

The road thither is exactly of the same description with that between Norris Town and Trap. The ground where it consists of sand, is good, but extremely bad where the soil is rich, having been entirely soaked through by the rain, which fell the day before yesterday; the soil consists, in general, of a ferruginous earth, particularly near Pottsgrove. The landscape is beautiful along this road, abounding with a great variety of fine views, wonderfully enlivened by the verdure of the corn-fields and meadows. We passed through some parts of the country, where the grass was fine, strong, and thick, in short, as good as it could possibly be. If agriculture were better understood in these parts; if the fields were well mowed and well fenced; and if some trees had been left standing in the middle or on the borders of the meadows, the most beautiful parts of Europe could not be more pleasing. But these eternal fences of dead wood, these dry maize-stubbles of last year, these decayed trees, which are left standing until they are rotten, and the absolute want of verdant trees in the corn-fields and meadows, greatly impair the beauty of the landscape, but without being able entirely to destroy its variety and charms.

The country about Pottsgrove is still more pleasant; the plain, in which this small market-town is situate, is more extensive than any we have hitherto seen, and, at the same time, is in the highest degree of cultivation. The *forest-mountains*, which are in sight on the left and in the front, form beautiful borders to this landscape.

In the neighbourhood of Pottsgrove we again discovered the Schuyl-kill, which we had left near Norris Town. Along its whole course its banks are delightful, and all the land, through which it passes, is good. I

do not know a finer river in point of water and views. If European taste and magnificence adorned the banks of the Schuylkill with country-seats, it would not be excelled either by the Seine or the Thames.

Pottsgrove is a market town, and originally laid out by a quaker-family, of the name of *Porr*. About forty years ago they purchased land of the state at a very low price, and sold it afterwards at a considerable profit, according as it was more or less sought after. It is now worth thirty dollars in the town, and from thirty to thirty-seven in the adjacent country. The family of *Pott* have established considerable iron forges, and by means of these much increased the fortune, which they acquired by the sale of the lands. They are generally supposed to be very rich. *Pottsgrove* consists at present of about thirty well built houses, and belongs to the district of *Douglas*, which forms a part of the county of *Montgomery*. The poor-rates are very inconsiderable, and all necessities of life are cheaper here by nearly half than at Philadelphia.

As I alighted from my horse, I discovered a Frenchman, among the several persons who were standing at the door of the inn, by a certain characteristic deportment, which is easily discernible in individuals of all nations, but more particularly so in a Frenchman. An involuntary movement, some natural feeling, drew me towards him. His name is GERBIER; he is a nephew of the celebrated advocate of Paris, by whom he was brought up, and the son of a famous advocate at Rennes, of whom he has received no intelligence during these last ten months. In *St. Domingo*, where he resided formerly as a merchant, he married a Creole, a friend and school companion of *Madame de Montulé*, with whom he lives in one of the houses of this borough.

It is impossible to meet with a Frenchman in these times, without being called upon to listen to the history of his losses, his misfortunes, and to his resentments naturally resulting from them. Mr. Gerbier's account of his misfortunes, however, was very short, though they appear to me very great. As to his resentment, he expressed himself on this point as a man of sense, who wishes not to entertain any. He seemed melancholy



choly and dejected, yet possessing a strong mind. Misfortune, borne with patience and resignation, are ever sure to excite compassion : I heartily sympathise in those, which have fallen to his lot. He possesses a small portion of land in Asylum, whither he intends to remove, as soon as his wife has recovered from her lying-in. He spoke with much praise of M. de BLACONS, of the excellent Mr. KEATING, of M. DE MONTULÉ; and of DU PETIT THOUARS. He appeared to me a mild and worthy man, but rather too much depressed by misfortune ; for, at his age, and with his abilities, he might find numerous resources in this country. After he had left me, he received a letter from his mother, a lady turned of seventy. She informed him, that she and his father were both well ; that they had fortunately escaped the dreadful guillotine, the drownings and shootings, which would ever disgrace the French revolution ; that they could not send him any money at that time, but that they would pay any sum, for which he chose to draw on them. This wise and sensible letter was written, however, in the language of liberty. The poor young man was happy to perceive, that I participated in his joy ; and yet this glimpse of sunshine was not able to disperse the profound melancholy which clouded his mind. I must observe, that Mr. Gerbier's mother, in the description which she gave of the situation of France, spoke of great distress, and especially of the depreciation of assignats, which was so great, that a fowl cost two hundred livres in paper money, and three livres in specie.

The inn at Pottsgrove is very good ; it is kept by a German. The inhabitants of this borough are mostly Germans. Here we found the stage-coach, by which we had sent our luggage ; but the letter-case, which contained Mr. Guillemard's money, had been left behind in Trap. Endeavouring to think of every thing, my travelling companion thinks, in fact, of nothing. Thus we are obliged to send back to Trap, to fetch the letter-case, even if it be not stolen, a point which we shall learn to-morrow at Reading.



We stopped at the White Horse, four miles from Pottsgrove. This inn is kept by a Frenchman, a native of Lorraine, who has married an American woman, the daughter of a native of Avignon, by a woman from Franche-Comté. The whole family speak bad English and bad French, but probably good German. They pay a rent of eighty-six dollars for fifty acres of land and the house; their owner lives very near, and keeps a shop. The house and the land, which is of very good quality, would have been worth sixty dollars more, had it been let to a private family. But the shopkeeper had very justly calculated, that a good tavern so near his house was of more value to him than sixty dollars, and that a well frequented inn could not but procure customers to his shop, from whom he would be likely to derive advantages far exceeding the sum which he thus sacrificed.

The good people of the inn enquired with much eagerness for news from France. My friend told them, that it would be obliged to sustain another and more dreadful campaign. "How! a still more dreadful one than the preceding campaign," they exclaimed, "notwithstanding the English were beaten last year?" "There are many other enemies," replied my friend, "Russians, Austrians." "Aye, aye," said the good people, "all those who do not like liberty; but the French will nevertheless triumph, if it please God, over all the f——." These are the sentiments, and such is the language of most Americans; and indeed this must be the opinion of all, who are not acquainted with the crimes attending our revolution; and even they who are so, very justly impute them to the various factions, and carefully distinguish and separate them from the cause of liberty. The principles and conduct of the coalesced powers are treated with the same degree of indignation as those of the terrorists. The less informed class of men consider the matter in this light, and, in fact, in this light it should be considered by all, who are able to lay aside for a moment their grief and their misfortunes, and to contemplate

contemplate the true nature of the case with a calm, unbiassed mind. Liberty is now struggling with despotism. If the cause of liberty prove triumphant, it will be able to organize itself, and to acquire regularity and order; it will cease to be anarchy, and become true national freedom. If despotism triumph, it will organize itself for no other purpose, but to enslave the world.

The situation of this borough, and likewise of all other places on the road from Pottsgrove to Reading, is delightful. Indeed the country appears to become more lively and populous, the nearer we approach the latter town. Corn and saw mills are numerous here; and there are many creeks with strong currents, which turn the wheels of some iron-forges. The mountains, which rise on the banks of the Schuylkill, and separate Reading from the other part of the county, begin to form a ridge, which at first stretches along under the name of Olcy Hills, and afterwards takes that of Lehi-hill. Those marks of the increasing improvement of the country, which are observable as far as Bethlem and the Delaware, are also perceivable here. Log-houses, constructed of trunks of trees, laid one upon another, the interstices of which are filled up with clay, are seen no longer, having been replaced by framed houses, consisting however of barks, properly hewn and shaped, and covered with boards; and even buildings of a still better construction are already to be seen in some parts. They now build only with stone and brick, and no woodland remains to be converted into arable ground. The wood that is standing is left for consumption. Oak sells at three dollars and half, and hickory at four dollars and half a fathom. A few miles from Reading the price of land is from twenty-five to thirty dollars, if covered with wood; and from one hundred and ten to one hundred and thirty dollars if grass-land. Day labourers receive three shillings, carpenters and masons four shillings a day.

We overtook the stage-coach again at the White Horse, where the passengers breakfasted. It appears somewhat strange to Europeans, to see the coachman eat at the same table with the passengers; but it would seem equally strange to Americans, to see the coachman eating by himself.

It is futile to argue against the customs of a country ; we must submit. Equality, pretended equality, which widely differs from true freedom, is the foundation of this custom, which, in fact, injures nobody ; it is for the same reason, that the servants, who wait at dinner or breakfast, are seated, except while they are serving you, and that the landlord attends you with his hat on his head. A man may be allowed to dislike this custom, without possessing any extravagant share of weak pride. An inn-keeper, a shoe-maker, a taylor, are naturally at liberty to wait on people, or to let it alone ; but if they choose to wait on others, they should keep at a proper distance, and observe the respect, which becomes their situation. It must be observed, however, that many an inn-keeper in America is a captain or a major ; nay, I have seen drivers of stage-coaches, who were colonels : such things are very common in America. There is much greater propriety in the custom that prevails in England, where the tradesman is treated with politeness and respect by his employers, whilst he, in return, observes the due decorum of his situation, without meanly sacrificing that noble principle of liberty, which every Englishman cherishes with conscious pride : it will soon be the same in France.

Reading, the chief town of the county of Berks, which contains about thirty thousand inhabitants, is situate on the banks of the Schuylkill. The building of the first houses commenced in 1752. The family of Penn repurchased the land, which they had originally disposed of, for the purpose of building on this spot the chief town of the county. It consists at present of about five hundred houses ; a few of those which were first built are still standing ; they are log-houses, and the interstices between the trunks of the trees are filled up with stone or plaster. In consequence of the slight manner in which they were finished, several of them have tumbled down ; vanity has pulled down others ; but all those built within these few last years are of stone or brick, and have a neat appearance. The town is improving in point of buildings ; the streets are broad and straight, and the foot-paths are shaded by trees, planted in front of the houses.

This town has little or no trade, and scarcely any manufactures. There is one, at which a considerable number of coats have are fabricated of wool, procured from Philadelphia, to which place they are sent for sale; with a few ten-yards, which prepare leather for the use of the town and neighbouring country. The population of the town is estimated at about two thousand five hundred souls, consisting chiefly of lawyers and inn-keepers. Some new houses were built in the course of last year; but no increase of the number of inhabitants has been observed for several years. They are all either Germans, or of German descent. great numbers of the inhabitants of the town and neighbouring country do not understand a word of English, and yet all the public schools, and all the judicial proceedings are drawn up and conducted in the English language. Hence it often happens, in the course of law-suits, that the judges understand no German, and the parties, witnesses, and jurymen, no English, which renders the constant attendance of interpreters necessary, to repeat to the judges the deposition of the witnesses, and to the jurymen the flaming up of the judges. The administration of justice is therefore extremely imperfect. Many law-suits, however, having no other object than to satisfy the hatred and passion of the moment, by dragging the adversary before the judge, both parties are frequently satisfied with the formality of whatever complexion it may be. How many differences might be settled on amicable terms, but for this revengeful disposition to proceed to extremities, which prevails in all countries, and ensures to lawyers a certain subsistence; or rather how many law-suits might be accommodated, but for the great number of lawyers and courts of justice. Law-suits are very frequent in Reading, and originate chiefly in debts, quarrels, and assaults.

There is a printer in Reading, who publishes a German gazette weekly; the price is a dollar a year. The sale extends as far as Pittsburgh, and does not exceed one thousand one hundred copies. Every one here, as well as in all other parts of America, takes an interest in state affairs, is extremely eager to learn the news of the day, and discusses politics as well as he is able.

There are three churches in Reading; one for the people called *Quakers*, another for *Roman Catholics*, and the third for *Lutherans*. The two last are much frequented by Germans, in whose native language the sermons are delivered. Every one pays for the support of that form of worship, which he has chosen for himself, frequently without attending it, which is to his wife, to which he is accustomed, or which some whim or other moves him to prefer. Generally speaking, few men go to church, at least few of the first class. Religious worship is left chiefly to the women, who, forming the least busy class of mankind, are the most assiduous frequenters of the theatres and the churches. The Lutheran church is much resorted to in the morning, and the Roman Catholic service, in the evening. The ministers, who are paid by subscription, receive about four hundred dollars *per annum*. Being without political importance, and confined to their ecclesiastical functions, they are religious, humane, and tolerant. If their conduct were otherwise, their parishioners would change them just as readily as withdraw their employment from a shoe-maker, who should make bad shoes. They live in perfect harmony with one another. The sermons delivered in the different churches are chiefly of a moral cast. Lutherans, Roman Catholics, and *Quakers* intermingle with each other. Mr. READ, the gentleman to whom we had a letter of introduction, has ten children, two of whom only have been baptized; the rest are left to choose their religion for themselves, if they think proper, when they arrive at years of discretion.

The fortunes of those, who are accounted people of property in Reading, are in general moderate. An income of eighteen hundred or two thousand dollars a year is deemed large; and at least a part of such incomes is always earned by some useful employment. Here are indeed some gentlemen possessed of large property, but then this has been generally obtained by commerce, or else accumulated in the town itself by dishonourable means, namely, by buying up, at a low price, demands against poor small proprietors, and driving them from their possessions by judicial proceedings. The number of people; who

who have made fortunes in this manner, is not good; certainly are about three or four hundred, which will amounting to two hundred and fifty or three hundred and fifty.

The sentiments of the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring country are very good, and breathe a warm attachment to the federal government. There is no democratic society. During last about eighty volunteers on the expedition against Hattburg, forty of whom were equipped to serve as cavalry. They all belonged to rich families and were engaged in business; but either their own zeal, or the influence of their relations, impelled them to devote themselves to the public good. In consequence of this public spirit, a society has been formed at Reading, called the FIRE SOCIETY, the members of which enter into an obligation to keep at their own expence two fire engines, and each at his own expence two buckets, a basket, and a fack, and to attend at the first alarm of fire. This society, which resembles that of Philadelphia, and many others of the same description, which are very common all over America, spares government an expence, which otherwise it would be obliged to incur; and ensures a more speedy assistance to sufferers, than any public institution could possibly afford. It will perhaps be said, that this society originated from the personal interest of every individual member in his brother's trade &c; for what else is public spirit; but private interest properly understood?

Some public buildings, such as a large house for the different officers of the county, and the archives, a prison, and a sessions house, have been very lately built at the expence of the county. The three are very small. Of three lawyers, with whom we passed the greatest part of our time at Reading, not one could inform me of the exact total amount of the taxes; but they all agreed, that they are very inconsiderable, or next to nothing. The county taxes and poor rates, taken all together, may perhaps amount to about sixpence in the pound, or a fortieth part of the yearly income. On particular occasions, as when public build-

The establishment of a company for insurance from loss by fire, may be expected to follow next, in the progress of improvements at Reading.—Translator.

ings are to be erected, they are doubtless higher, but never so high as to take from a rich man more than twelve dollars a year.

There are weekly two market days in Reading, and the market is well supplied with provision. In such districts as lie near the market, the price of building-ground, two hundred feet in depth, is twenty-five dollars per foot; in less populous parts of the town only ten dollars. The rent for large convenient houses, at some distance from the town, amounts to one hundred and fifty dollars. The price of land is about twenty-two dollars an acre, and near the town from thirty-two to thirty-six dollars. Meadows near the town cost one hundred and fifty dollars. A great number of them belong to the family of Penn in right of purchase; for it is well known, that all lands and tenements, which this family held in fee, were redeemed by the state, on granting indemnification more or less adequate to their value.

The Schuylkill does not flow through the town, but at a distance of about five thousand paces. A project is formed for extending the town to the bank of the river, and it will certainly be carried into effect, as soon as the canal, which is to join the Schuylkill with the Susquehanna, shall be finished, a part of which is already completed. Reading will then become a considerable staple for inland traffic. A tolerably extensive corn-trade is already carried on here. In winter, when the navigation is obstructed by ice, the neighbouring farmers, who happen to be in want of money, bring their corn to town. The wealthy inhabitants buy it at a low price, lay it up in granaries, and send it to Philadelphia as soon as the river is navigable, as it is, in general, for vessels of one hundred or two hundred tons burthen, except when it is frozen.

The banks of the Schuylkill are exquisitely beautiful near Reading, indeed more so than in any other part of its course. On the side opposite to the town arises a range of richly cultivated hills, covered with as many houses as can be expected in this country. Beyond these heights are mountains of more considerable elevation: and beyond these are seen the lofty summits of the Blue Mountains. The whole form a prospect



prospect at once pleasing and sublime. A great number of brooks run into the Schuylkill, and turn many paper, saw, plaster, and oil-mills in the vicinity of Reading. The inhabitants of the whole are temperate, industrious and prudent people. A tradesman clears much money in a few years, as enables him to buy a plantation in the back country, where he either settles himself, or sends one of his children. Persons who quit Reading and its vicinity generally retire to the country around Sunbury and Northumberland. Some poor Germans from time to time arrive here from Europe, get rich, purchase a plantation, and retire.

They marry here very young. Few women remain unmarried beyond the age of twenty years: and marriages are very fruitful. The mortality among children is, upon an average, much less here than in Philadelphia. The country is healthful. Persons grey with age are numerous, and epidemical diseases rarely break out. Living is cheaper here, by one half, than in Philadelphia.

We had letters to Messrs. Read and BRIDLE, and cannot speak with sufficient praise of the handsome reception we experienced from these gentlemen. They answered all our questions with a degree of patience as obliging on their part, as it was advantageous to us. The day we stopped at Reading was spent at Mr. Bridle's, where we found Mr. Read, Judge RUSH, brother to Doctor RUSH of Philadelphia, and President of the district, General ROVER, who, during the last war, served constantly under La FAYETTE, and holds now the place of Registrar, Mr. ECKARD, an actuary, and Mr. EVANS, who is a lawyer as well as Messrs. Read and Bridle. The conversation was pleasant enough. It constantly turned upon the political situation of Europe, of which every one will talk, and which is rightly understood by none. But it is the topic of the day, to the discussion of which we must submit. Excellent principles of government, a warm attachment to France, abhorrence of the crimes which have been committed, and fervent wishes for her welfare, formed the prominent features of the conversation. Several very acute and judicious observations on the subject of England were



were made, which did not bespeak great partiality for that country. The gentlemen spoke with enthusiasm of WASHINGTON, with gratitude and esteem of La Fayette, and, in short, displayed the most laudable feelings. During a walk we met some ladies, who, to judge from the manner in which their attendants conducted themselves, must be of very little importance in society. Mr. Bridle, who, without saying a word, gave us tea in the evening, seemed scarcely to have eaten his dinner.

The civility of our friends in Reading was not confined to a kind reception; they also offered us letters to gentlemen at Lancaster, and in other places on our road, which, though we were already provided with a tolerable number, we accepted with the same satisfaction as they were offered.

One of these letters procured me an introduction into the farm of Angelico. I was desirous of being more accurately acquainted with the state of agriculture and husbandry about Reading, which, in Philadelphia, had been pointed out to me as the most perfect in all Pennsylvania, and I therefore wished to converse with one of the best informed farmers; Mr. EVANS had been named to me as such. He superintends and manages the farm of Angelico for Mr. NICHOLSON in Philadelphia, who bought it three years ago of Governor MIFFLIN. This farm, which lies three miles from Reading on the way to Lancaster, consists of nine hundred acres, four hundred only of which have hitherto been cultivated, and sixty of these lie in pasture. From sixty to seventy acres consist of the finest meadows, some of which are sown with clover. They are watered at pleasure, partly by the Angelico, a small brook from which the place takes its name, and partly by a very copious spring, which waters such parts as are not within reach of the Angelico. The grass is fine, strong, and bushy, and the only care taken of it consists in a slight irrigation. The rest of the land is under the plough, and produces wheat, rye, buck-wheat, oats, and Indian corn, but without any fixed rotation of crops. The land is of the best quality, being a rich clay, from twenty-four to twenty-eight inches deep. Some places  
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are stony. More or less manure is laid upon the soil every three years. From four to five cart-loads of dung, about fifteen hundred weight each, are generally allotted to an acre; but the dung is far from being in a state to answer the intended purpose. The produce of the first year, after the ground has been cleared, is twenty-five bushels of wheat, forty bushels of rye, forty bushels of barley, eighty bushels of oats, twenty-five bushels of Indian corn, per acre. It would produce considerably more, if the wood were felled in a more careful manner, and the ground somewhat deeper tilled. It is the custom, and consequently the general opinion, that the ground must not be ploughed deeper than four or five inches. I have conversed with Mr. Evans on this subject, who could not help allowing, that the above opinion is erroneous. He was entirely of my way of thinking; but it is the custom, and that has more weight than the clearest reasoning. Newly cleared land sometimes produces better crops after the second and the third year's tillage, than at the first; and this generally happens when the ground has not been cleared with sufficient care. The usual produce of this land is ten bushels of wheat, twenty of rye, twenty of barley, forty of oats, and eighty of Indian corn. This district has not suffered from certain insects, called *lice*, which occasion sometimes considerable mischief to the crops; nor had the Hessian fly much damaged the corn here. The plough-share is of iron; it has but one broad side bent towards the right. It is not curved and turns up the ground very imperfectly. Two horses are able to draw the plough in a pretty strong soil. The work of the farm is performed by five men, six horses, and twelve oxen. Mr. Evans's wife and children manage the business of the house, of a pretty considerable dairy, and of the poultry-yard, which is much better stocked with fowls than American farms usually are. The butter which is not consumed in the house, is sent in winter to Philadelphia; but in summer they make good cheese, which is sold for ten-pence a pound. The corn is either sold in Philadelphia or Reading. Mr. Evans fattens some oxen, but their number does not exceed eighteen, though he possesses seventy acres of meadow land; these oxen, together

together with his twelve cows and six horses, consume almost all his hay, for he sells very little. He keeps it in barns, and sometimes in stacks made after the English manner, but so very badly, that they generally tumble down. Every acre of meadow, if mowed twice a year, yields from three to four tons of hay, and the price of this article was last year fourteen dollars a ton.

Mr. Evans keeps no more than forty or fifty sheep. This small number affords an additional proof of the prejudices, which prevail in this country; "to keep many of them," Mr. Evans observed, "would be the certain means of losing them all." On my mentioning to him the example of England, he said, "I know all this, but it is the custom here, and a wise custom it is; for our neighbour, Mr. MORGAN, who would keep more, and had a good shepherd from Europe, lost them all. We do not wish for more than are necessary to supply us with wool for our own cloathing, and that of our people, and on that account keep no more."

The state of agriculture is here exactly the same as in the remotest provinces of France. Prejudices, maxims handed down from father to son, usages, ignorance, and consequently obstinacy, govern every thing. The sheep are tolerably good, and yield excellent wool. Before I saw them, I asked the shepherd, whether the wool was short or long? he answered, "that it grew longer towards the time of shearing it." I explained to him the meaning of the terms, long and short wool, the difference between the sheep which produce it, the different purposes they are fit for in the manufactories, and, consequently, the reasons why, in different parts of England, one sort of sheep is kept in preference to another. He listened to me, and replied, "of all this we know nothing here." It is the custom not to keep a ram upon the farm; they enquire where a good one may be found, and either hire him or send the ewes to him. Mr. Evans fattens his oxen with hay, and flour of Indian corn, of which he allots to each, twice a day, six quarts, or six-fifteenths of a bushel: his oxen are tolerably good, but not remarkably so. In my presence he sold seventeen, which were all  
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he had at that time, and among which was an old bull and a fine cow. For these he received nine hundred and six dollars ; the cow alone cost forty-two ; she was three years old, large sized, of a good sort, and was bought for breeding in another part of the country.

Turnips for feeding cattle are cultivated only in gardens like pot-herbs, to the extent of a quarter or half an acre. The cultivation of cabbages and turnips in the fields is unknown. Potatoes are planted in great abundance. The art of getting good dung is as little known here as all other branches of agriculture, which require the least judgment. There is no hole in the farm-yard to collect the dung ; nothing is done to improve it by the urine from the different stables, or to prevent the rain from washing away its strength ; it lies in the farm-yard in large heaps, does not rot, but is entirely dried up.

In other respects this is one of the finest estates that can be desired. The soil, the situation, and every thing considered, leave nothing to wish for but a more skilful cultivation, of which it is as capable as any other spot in the world. In point of prospect and picturesque effect, its situation is charming, being in a large, delightful valley, which is well watered, and surrounded by a multitude of the most pleasant hills, partly cultivated, and partly covered with wood.

A saw-mill forms a part of this estate ; it is constantly employed either for the use of the estate, for the possessor, or the public. The price of labour is three shillings for one hundred feet of plank. The mill has but one saw, though there is a sufficient quantity of water for at least three. This water, which can be disposed of at pleasure, might very conveniently turn several other mills, and thus encrease both the value of the estate, and the industry of the country ; as the produce is sure to meet with a ready sale either in Philadelphia or Reading. The fences and farm-buildings, which Governor Mifflin left in very bad condition, are now repairing, and will soon be in very good order.

Mr. Nicholson pays Mr. Evans, who accounts to him for the outgoings and expenditure, but who has not yet remitted him any money. He intends, undoubtedly, by this management, to put the estate into a

good condition, and to raise its value beyond that which landed property has hitherto acquired in America. At this time a bushel of wheat sells for fifteen shillings, Indian corn for three shillings, and oats for five shillings. Labourers are easily procured here in sufficient number for all the purposes of agriculture. From the account I have given of this estate, it is evident, that its value would be very considerable, if it were better managed.

The five hundred acres, which lie uncultivated, supply the necessary timber for repairing the house and out-buildings, and also wood for fuel; which, as I have already mentioned, is sold at Reading from three and a half, to four and a half dollars per cord, according to the quality of the wood. The expence for felling, cutting it, and carrying it to Reading, amounts to one dollar two-thirds. Mr. Evans is of opinion, that this tract of land should neither be cultivated, nor the wood sold for fuel, because the trees, if suffered to grow, encrease the value of the land far beyond what it can be worth, if applied to any other use. I know not how far he may be right. To form a correct opinion on this subject, it would be necessary to traverse the wood, to be acquainted with the wants and customs of the country; and besides, it is well known, that in France, where the management of woods is singularly well understood, the rearing of trees is deemed one of the most difficult arts.

My friend, Mr. Guillemard, who is more fond of his bed, and less partial to farms, than I am, suffered me to leave Reading some hours before him; he overtook me at Angelico, and thence we entered upon our journey to Lancaster. There is no public conveyance yet established by the state between Lancaster and Reading, though these are both considerable towns. The stage-coach goes from Reading to Harrisburg, situate on the Susquehanna, and on the road to Pittsburg. Another stage-coach goes from Harrisburg to Lancaster, which forms a circuit of eighty miles; though, by the direct road, the distance is only thirty-one miles. There is, indeed, a post, which goes twice a week from Bethlem to Lancaster, and passes through Reading, but is

of no use to travellers. This post, which makes a journey of eighty miles, frequently arrives without bringing one single letter; every thing evinces, that the country is yet in an infant state, but shews, at the same time, that it is proceeding, by large and rapid strides, to a state of considerable strength.

The country between Reading and Lancaster abounds with mountains and vallies. The former are not high, but run in ranges. The vallies are chearful, well watered, abound with fine meadows, and are tolerably well inhabited. Almost all the inhabitants are Germans, or, at least, of German descent. The greatest part speak no other language than German. The houses are small, and kept in very bad order; the barns are large, and in very good repair. The general appearance of the country, which is very rich and pleasant, resembles that near the Voghesian Mountains, except that, here the mountains are not so high. We continually meet with brooks or creeks, with numerous mills and a luxuriant verdure. The road is tolerable, except in some places, where it is miry, or rough with stones. Four miles from Lancaster the hills decrease in height, and two miles from the town they terminate in a plain.

On our way we stopped at Ephrata, where we visited the DUNKERS, a sort of monks well known in America by the solitary life they lead, though their number is but small. We had a letter to Father MILLER, the Dean of the society. The house, which is built of a very indifferent sort of stone, and badly roofed with laths, is the residence of several hermits, the remains of sixty, who formed the society about forty years ago. A few yards from this house stands the nunnery of the order, which contains ten or twelve nuns, subject to the same rules.

The venerable Father Miller is an old man, not far from eighty years of age. His eyes still sparkle with a degree of fire, and his imagination is still lively. Our curiosity led us to enquire after the institution of the house, and the doctrines of the order. Father Miller satisfied this curiosity in a manner the most tediously diffuse, by giving us a minute account of every point, however trifling, of the doctrine and his-

tory of the *Dunkers*. This history is a tiffue of absurdities, like that of all monks. A ridiculous compound of ambition, and of the desire of insulating themselves apart from the state, is common to them all. The Dunkers were instituted in the same place where they at present reside, by one CONRAD PEYSEL, a German, who, however, soon perceived, as well as themselves, that the life of an anchorite is neither the most pleasant, nor the most useful in the world. He collected them into a society, and conducted them to Pittsburg, which, at that time, was a wild, uninhabited place. The prior, who succeeded Peyfel, intended, according to some, to subject his monks to a stricter discipline; but, by the account of others, he proposed to accustom them to a wandering life; dissensions arose among them; and they passed some years in a state of continual disagreement; they then dispersed, and afterwards united again in the same place where they were first established. The old monk told us, that they observe a strict rule, and live with the utmost frugality; and that a communion of property is observed among them without the least supremacy, or any other distinction whatever; he told us, that he goes himself to church regularly at midnight. They have made the vow of poverty and chastity; there are, however, some, who marry, in which case they quit the house, and live with their wives elsewhere in the country. Others leave the house without marrying; but these, Father Miller observed, violate, by so doing, the oath they have taken; yet they cannot be prosecuted for want of a law to that effect. They wear a long gown made of grey cloth for the winter, and of white linen for the summer, tied round the waist with a strap of leather. They let the beard grow, and sleep on a bench, "until," said Father Miller, "they sleep in the grave." This was his expression, The spirit of the present age, and the country they inhabit, being equally averse to a monastic life, Father Miller perceives, with as much certainty as concern, the impending dissolution of his order, which has some other establishments in one or two counties of Pennsylvania. As to the doctrines of the order, they are a medley of the most absurd tenets of the Anabaptists, Universalists, Calvinists, Lutherans, Jews, Methodists, and Roman

Roman Catholics. They lament the fall of our first parent, who would rather have for his wife a carnal being, Eve, than let the celestial Sophia, a being thoroughly divine, bear a child. She would have communicated only with the spiritual nature of Adam; and thus a race would have been engendered all pure, and without the least corporeal ingredient. They lament the indulgence, which God shewed in regard to this desire of Adam, who acted on this occasion as brutes might do. However, God, according to their doctrine, has merely deferred the period of this state of perfection; it is certainly to arrive, and the Dunkers foresee the time, when, after the general resurrection, the divine Sophia will descend into every one of us. All this is to their fancy as evident and clear as the Song of Solomon. We wasted nearly two hours in listening to the idle prate of the old monk, who was happy to entertain us on this subject, and particularly enraptured at the idea, that the Sophia would descend into him.

Another monk of the same order, whom we met with, seemed to be less impressed with this hope. He was a printer, a man of thirty years of age, who had lived thirteen years in this house. He told us, that the discipline of the order is by no means so strict, as the old monk pretended; that they divide their earnings only if they choose; that they live just as they please, and drink coffee and tea. He did not appear so enthusiastic a friend to the vow of chastity as Father Miller; and to our questions, whether many brothers married, and whether they were supposed to offend by so doing, answered, "that many did, and that, in his opinion, they acted rightly; "for," said he, "are not women truly charming?" Before we left Father Miller, whose accounts the information of the young monk already shewed to have greatly exaggerated every thing, we had an opportunity of convincing ourselves, that he had misstated even the particulars of their way of living: for we found in a room, contiguous to his, a nice feather-bed, in which, he could not help confessing, he slept sometimes, and in which, by the assertion of the young Dunker, he sleeps every night. In the church



we found a place as much distinguished from the rest, as that of any prior of a convent of benedictine monks can be. Monks are every where the same men, and live by deceiving others; they are every where impostors: in Europe, and in America, men are the same, when placed in the same situation. In point of furniture and outward appearance the house bears a near resemblance to a capuchin convent, displaying every where an ostentatious poverty by half-hidden beds of down. We did not visit the nunnery, as we should have met there only the same follies, and the same nauseous filth; besides, the nuns, being old, could not in the least interest our curiosity, and we knew already enough of these Dunkers. They are a good-natured sort of people, they live upon the produce of an estate of three hundred acres, injure nobody, are laughed at in the country, and yet tolerably well beloved.

The soil between Reading and Lancaster is full of small lime-stones, and flates, which are frequently found of a very large size. Near Lancaster the quantity of lime-stone encreases: the whole country abounds with iron-mines; and the iron-works, which are very numerous between Bethlem and Reading, become more strikingly so between Reading and Lancaster, though many of them do not stand near the road. We intended to visit the iron-work of Mr. COLMAN, one of the most considerable in the whole district; but finding that it was too much out of our road, we relinquished the design. All we could learn was, that the workmen receive from eight to ten dollars a month, besides board and lodging. The founder has five shillings per tun. The price of cast-iron is thirty shillings, and of iron in bars forty shillings a tun. The high price of grain in this place is said to have much lessened the profits arising from founderies.

We had left the servant, with the baggage horse, at Reading, on account of his back being sore. My friend Guillemard intended at first to make the tour from Lancaster to Harrisburg without the servant, and to send him by the straight road to Northumberland, but Joseph wished

to see Lancaster. Mr. Guillemard's kindness could not refuse him this small favour ; he accordingly set out for Lancaster some hours after us, and brought the horse thither ; we had lessened his burthen, at least by eighty pounds, and had sent several of Mr. Guillemard's effects to Philadelphia. The pack-saddle had been mended, and yet the poor horse's back was worse than before. This is an accident truly disagreeable, and by no means unimportant ; for the disposition of my fellow traveller does not allow us to hope speedy end to our sufferings. We must have patience, a virtue of material use in all situations, while on the contrary impatience never serves any good purpose.

*Lancaster, the 11th of May.*

We reached Lancaster at nine o'clock at night, the usual supper-time. The groom arrived the next morning with the disabled horse. A delay in Lancaster, while the cure of the horse was effected, proved the more unpleasant, as out of the twelve gentlemen, to whom we had letters of introduction, three only were in town. General HAND, who lives a mile from Lancaster, happened to be there. We accordingly paid him a visit, and saw him, as well as his lady and children. But, by not returning our visit, he gave us a pretty clear proof, that he was not very desirous of our repeating it. Mr. Bridle, though in town, was indisposed ; and Mr. MONTGOMERY, to whom we had a letter from Mr. Bridle, of Reading, was not at home, when we called at his house. This concurrence of unpleasant circumstances led us to the firm determination of removing at once the obstacles, which, since our departure from Philadelphia, had obstructed the execution of our plan. In occurrences of a more serious complexion than this incident, experience has convinced me, that the succours of the moment, with which irresolute and indolent people are so well pleased, far from actually clearing the way of difficulties, merely places them at a greater distance, but, in fact, encreases them. I was also sensible, that it is by far the best and easiest way, in all similar situations, to do without every thing, which may prove troublesome. My friend Guillemard is determined,

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to act upon the same principle; and we have resolved to reduce our baggage to what our three horses can conveniently carry, and to send the rest back to Philadelphia. Thus relieved from all uneasiness, our minds will be more capable of receiving the new knowledge, which we shall use every opportunity to collect. Here we gathered our information from the landlord's family at the inn, where we had put up.

This inn, the Swan, has been kept by Mr. SLOW these thirty years. He was a man of very considerable property, but, some time back, was much reduced by misfortunes; having engaged in iron-works, and other business, he was defrauded, and nearly ruined, and found himself under the necessity of selling all the property he had acquired. Grief undermined his constitution; but his wife, possessed of more fortitude, (as women generally are) roused his dejected spirits. His honesty had never been impeached, and his situation in life, as innkeeper and member of the assembly of Pennsylvania, had made him known, and had obtained him friends, who assisted him with money, and procured him credit. One of them purchased fifteen hundred acres of land, which he possessed near Wilksbarre, on the Susquehannah, and, when the bargain was struck, told him, that he should only consider himself as his trustee, and return the land for the same money. His circumstances improved; he has not only repaid the money for the lands near Wilksbarre, which are again in his possession, but has also purchased others near Northumberland, married one of his daughters, obtained commissions in the army for two of his sons, and thus recovered his former prosperity. We had letters to him: he happened to be in Philadelphia; but his wife and two of his sons were at home, who furnished us with, perhaps, as much information, as we might have been able to procure, had we met with all the other persons to whom we had letters of recommendation.

Lancaster is the largest inland town on the continent of America. It stands twenty miles from the Susquehannah, and half a mile from the Conawango, a large stream, stocked with fish, but not navigable. This district was presented to the family of Mr. WILLIAM HAMIL-

TON, by the Penns, their relations. The town began to be built in 1731, with a view of its being the chief of the county. The land is not sold by the Hamiltons, but leased out for a ground-rent, which they have raised in proportion to the encreased demands, and the rising price of land in every place. As W. Hamilton has still a great quantity of land left about the town, he disposes of it in the same manner; and his yearly income, composed of unredeemable rents, amounts at present to four thousand dollars. During the war the payment of these rents was collected with difficulty; Mr. Hamilton, as well as the family of Penn, belonging to the Tory party.

The population of Lancaster consists of about six or seven thousand souls. Instead of increasing, it rather decreases at present, in consequence of the continual emigration of such inhabitants, as by their industry have acquired a sufficient fortune, to purchase lands in the less inhabited districts of Pennsylvania, or in the most distant part of Maryland, and whom the high price of land, in the county of Lancaster, prevents from settling here.

Near the town, and even at some distance from it, the price of land is at present from fifty to eighty dollars per acre. Within these last three years, it has been more than doubled. General Hand bought, five years ago, the estate on which he resides, two miles from the town, for twenty-five dollars per acre, and has lately refused one hundred, which were offered him. Mr. Scott, son-in-law of Mr. Slow, bought lately an estate, for which he paid one hundred dollars per acre. The price of land has risen nearly in the same proportion throughout America, at least in all its cultivated parts. Mr. Slow, about five years ago, purchased an estate near Northumberland for forty shillings per acre, and last year sold it again for fifty-four shillings. With the profits he purchased a pretty little estate, situate half a mile from Lancaster, between the road and the creek.

This estate, which contains one hundred and ten acres, is now in a fine state of cultivation. About eighteen or twenty acres lie in grass, and form the most beautiful meadows; twenty-five are covered with

wood, and the rest are under the plough. He lays from twelve to fourteen tuns of dung on each acre: no land lies fallow; but he entertains the same prejudices as the rest of the farmers in favour of flat ridges, and against sheep. His son, in whose company I surveyed the estate, confessed, that the theory and practice which prevail in Europe do not agree with the husbandry of the Americans, but he is nevertheless zealously wedded to their prejudices, and causes them to be closely followed, not only on his father's estate, of which he has the management, but also on his own near Northumberland.

The land, in the environs of Lancaster, exceeds in fertility that in the neighbourhood of Reading. An acre yields, upon an average, fifteen bushels of wheat, and other grain in proportion.

Every thing is much dearer in Lancaster than in Reading. Day labourers are paid four shillings per day, and are easily procured. The inhabitants are the same good natured kind of people as at Reading, and equally laborious. In the town, as well as the neighbouring country, are a great number of tan-yards, and many mills, from which the flour is sent to Philadelphia in waggons. Returning, these waggons commonly bring merchandize, which is expedited from this place to every part of the back country. The road has hitherto been very bad; a turnpike-road, which is about to be made, and which will probably be completed this autumn, will doubtless much facilitate and promote the communication. The mealmen seem already to familiarize themselves with the idea of paying an additional toll of two or three dollars, and of providing larger wheels for their waggons. If the Susquehannah shall be made navigable as far as Wright, an event that cannot be far distant; the meal-trade will grow still more considerable in this district, at least until the projected plan of rendering the Suatara and the Delaware navigable, by means of the Schuylkill, shall be carried into effect.

In a recently settled and free country, it is seldom possible to come at any certain results of calculations, relative to trade and commerce. Thus the number of waggons, which are sent from Philadelphia to Lancaster and the neighbouring country, with flour and other provision,

sion, is not exactly known; yet it is certain, that frequently from seventy to eighty waggons pass through Lancaster in a day, and it is generally believed, that Mr. WITHERS, who some years back, at his own expence, built a bridge on the road to Philadelphia, a mile from Lancaster, on condition of his being entitled to take a toll or pontage, clears that way every year one thousand six hundred and fifty dollars, the whole amount of the sum he laid out in constructing the bridge. A person on horseback pays him two pence, and a waggon eleven pence, though he has a right to take eighteen pence for the latter. The gentlemen who have contracted for the construction of the turnpike-road, are authorized by government to redeem the above toll or pontage, as soon as the road shall be completed.

Though the number of houses does not encrease at Lancaster, yet the town gains much in outward appearance. The houses in general are larger than in Reading, and constructed either of brick or stone. Rent is much the same as at Reading. There are numerous quarries in the vicinity of the town, which yield a *quarzose schist*, that is very hard, yet easily cut, but cannot be obtained in pieces of any large size. This stone is sold by the rod, containing sixteen feet in length, eighteen inches high, and eighteen wide; the price is one dollar, delivered in town, free from expence, and a quarter of a dollar to take it out of the quarry. The turnpike-road has considerably encreased its sale.

The disposition of the generality of the inhabitants of Lancaster is of the same good cast as that of the inhabitants of Reading. There exists here, however, a democratic society, but it consists only of twelve members, not five of whom ever attend the meetings. The enterprise against Pittsburg, which no American mentions without conscious pride, especially in these parts, where the militia bore a share in it, has ruined the Jacobin clubs and societies. The disapprobation of the Senate, the enquiry set on foot by the representatives of the people, (notwithstanding the proposal of the committee, that they be reprimanded, was not carried) and especially the circumstance, that the President, who is generally esteemed and respected, nay, revered to a

degree of enthusiasm in America, personally reprobated them, have completed their destruction.

The city of Lancaster is surrounded with meadows, which are well watered. It gave me much satisfaction to see a wheel, purposely designed to raise the water necessary for that purpose. The town itself is rather dull. It has more the appearance of a city than Reading; the houses stand nearer each other, and are more numerous; broad stone pavements, run in front of the houses, and the streets that are not paved, are at least covered with gravel, and kept clean. The sessions-house is a good building, neat and elegant. There are two or three well built churches in the town. The number of places of worship amounts, in the whole, to seven. The Swan inn is undoubtedly better than any inn in Philadelphia; less magnificent than the excellent English inns, yet of very similar design; none, at least, can be more cleanly. A great number of servants are kept, and the family of the landlord, whose manners bespeak a liberal education, are generally respected, and enjoy that consideration, which in all countries should be bestowed on honest men, whatever their occupations, if not contrary to morality. Innkeepers are here men of the first rank. How many Europeans would shake their heads, were it so in their own countries! It is a general custom in America, to dine with the innkeeper and his family, and to conform to the dinner hour which he fixes. This custom, which, at times, proves extremely disagreeable, is, on the contrary, very pleasant in this house, for it is impossible to meet with a family in all America of superior breeding, or which forms a more agreeable society, than that of Mr. Slow.

One of the two sons, who holds a commission in the army, was at home. He serves in one of the regiments, which, under the orders of General Wayne, act against the Indians, and was wounded in an engagement last autumn, in which those people were repulsed by the Americans. The particulars of this war are by no means interesting. The Americans speak of the ignorance of the Indians, in point of tactics, with the same contempt that the English express for American  
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rican tactics, and the Prussians, Austrians, and French for the tactical knowledge of the English. All that I have been able to learn of these Indians interests me in their favour. The Americans are waging war against them, in order to drive them out of a country, which belongs to them; and the Americans, who inhabit the frontiers, are greater robbers; and more cruel than the Indians, against whom it is alleged as a crime, that they exercise the right of retaliation. They are, moreover, incited by the English against the Americans, and become thus, in their untutored state, victims of the ambition and discord of these two *civilized* nations. Captain Slow assured me, that, among the Indians slain on the field of battle, many white people have been found, who were Englishmen; that many active officers on horseback have been seen at the head of the Indians, who were also Englishmen, and that the Indian army is supported by the English garrisons. These assertions, however, tend merely to prove the supineness of the Americans, both in regard to the English and Indians. Captain Slow assured me, that even in Kentucky, he never met with any land, which, in point of richness, can be compared with the soil of those parts, especially in the country, on the river Miami; that the stratum of vegetative earth is from twenty to twenty-five feet thick; and that the fields, in which the Indians have sown maize and beans, bespeak a very careful cultivation, and promise the richest crops, that ever came within his observation.

Before I conclude the article of Lancaster, I must not omit to mention two Frenchmen, who have settled here from the French colonies in the West Indies. The one is a miniature painter, who sells his coarse pictures for three guineas each, and contrives to vend many; the other is a very indifferent musician, who charges three guineas a month for his lessons, and has several pupils. At every step we take in America, either in towns or in the country, it becomes more and more evident, that any one may make his fortune, who will take the pains; and nothing can afford a stronger proof of the truth of this remark, than a personal acquaintance with the crowd of foreigners, who enjoy the reputation



putation of being exceedingly *clever*, and who are amassing fortunes under the auspices of this frequently usurped title.

In the inn, at Lancaster, I met with Mr. Brown, member of the congress for Kentucky; he was on his way to Philadelphia, where the congress meets next month. I sifted him a little respecting the present state of Kentucky. The result of the information I obtained is, that the soil is every where excellent, and frequently yields, for the first harvest, from one hundred to one hundred and ten bushels of Indian corn, and from fifty to fifty-five bushels of wheat an acre; that the price of land is six dollars per acre, of flour eleven dollars per barrel, and of Indian corn, one-sixth of a dollar per bushel; that the population, which, in 1790, consisted of ninety thousand souls, amounts at present to one hundred and fifty thousand; that, in the course of last year, twenty-five thousand persons settled there; that the Indians attempt no longer any inroads in that part of the United States, which, though occupied the last of all, advances more rapidly towards a state of prosperity than any other district in America.

From Lancaster we proceeded to May Town. The road from Lancaster to this place lies chiefly through a woody tract of country, which assumes a wilder appearance than we have hitherto seen. Cultivated land appears more rarely as we proceed, except a few vallies, which still lie in grass, or are sown with Indian corn. In proportion as the distance from Lancaster encreases, houses of brick or stone are less frequently seen. We met with scarcely any but log-houses; every where we observe German farms, small houses, and large barns. Cows and oxen, which seemed tolerably good, we found grazing in the woods and near the road; and also saw, at times, sheep, but never more than eight or ten of them together. From their thickness, you would suppose the woods to be no more than thirty years old: and yet it is highly improbable, that new plantations should have been made at a time when wood-lands were every where converted into tillage-ground. These woods, as well as those which seem older, consist of oak, hickory, black ash, acacia, chestnut, cherry and apple-trees, a few spindle-trees, some cedars.

dars, and Weymouth-pines. Were it not for the known partiality of man for whatever it is difficult to procure, it would be impossible to account for the introduction of the Italian poplar into America, which abounds in so great a variety of beautiful trees, as may well excite the envy of Europe. Great numbers of these poplars, which serve for not one useful purpose, have been planted in America. They border all the streets in Philadelphia, and all the roads about the town.

All the cultivated land between Lancaster and May Town is inclosed with fences of dry wood, which spoil the landscape, and consume vast quantities of timber, though it already begins to grow dear. Sooner or later this useless waste will certainly be regretted.

May Town is a small village, sixteen miles from Lancaster, built on a spot entirely without water, where either chance, or the interest of a few individuals, threw together a dozen houses, the number of which has not been increased since the origin of the establishment, and, to all appearance, never will be. This little village is inhabited entirely by Germans, who have still remained such. Land in this neighbourhood costs twelve or thirteen dollars an acre, and is in a tolerable state of cultivation.

The road from May Town to Middle Town becomes more dreary and unpleasant as we proceed; six miles from the former place we fell in with the superb river Susquehannah, on a spot where the rapids proceeding from the Conawango render it unnavigable, or, at least, the navigation so extremely dangerous, that it is attempted but by very few vessels. In order to free this navigation from all danger, which is of the utmost importance both to the present and the future wealth and prosperity of the country, a canal has been begun, which will run half a mile above and below these rapids, and thus keeps the navigation open at all times for vessels to work up or drop down the river. This canal, the undertaking of a private gentleman, to whom the state of Pennsylvania has advanced thirteen thousand three hundred and thirty-three dollars, and also granted leave to establish a toll, is nearly completed. Nothing remains to be constructed but the locks, yet a difference

ference of opinion exists as to the time of its completion. We intended to view the canal ; but my fellow-traveller being a little indisposed, we were the more ready to give up this project, as from a view of the canal we could not have derived any additional, or more exact information, than we had already obtained.

The road from this place to Middle Town assumes a wilder and more romantic appearance at every step we advance. The forests and rocks reach down to the Susquehannah. A great number of trees, washed loose by the water a long time ago, lie, half rotten, along the banks of the river ; others lie rooted up, broken, or felled in the midst of the wood, without its having occurred to any one, to use them for any beneficial purpose ; and they have been suffered to lie here, to be taken possession of by the first comer. The opposite bank is likewise covered with wood, and bounded by mountains of no considerable height. From time to time we saw, through vistas naturally opening among them, the Blue Mountains. The river is, in general, from two to three thousand fathoms broad, full of considerable islets, which are of an irregular level at the surface, and encrease the width of its bed. It is full three miles broad, exclusive of an islet in it, at the spot where the Suatara falls into it.

Middle Town is seated on the latter, about half a mile distant from its confluence with the Susquehannah. From the above-mentioned rapids of the Conawango usually interrupting the navigation on this large river, Middle Town becomes the storehouse of all the grain, which is produced in the country situate along its upper course, and not consumed there. From one hundred and sixty to one hundred and eighty thousand bushels of wheat are yearly bought up by the corn-dealers, on the spot where it grows, conveyed to Middle Town, and deposited in granaries there. The millers of the surrounding country usually buy it here, grind it into flour, and send it to Philadelphia. The grand project of inland navigation, for the execution of which the government of Pennsylvania has granted a lottery, is designed to join the Suatara with the Schuylkill, by means of a canal of about sixty miles in length, a third of which is already completed. In regard to that  
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part, indeed, it does not appear that the common welfare has been chiefly attended to by those, who were entrusted with the management of this important concern. When this canal shall be finished, the flour, which is now carried to Philadelphia by land-conveyance, will be transported thither by water, with much less trouble and expence. The carriage amounts, at present, from fourteen and a half to fifteen shillings per barrel.

The completion of the canal is much wished for at Middle Town, as the inhabitants hope to derive from it advantages, which must encrease in proportion as the districts, that send their grain thither, shall become more populous, and consequently attain a higher state of cultivation. The banks of the Suatara, as far as we have seen them, are truly delightful. This river, though called here but a creek, is as broad as the Seine near Rouen. On the northern bank, from its mouth up to Middle Town, stand some alehouses and warehouses to receive the grain, as it arrives. A little farther up stands the mill of Mr. FREY, a German, advanced in years, who settled here as a miller, about ten years ago. This mill, which has four courses, is of a happy and simple construction; all the operations upon the corn, as well as the meal, are effected by machines, with the sole exception of the bolting, which is done nearly as in London, and at the Perriers', in Paris. The management of this operation is confided to a lad, who receives the meal craned up in tubs, spreads it out on the loft, and distributes it among the different meal bags. "Mr. Frey," he said, "is no friend of Evans's machine; he does not like the construction." This was the only motive I could learn. The mill grinds for Mr. Frey himself about thirty thousand bushels of wheat a year; he sends the flour as far as Newport. Four journeymen and one apprentice do the business about the mill; they are all Germans; their wages are from seven to ten dollars per month; they seem sensible and active people. Mr. Frey keeps, independent of the mill, which also grinds corn for the public, a shop in the city, which is about a quarter of a mile distant. His

house is the only stone building in the town, which contains about thirty houses built with wood.

From its situation and trade, Middle Town should be the chief town of the county; but, in this case, Mr. Frey would have been obliged to sacrifice about three or four ground shares for the erection of public buildings, which he did not choose to do, though he possesses a great many shares. Harrisburg is therefore become the chief town of the county. The inhabitants of Middle Town and the neighbouring country, we may easily conceive, are highly displeased with old Mr. Frey, for having thus neglected the interests of the town; but he laughs at them, because he is rich, and grows daily richer, by selling them his decayed stores.

The price of land is here from twenty-seven to thirty dollars. A day labourer gets three shillings and nine pence per day, and beef sells at five pence per pound. The inn, where we took up our quarters, is good; but on our going to rest, a stranger entered our bed-room, according to American custom, to go to bed, and we were told, that we might think ourselves extremely fortunate, that we were not obliged to share one of our beds with him.

Middle Town is distant twenty-seven miles from Lancaster. Three Frenchmen have settled in this small place. One is a goldsmith and watch-maker, and is said to have much business; another is a physician, and earns likewise his subsistence; the calling of the third I have not been able to learn; he probably assists the other two in consuming their earnings. We have experienced here a scorching heat, and frequently two thunder-storms in one day; the falling of rain always encreases the heat.

*Wednesday, the 13th of May.*

Mr. HARRIS, lord of the manor on which Harrisburg stands, availed himself of Mr. Frey's error, to procure his town the advantages, that the former neglected. No sooner was it in contemplation, to form the tract of country, separated from Lancaster, into a distinct county, than

than he offered to the government of Pennsylvania, to sacrifice not only a toll on the Susquehanna, of which he was possessed, and the profits of which he lawfully enjoyed, but also several thousand acres of land, in and about the town, reserving to himself only twenty ground shares. This offer induced the government of Pennsylvania, to make this the chief town of the county, though it has neither an anchoring place for the ships, that sail up and down the river, nor can afford them the smallest shelter. The new county obtained the name of Dauphin. The first houses were built here in 1785 ; and their number at present amounts to three hundred. The formation of this town being of a more recent date than that of any other, the buildings were, from the very first, of a better construction than any where else ; and such as were not originally good houses, have since been rebuilt. Very few log-houses are, therefore, to be found in Harrisburg : but, on the contrary, many substantial and handsome edifices ; and though this town is smaller, and of later establishment than Reading and many other places, yet it is more compact, and has a much better appearance. A malignant epidemic fever has made the same havoc in Harrisburg, as the yellow fever did in Philadelphia, and for a whole twelvemonth checked the progress of building. As the fever did not return last year, however, building is again going on ; but the prejudice of the town being insalubrious still remains, whether it be really so, or, as the inhabitants affirm, merely a scandalous report, propagated by the jealousy of the neighbouring towns. The unhealthiness of the place being imputed to the stagnation of some water, which was made to turn a mill, it was proposed to the miller, to throw down the dam, and an indemnification was offered him. He demanded, last year, four thousand dollars ; but this sum not having been raised soon enough, in his opinion, he this year raised his demand in proportion to the increased desire of destroying his dam, and insisted on the payment of eleven thousand dollars. The inhabitants, enraged at this exorbitant demand, and, at the same time, earnestly wishing for the demolition of the dam, unanimously resolved to destroy it, and appointed a commission, to award a just indemnification

to the miller, which has been determined at the sum he first demanded. All the inhabitants seem to have concurred in this proceeding, which, though not to be applauded, is less censurable, on account of the miller's enormous rapacity. The unanimity, with which this transaction was accomplished, ensures its impunity; and the miller will be cautious of entering upon a prosecution, as the grand jury would certainly throw out his bill. He has no one to blame but himself for the destruction of his dam; and the public opinion, which, by a more prudent conduct, he might last year have engaged in his favour, is now decidedly against him. Yet with many of the demolishers themselves it remains a matter of doubt, whether the demolition of the dam have any way increased the salubrity of the place.

A prison and a sessions-house have been built at Harrisburg, and a plan is in agitation to form an anchorage for ships. The inhabitants exert their utmost efforts, to procure to this place all the advantages of which it is susceptible, and even indulge a hope, that the seat of the government of the state will be removed to their town. They form a central point, at least for the population of Pennsylvania; and are less distant from the remote western parts than any other county on this side the Susquehannah, and on these local advantages they ground their hopes.. It is, however, to be wished, that their notion, of determining the seat of the legislature by a pair of compasses, may be confined to men who cannot influence the decision; and that it may be rightly understood, how much better it is for the deputies to travel one hundred miles further, than to remove the seat of government from Philadelphia, which is the most populous city, and the only trading town in Pennsylvania, and which consequently forms that point, where the best information is in unison with the most important interests.

The public expenditure, necessary in this newly formed county, causes the taxes to be somewhat higher than in the counties of Lancaster and Berks; the difference may be a shilling in the pound. Unless you chance to meet with a commissioner of taxes, the exact proportion is not to be ascertained, as a general ignorance on the subject every

every where prevails. The taxes, however, are generally deemed very light, even by those who pay them, which is undoubtedly the strongest proof that they are so.

The majority of the inhabitants of Harrisburg consists of Germans and Irishmen, firmly attached to government, sensible, and industrious. The number of inns in America is out of all proportion to that in Europe. This place contains no less than thirty-eight. It has twenty-five or thirty shops, where may be found all sorts of merchandize, procured from Philadelphia on twelve or eighteen months credit, and of which the shop-keepers rapidly dispose at double or treble their prime cost.

The price of ground-shares in the town of Harrisburg is from one hundred and fifty to two hundred dollars. The land in the surrounding country is good; its price is from thirty-two to forty-eight dollars an acre; day-labourers are paid here three shillings and six-pence a day with their board, or five shillings without it.

The Susquehannah near Harrisburg is about three quarters of a mile in breadth: in summer it is frequently fordable. The navigation is extremely dangerous for several months, in consequence of some rapid currents, and never safe except in spring and autumn, when the water is sufficiently high to cover the rocks, which become more numerous at the point where the Juniata falls into the Susquehannah, nine miles above Harrisburg, and greatly encrease the dangers of the navigation. The government of Pennsylvania has offered eight hundred thousand dollars for clearing the river of these rocks from the above point down to Middle Town; but hitherto no one has ventured upon this enterprise. I entertain no doubt, however, but that this vast undertaking will shortly be accomplished, though the sum hitherto offered may not be sufficient, but must probably be increased. The industry and prosperity of Pennsylvania will, in time, overcome this, as well as many other disadvantages, which have heretofore been deemed insuperable. A Frenchman resides at present at Harrisburg, who was born in France, but came hither from Martinico. He is a Physician, and though he  
speaks



speaks but little English, and has resided here only a few months, enjoys already considerable practice.

We had a letter to General HANNAH; and as we intended to stop here but a few hours, we delivered it as soon as we alighted from our horses. General Hannah is a man of about thirty-six or thirty-eight years of age, and Brigadier General of the Militia. He was a member of the Senate for Pennsylvania, but went out by rotation last autumn. Before he was engaged in the service of the state, he was a lawyer; but he has since relinquished that profession, and has commenced farmer. He has married a daughter of old Mr. HARRIS, the founder of the town, and appears to be an upright, worthy character. Not being prepared to give us a dinner, as we came unexpectedly, he offered to attend us to our evening quarters, seven miles from this town, as some token of respect for the letter of introduction which we brought him. As our horses wanted shoeing, we were obliged to make him wait some time, which we passed in the true American style, quaffing a bottle of Madeira and smoking segars. The general is not fond of them, but prefers chewing tobacco; yet, from motives of politeness, he smoked with us. Being at our lodgings we proposed as a toast, "the PRESIDENT," upon which he immediately gave, "LA FAYETTE." I notice this trifling circumstance, to introduce once more the remark, that La Fayette is constantly toasted next to the President, which, in my judgment, reflects honour on America.

We took up our quarters at MAC ALISTER's. General Hannah is acquainted with him, and being informed of my wish to collect authentic agricultural information, he was desirous of introducing me to one of these gentlemen, who are most able to impart it. Mac Alister is a farmer, and, at the same time, proprietor of a corn-mill, a saw-mill, a distillery, and an inn. He is the same on whom COOPER, in his "Account of America," bestows so much praise. Mac Alister is an active, enterprising, industrious, and intelligent man. About eleven years ago he bought the ground, on which he has formed the several different establishments of his industry. These are all in a thriving way. His estate consists  
of

of about three hundred acres, which are partly hemmed in between the blue and second mountains; but, for the most part, are situate on the blue mountains. The cultivated ground amounts in the whole to one hundred and twenty acres, fifty of which are laid out in artificial meadows, and thirty-six in orchards for apple and peach-trees. The meadows are beautiful, and the fields in good order. He extols them far above all other fields in America, but we have met with some, even in the vicinity of Reading, and in the county of Lancaster, which are beyond comparison better than his. He assured us, that he never lays dung on any part of his land but meadows, which he also waters; and that his only manure for land, which he sows with corn or clover, consists in sowing it with clover three years successively, and plowing down the clover whilst it is in blossom. By his assertion his land yields generally sixty bushels an acre of maize, or thirty bushels of wheat, but it has not the appearance of producing such considerable crops. He sows a larger proportion of grain than is usual in this country; but this is not always a certain method of obtaining a rich harvest. His orchards are uncommonly fine; he makes as good cyder as I have ever tasted in America. He finds labourers in abundance, and pays them at present three shillings a day; because, from the present high value of corn, the price of day-labour has risen one shilling.

The price of the neighbouring lands is eight dollars an acre if covered with wood, and fifty dollars if they be cleared, and in any degree cultivated. He keeps no sheep, at least not above twenty; because, as he told us, they do not yield him so much profit as his meadows, which produce two tons and half of hay per acre, worth twenty-five dollars. For the same reason he fattens no cattle. His ridges are as flat as those of other farmers, and his dung is badly managed, though he uses a great deal on the land; he lays sometimes twenty loads or thirty tons of dung on an acre. His mill is a very indifferent one indeed; but he assures me, that he means soon to build a new one, which will greatly excel that of Mr. Frey, in Middle Town. The present mill has two courses, which generally grind corn of his own, but are

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at times employed for the public, and are frequently set to pulverize plaster of Paris, which he mixes with his feed. He informed us, that he grinds fifteen thousand bushels of wheat a year on his own account; but, on comparing his mill with that of Frey, which grinds no more in proportion without ever stopping, I feel inclined to doubt the veracity of his assertion. He sends his meal in waggons to Philadelphia, the carriage of which amounts, at times, to seventeen shillings per barrel. His saw-mill is almost constantly going. The logs are floated down the river from the upper country when the water is high; and he cuts them into planks, which he sells on the spot; deals at six shillings per hundred, and other planks at eight shillings. These prices are the same as at Harrisburg. His whisky also is sold on the spot; and the grain for the distillery he receives likewise from the upper country. A bushel of rye yields about three gallons of whisky; and he distils yearly four thousand gallons. He makes spirit from his cyder too; but, such is the power of habit, that cyder-whisky, which, in Jersey, sells at five shillings per gallon, while corn-whisky is worth only four and sixpence, costs, in the county of Dauphin, only three shillings and sixpence, and corn-whisky five shillings.

This important settlement stands on a wild, romantic spot, at the entrance of a narrow vale, covered with wood, and situate on a rapid creek, that dashes along over rocks, where decayed trees, either felled by the hand of man, or rooted up by the wind, are scattered in every direction. The various buildings, of which the settlement consists, are of wood; they are all, with the single exception of the inn, log-houses, more or less rudely formed. The houses of the labourers stand on the Susquehannah, and in the precincts of Fort Hunter, which was erected a long time ago by the English for defence against the inroads of the Indians. Mac Alister intends greatly to embellish his buildings, and considerably to improve his estate, particularly by the culture of the vine. From what he has already done, it may be fairly inferred, that he will also succeed in his future undertakings. He is a man of an acute, well-informed mind, such as we should hardly expect to find

in an American farmer, shut up in mountainous wilds. Yet his self-love and vanity keep pace with his merits, and frequently detract from the latter, by exaggerating them. For the same reason his assertions are not to be received as absolutely certain, nor are we to wonder at being occasionally deceived by a man, who is constantly deceiving himself.

*Thursday, the 14th of May.*

Five or six ranges of heights run in parallel directions, more or less distant, from Harrisburg to Sunbury; round several of these the road winds, particularly the Blue Mountains and Second Mountains, making an undulation along the banks of the river, while it rises over others. These Blue Mountains, which catch the eye, on opening any description whatever of America, are like all the others, with which they are connected, a mere ridge of high hills, through which the Susquehannah seems to have worked out his bed. Their summits have not that rise and fall, which is common to the generality of chains of mountains, but form one uninterrupted line, without the least variety, in point of elevation. The trees, with which they are all uniformly covered, may probably contribute, in some measure, to give them this monotonous appearance. The Blue Mountains are not the highest, over which the road leads; the Peter's and Mahanoning Mountains far exceed them in height, though they are much lower than the Voghesian Mountains. You pass them by a road, which, though very stony, is yet tolerably good; its declivity, with the exception of a few places, is not very steep. These mountains are covered with wood; where this has been cut down, a view of the Susquehannah opens at times, or the eye reposes on some cultivated spots. The whole road lies through one uninterrupted forest. Another road, which does not lead over the mountains, runs parallel to the course of the river; and though the latter road be more pleasant, affording a prospect of the confluence of the Juniata and Susquehannah, yet we preferred the former, from the more frequent opportunities which it affords of obtaining a knowledge of the country.

At no great distance from Mac Alister's habitation, pines are the prevailing trees ; and a great many flowers and herbs grow in this forest, which are unknown in Europe.

Honeysuckles are found in almost every wood. The blossoms are longer than in our gardens, but they have the same shape, and nearly the same fragrance. The shrubs, on which they grow, are much lower than those reared by art ; they have longer indented leaves than the latter ; and though I have frequently found them near large trees, yet I never saw the plants leaning for support towards the trunk of the tree. Trees, rooted up by the wind, which in their fall have often brought others to the ground, continue on the same spot until they are rotten : they frequently obstruct the passage, but the traveller makes a new path, by going round them, and this becomes the common road.

In the progress of this long journey through forests, we saw the country in its first stage of cultivation. We found a few straggling houses, one or two miles distant from each other ; the greatest number are yet unfinished. They are log-houses, with the interstices between the trunks filled up with earth. Some have been standing there several years, and are rather more covered. Maize is the general produce. The habitations stand chiefly in vallies, on a brook or creek. The new settlers begin their operations by building a house, by felling trees, or paring off the bark all around the tree, about five or six inches in breadth, by breaking up the ground, on which they stand, to sow a little corn, and by fencing the ground, thus cleared, with a part of the felled trees. The land first cleared is generally laid out as an orchard, one being annexed to every habitation. Most of the houses have a mean appearance ; the inhabitants are badly clothed, but every thing around them is their own property. Land, recently cleared, is every where good ; and the two or three acres, which have been first broken up, afford crops sufficiently rich to supply the inhabitants till further cultivation takes place. This consideration somewhat relieves the mind, depressed by the view of these melancholy mansions. The roads are, in general, better than might be expected ; here and there stony, and rather steep,

steep, but by no means dangerous. In this mountainous country we have even met with good roads several miles in length, formed by the hand of nature, and which remain undamaged by the tracks of large waggons. There are places where the road appears to encroach upon the Susquehannah itself; being formed of trees thrown down with their branches on, and the interstices filled up with fragments of stone from the rocks, against which the road is made. The views here are far less picturesque, and all the roads much less bold, and less pleasingly awful, than those which we find in some parts of Switzerland, the sublime grandeur of which is above all comparison.

Inns are by no means numerous on the road we have lately travelled. Formerly there were inns at this place; but as a certain sum is annually paid to the state for a licence, and as the profits are not equal to their expence, few persons undertake so unprofitable an employment. We passed one about twelve miles from Mac Alister's habitation, which is the only one on this road, in a tract of country twenty-two miles in extent. All the intermediate inns have been shut up in the course of this year.

At length we arrived at an old German's, who, after having served in Canada in the war of 1758, as a private soldier, in an English regiment, settled, at the conclusion of peace, on the spot where he still resides; the government of Pennsylvania having granted him the land, which forms his estate. Here he lived unmolested until the beginning of the war of the revolution; when the Indians, at that time stimulated and paid by England, drove him from his plantation. When peace was established, he returned hither, and now enjoys the produce of fifty acres of cultivated land, forty of which are his own property. Land in these parts is very good; its price is seven or eight dollars per acre uncleared, and the value of such as is partly cleared, is proportionate to the quality of the land, and the quantity of wood remaining. The highest price is from eighteen to twenty dollars per acre. Good stabling and good oats were sufficient to reconcile us to the dirty hole, into which we were ushered, and where we sat down to a very bad dinner. Four or five

girls, who are either daughters or servants of the old soldier, perform the business of the inn, which consists of one room, where these people sleep altogether. The uncleanness, stupidity, and rudeness of the whole family, can hardly be conceived. The old soldier, in common with the generality of old warriors, displays in his behaviour a frankness and good nature, which are ever sure to please. The poor fellow can neither write nor read; he presents to every traveller a slate and pencil to write down his bills, as he dictates to them; for there is not a single person in the house able to distinguish one letter from another. He complained of being frequently cheated by travellers, in their summing up the articles, for which they were to pay.

We met two travellers at this inn, who, as well as ourselves, intended to go to Sunbury, but they wished to proceed on the journey that very evening. One was a hatter, whom we had seen the night before at Mac Alister's; and the other an elderly man, whom the landlord styled COLONEL, and who arrived, and left the inn, leading a mare, followed by a foal. The conversation, during our stay at the inn, turned on the political state of Europe. The prevailing sentiment was hatred against England, and fervent wishes for the welfare of France: even the old soldier, who now and then put in an observation, expressed the same feelings. "This campaign will show," said the hatter, "what the French are able to do." "I am persuaded," observed the colonel, "that if the French are in arms, they will prove victorious, and conquer the whole globe; and it has been foretold long ago, that this conquest must precede the arrival of Antichrist, and announce the end of the world." "The end of the world? Is it then so near at hand, pray?" asked the old soldier. "Most assuredly; before fifteen years are elapsed." "That's my opinion too," rejoined the hatter. Having drunk their gill of whiskey, these politicians separated.

From DEBLERFF's, which is the name of the old soldier, we proceeded twelve miles farther to WHITE's, where we intended to pass the night. The road leads over woody mountains, but is, all the way, better than

we expected to find it, from the description that was given us. This road runs for a considerable extent, in a parallel direction with the Susquehannah, which is here confined between two ranges of mountains, rarely interrupted by vallies, and by none of any considerable extent. This side of the county of Northumberland (for we left the county of Dauphin fifteen miles from Mac Alister's habitation) displays rather more cultivation than the adjacent side of the county of Cumberland, where only once in every four or five miles a small dwelling is seen, surrounded with narrow tracts of cultivated land. The river forms a great number of isles, which, according to law, belong to that county, from which they are separated by the narrowest arm of the stream. These islands have, in general, a good soil, for which reason, the progress of cultivation is more rapid on them than any where else.

White is a farmer, who came hither from Ireland about thirty years ago, and possesses at this time an estate of one thousand one hundred acres, only one hundred and ten of which have hitherto been cleared. He has resided here about seventeen years, and has found means to raise money enough to purchase an isle, at twenty-six dollars per acre, situate opposite to his house, which stands between the mountains and the river. This situation affords a wild prospect, but without one pleasing feature. White annually clears several acres, the expence of which, fencing included, amounts to eight dollars per acre. The price of land, in its natural state, is, in this neighbourhood, six dollars per acre: but in such tracts, as are cleared of wood, particularly in the islets, it is frequently sold at forty dollars per acre. This plantation of White's has no communication with any market town. The river is the only channel by which he can receive goods, or forward his commodities, and this is a very uncertain channel of conveyance, at least some part of the year, on account of its dangerous navigation. Mr. White would easily procure labourers, as all his neighbours are poor Irishmen, did not the construction of the canal, and the opening of the road near Lancaster, afford them so much employment, and at present render them scarce. Mr. White



White has already been twice a member of the legislature of the state of Pennsylvania. He seems a worthy, sensible man, and a friend of order; but at the same time very open to the arts of designing men. He continues his inn, as he says, "to oblige travellers," yet his bills shew, that he serves them for money, and that too at a higher rate than is usual; and as he has put up no sign, the reception of travellers assumes the garb of hospitality, which naturally precludes all enquiry into the unreasonableness of his charges.

We did not sup with his family; for what reason, I know not. His daughter brought us our coffee as usual. This is always taken at supper, which consists of smoked beef, salt-meat, or fish. At these inns you seldom meet with any thing but meat, salt-fish, eggs, and butter; and this fare is certainly sufficient to satisfy a hungry stomach. We were asked every where, whether we travelled with a view to buy lands. There is hardly a person in America, who has the least idea of gentlemen travelling with any other design; and when we told them, that we travelled for no other purpose than to gratify our curiosity, they thought we were fools, or, at best, liars. All, even our Dunkers in Ephrata, put that question; and, notwithstanding their own sanctity, these holy folks would hardly believe us, when we informed them of the object of our tour.

*Friday, the 15th of May.*

The road from White's to Sunbury continues much the same, as from Mac Alister's to White's. We met, however, at times, with more cultivated vallies, especially along the creek Tulpehocken, and with houses better constructed and standing on picturesque situations, which, with the appearance of some retired rocks, form landscapes not unworthy of comparison with Switzerland. Several other tracts are now cleared of wood; but from the want of labourers, and undoubtedly of money also, the trees are more frequently barked and burnt than felled, which renders the prospect dull and gloomy. The mountains, in this part of the country, are high and rocky, yet bear no comparison with  
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the Alps or Pyrenees. Impudent and artful men are certain in America, as indeed they are in all other parts of the globe, to live upon the stupidity and ignorance of others. Of this we found a remarkable instance in the history of a German, who arrived from Franckfort, thirteen years ago, without a shilling in his pocket, and who since that time has travelled the country between Lancaster, Reading, and Northumberland, particularly the least inhabited parts of these counties, with a collection of small phials, deceiving the people into a belief, that he is a physician; he vends medicines, bleeds, draws teeth, or sells ballads to such as do not choose to buy his drugs. The profits of this artful trade have already enabled him to purchase a horse, which carries him, his commodities, and his dog; he stays with the farmers as long as they are willing to keep him; and several of them are glad to entertain him, on account of his knowledge and abilities. He makes himself happy every where, is merry, sings a good song, and appears, upon the whole, to be a sly, crafty fellow, who began his career as a player. I am aware, that the various anecdotes, with which I present my readers, are not all equally interesting; yet they are all requisite to give a just notion of my tour, and to complete the delineation of the customs and manners of the country.

The mountains, over which the road from Harrisburg to Sunbury leads, are all of granite, more or less perfect, which in some places is very fine and beautiful. All the species of maple, cornel-tree, called here dog-tree, sumach, Weymouth pine, several species of ash, and numberless pseudo-acacias, grow in the surrounding woods, and are here of remarkable size and beauty.

At some distance from White's habitation we mistook our way, and struck into the old road, instead of keeping the new one, which is shorter by seven miles, and lies along the banks of the Susquehannah. In consequence we crossed the mountain Mahonoy, to reach the plain, in which Sunbury stands. This town, which is not so large as Harrisburg, and in its buildings less elegant and compact; is seated on the left bank of the Susquehannah, about half a mile below the spot, where  
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its two arms join. The prospect of the town, on descending the mountain, is neither grand nor pleasing; in point of size the houses, viewed from the heights, resemble a camp, rather than a town. The small surrounding plain is but indifferently cultivated, and without trees. The opposite bank of the river is bounded by high mountains, the prospect of which is darkened by numerous pines, growing on the rocks, and consequently not likely to be cut down, to make way for cultivation. The river Susquehannah is beautiful in every point of view, broad, with lofty majestic mountains, rising in gradual elevation from its banks; yet it is here less pleasing, except where the great variety of isles, which it forms, and which are planted with trees, soften and enliven the prevailing gloom by the light that gleams through their branches. The Susquehannah, near Sunbury, is more than a mile in breadth.

By the most correct information, which we were able to obtain, the inhabitants of all the counties, we have hitherto traversed, are honest, industrious people, attached to the federal government, and to the laws of the state. Criminal offences are rare, some thefts excepted, which are generally committed by people, lately arrived from Europe, brought up in ignorance and penury, and whose morals generally improve as they acquire a small property of their own. The different counties, through which we have passed, have for these many years formed integral parts of the state of Pennsylvania. The limits of the lands are, therefore, more exactly ascertained here, than in other counties; and consequently law-suits, arising from the confusion of land-marks, are less frequent. These give occasion to about a twelfth part of the causes which are tried here: outstanding debts are the chief subjects of legal prosecutions. The manners of the people display great simplicity, frequently bordering on rudeness. I have heard it asserted, that this apparent simplicity is merely a cloak for deceit and artifice, but I have made no discoveries of that kind by my own experience. Among the Americans of every rank and description, there prevails less of apparent civility and politeness than in France, or even in England, where I have  
found

found both, though in a different guise: yet we have experienced much good-natured, free, and engaging kindness, even from persons to whom we had no letters of introduction, and an universal readiness to resolve our questions, whenever they, to whom they were addressed, were able to gratify our request. Ignorance, and consequently prejudices, are frequently met with, even among the higher orders of society: there are indeed some exceptions, but these are few. Opinions on things and persons are delivered in a manner positive rather than argumentative, and consequently all means of free discussion are generally excluded. Political opinions tend in general towards liberty, and are commonly offered with a frankness, a boldness, and independence, which are truly pleasing. The general bent of the public opinion is in favour of France, and against her present enemies. It is by no means an uncommon thing, to hear farmers, unconnected with the higher circles, call Robespierre, and all those who shared with him the supreme power, the banditti of France. The exasperation against England is great, spreads through all ranks of society, and has been much increased by the unjust proceedings against America, with which she was charged last year. In my opinion, Mr. JAY's negotiation will hardly be able to smother the glowing spark. The public opinion is chiefly guided by the universal desire of amassing property, which, if merely displayed in industrious pursuits, and exertions to cultivate and improve the land, deserves much praise. In towns, indeed, it is less nice, both in the manner in which it shews itself, and the means it employs to attain its end. Many of my European countrymen are apt to censure this national bent, which precludes all the finer and nobler emotions of the soul. To this censure I cannot give my unqualified assent; and though I readily allow, that an immoderate love of money hardens the heart, and renders it callous to humanity, to civility, nay to justice itself, yet it does not follow, that it should be utterly incapable of a good and noble action. We have instances of this in Europe, where love of money is as universally prevalent as in this country, though it conceals itself more than here: either because it is more criminally refined, or meets with less convenient opportunities of

being practised. Similar instances occur in America. Again, if we consider this propensity in a political point of view, we shall find, that it is the natural result of its present infant state; of the variegated composition of its inhabitants, who are emigrants from every corner of the globe, full of the prejudices and partialities of the country whence they came; of the immense variety of easy speculations, which croud around the monied men; and lastly, of the distinction enjoyed here by wealth, which exceeds that derived from it in other countries: for, a few eminent stations excepted, which are occupied but a short time, and meritorious services rendered, which are soon forgotten by the people, there exists in this country no personal distinction. In fine, this way of thinking in private individuals is the most certain means of rendering the country itself more prosperous and important. And is not this the highest advantage derived from the universal interest, which unites and supports society, that, with the exception of a few cases, no member can enrich himself, without promoting at the same time the prosperity of others? Though this observation more generally applies to agriculture, yet there exists hardly one description of prosperity, nay of individual luxury, where it does not hold good. The people of America live well; the soil produces all the necessaries of life, even in a very superficial state of cultivation: there are few persons, who do not possess more than they need for their own maintenance. Hence arises the indolence of a great number of the inhabitants, who, having by four days labour earned a whole week's subsistence, idle away the remaining three days; hence their laziness, relative to agricultural improvements, which would require sums of money, and other sacrifices, of the necessity of which they are not convinced, being insensible of the advantages to be derived from them. Improvements, similar to those which have already been made in regard to the political organization of society, to commercial relations, navigation, and roads, will certainly be effected in agriculture in the process of time. But, before they can take place, the land-owners must be more forcibly impressed with the necessity of rousing from their indolence, and abandoning their prejudices; and the population

pulation must be increased beyond its present amount ; which will certainly be done. Though all this must happen in the usual course of nature, yet men of abilities, and learned societies, should endeavour to diffuse useful lights by good books, by collections of instructive extracts from European works of acknowledged merit, and by all other means of instruction. For, undoubtedly, they may thus accelerate the period, when the necessity of the above improvements will be more sensibly felt. In a country like this, literary societies may prove eminently useful, if they do not assume too learned an appearance, but are animated and guided by the true public spirit, which speaks a simple and perspicuous language, and readily repeats its instructions, untinged with the vain selfishness, which generally dictates the professions of private individuals.

The increase of the price of land is uncommonly great, it having been more than doubled within the last three or four years. Though the price of labour, from the high value of ground, which, within these last twelve months, has experienced an extraordinary rise, is higher than usual ; yet it seems still the most profitable speculation for monied men in this country, to lay out their money in land, which they may have cleared and cultivated under their own eyes. Notwithstanding this uncommon rise of the price of land, instances of its being disposed of at the same price, which prevailed some years since, are not unfrequent. The circumstances, under which this happens, are, it is true, rather of a peculiar complexion, yet pretty common. If, for instance, a person, four years ago, bought eight hundred acres of land, and bound himself to pay a fourth of the purchase-money at the expiration of four years, but was either too indolent to raise within the time a handsome fortune by his labours, or spent the proceeds of his estate, which he should have laid by to pay his debt ; he must raise money as well as he can, and must sell his land at any price, without being able to insist on that which the adjacent lands fetch at this time.

The numerous banks, which have lately been established, seem to have contributed not a little to the uncommon rise of the price of land ; for in proportion as they increase the quantity of money, they also multiply

tiplv and facilitate the means of subsistence. It is by quickening the activity of internal commerce, and increasing the means of converting property into money, that *banks* raise the value of lands in sale.

A relaxation is observable among all orders of society. Drunkenness is the prevailing vice, and, with few exceptions, the source of all other evils. A spirit, or rather habit of equality, is diffused among this people, as far as it possibly can go. In several inns, especially such as are situate on less frequented roads, the circumstance of our servant not dining with us at the same table excited general astonishment, without its bespeaking any bad intention on the part of those who manifested it. The inhabitants exhibit to strangers striking instances both of the utmost cleanliness and excessive nastiness. They are much surprised at a refusal, to sleep with one or two other men in the same bed, or between dirty sheets, or to drink after ten other persons out of the same dirty glass; and they wonder no less, when they see strangers neglect to wash their hands and face every morning. Whisky mixed with water is the common drink in the country. There is no settler, however poor, whose family do not drink coffee and chocolate, and eat salt meat at breakfast. At dinner comes salt meat again, or salt fish and eggs; and at supper, once more salt meat and coffee. This is also the general rule in inns. An American sits down at the table of his landlord, and lies down in the bed, which he finds empty, or occupied but by one person, without in the least enquiring, in the latter of these cases, who that person may be. We have hitherto fortunately escaped a personal trial of this last American custom, but were very near experiencing it at White's.

The roads are good, where the soil is so, the road by Lancaster excepted; art has hitherto but little meddled with the roads in Pennsylvania. Such spots, as are bad and muddy, are filled up with trees, placed near each other; when these sink into the ground, others are laid upon them. Over small brooks, bridges are thrown, which consist of boards, placed on two beams, laid along the banks of the brook. These boards frequently rot, and remain in this condition for months together, without its entering into any one's head, to replace them with others. We have

have passed several such bridges, with great danger to our horses, from the bad condition of the boards. All this will be better in time; yet I mean to describe things just as they are now. Creeks are generally forded. Across some, which are very deep, wooden bridges are thrown; which, however, are not such as they should be: the boards, or small trees, with which they are covered, are neither so good, nor so close to each other, as might be wished.

This is a brief sketch of the physical and moral state of the country, which we have hitherto traversed, drawn after those observations, which the shortness of the time allowed us to make. I shall occasionally correct, what on more exact information I find to be erroneous, and supply what may be deficient.

*Sunday, the 17th of May.*

On the opposite side of the river, a mile above Sunbury, at the extreme point of the Isthmus, formed by the two arms of the Susquehanna, stands Northumberland. Sunbury is the chief town of the county. But the small number of public buildings, which are necessary for the administration of justice, constitute its only advantages over Northumberland; that, on the other hand, enjoys all the benefits of a fine situation, which, in fact, is as delightful as may be conceived. The two arms of the river forming a right angle at the point of their confluence; the country expands behind it in a semi-circular form, rising in gentle swells of a fruitful soil, and connected with vallies and opening plains of still richer ground. The banks of both arms of the river are susceptible of cultivation to a wide extent, on the side where Northumberland stands. Both arms are navigable, without interruption, to a distance of three hundred miles, and water a soil, which courts cultivation. The number of houses is at this time, perhaps, a sixth greater at Sunbury than at Northumberland, where it amounts to about one hundred. The first houses were built in 1775; yet the inhabitants were driven from them in the war of the revolution, and their habitations destroyed. The town was ~~not~~ rebuilt till the year 1785. It is undoubtedly



undoubtedly the worst built town we have hitherto seen. All the houses are of wood, chiefly log-houses; two only are built with stone. There is no market-place here; the town contains no inns, but three or four whisky-houses. We put up in that which is the best of them; and yet it rains on our beds, as well as on our horses in the stable. Methinks there is hardly any place situate more favourably for its becoming a large city, than Northumberland. The slow progress, hitherto made by the town, I have heard imputed to the untoward character and little sense of the gentleman, who possessed three-fourths of the ground on which the town stands. He is lately dead; but had he lived longer, his existence would have proved no impediment, that might not easily have been removed by the concurrence of favourable circumstances.

The price of land about Northumberland is, at present, from twenty to twenty-four dollars per acre, near the river; that situate on the northern arm is still dearer, on account of the better quality of the soil, and because a greater part of the ground is already cleared there, than on the eastern arm. Farther up the river, land is sold from four to six dollars an acre. The quality of the soil, the vicinity of a creek, and longer or shorter instalments, produce here the same variety in the price of land as in other parts. The value, which I point out, is the medium price. Ground-shares in the town are, at this time, sold at forty-eight or fifty dollars.

The inhabitants of Northumberland, as well as of the county at large, consist, for the most part, of Dutchmen. There are some Germans, and a few natives; but most of the inhabitants are foreigners. The Irish are, with a few exceptions, the worst of them all. Being less industrious than the rest, they are consequently poorer; and the property of an Irishman is constantly at the service of such as wish to have it. The Germans are more tenacious of theirs; and, for this reason, in Sunbury, and the adjacent country, where they reside in considerable numbers, estates are dearer than in Northumberland, though the soil is of an inferior quality.

The state of agriculture in Northumberland, and the adjacent country,

try, is much the same as in all other parts of America; but the proportion of cleared land is smaller than in other counties we have traversed. Labourers are easily found; they are paid six shillings a day without victuals, or three shillings and nine-pence with their entertainment. In the country, where they hire themselves by the month, they have eight dollars, for which they are obliged to work twenty-six days. Bricklayers' and carpenters' wages are, in town, one dollar per day. The price of tiles is four dollars per thousand; and very good bricks cost, in Northumberland, two shillings and six-pence, delivered free of expence.

The price of lime is from nine to ten-pence per bushel, of deal-boards five shillings per hundred feet, and of other boards six shillings and six-pence.

As there is no market, either in Northumberland or Sunbury, the inhabitants live, for the greater part of the year, upon salted meat, unless they keep fowls. The farmers kill, at times, a cow; but since an epidemic disease has carried off almost all the horses, they have been obliged to replace these by oxen for the purposes of agriculture, and consequently use less beef than before. Cow-beef is at this time sold from five-pence to five-pence halfpenny per pound. The highest house-rent in Northumberland is eighty dollars; and there is but one house in the whole town for which so much is paid. It is of brick, large and convenient, and was but lately sold for five thousand two hundred dollars. Every thing is somewhat dearer at Sunbury, but the difference is not a full sixth.

The land about Northumberland yields generally fifteen bushels of wheat per acre, when it has attained what the farmers call a full state of cultivation. The proportion of other crops is the same as in other places. Indian corn is produced in large quantities, which shews the ignorance and indolence of the farmers, for it exhausts the soil; and though it supplies all the household wants of a family, yet not a bushel is ever exported from the place where it grows. A great advantage, which might be derived from it, by mixing its stalks with the dung, is entirely neglected by the farmers. The sheep are rather long-legged and meagre; yet

yet the wool is good, and is sold for two shillings and six-pence per pound. But very little is sold; for in this vale of Pennsylvania, as every where else, the farmers would be very sorry indeed, if they were obliged to keep many sheep.

I observed before, that the clearing of lands in certain well-chosen districts is, in my judgment, the most profitable speculation monied men can enter upon in this country. The information I collected in Northumberland affords an additional proof of the truth of this remark. The expence for clearing and fencing an acre, amounts, upon an average, to thirteen dollars; and this is pretty high. The first crops yield generally twenty bushels of wheat, if the ground be well cleared, the trees, which stood in the middle, cut down, and the largest well barked. Wheat is sold at this time for ten shillings per bushel. The agreement entered upon with a farmer, relative to a piece of ground which has been cleared of wood, generally purports, that he is to have half the produce, but must also find the seed. The land-owner nets therefore the first harvest five pounds, the value of ten bushels of wheat at ten shillings, and consequently more than the expence for clearing and fencing. If we suppose the medium price of wheat to be only five shillings and nine-pence per bushel, the land-owner obtains, even in this case, the first year, twenty-five per cent on the capital laid out; and yet there are many cases where the former estimate falls short of the real proceeds, as there are others where the latter is beyond them.

The prices rise as fast in the vicinity of Northumberland, as in other parts; but this country, which is uncommonly extensive, is but thinly inhabited, even in such districts as are situate nearest to Philadelphia; the present number of inhabitants does not exceed seventeen thousand. The population encreases, however, yearly, through emigration from the Jerseys, from New-England, and a part of Pennsylvania. One hundred and thirty families, emigrants from the Jerseys, have very lately settled on the branches of the Susquchannah. But the landmarks of the purchased ground are not always sufficiently known, nor the right of the sellers perfectly clear; for which reason actions, concerning

cerning disputed limits, constitute nearly three-fourths of the causes, which are tried in the courts of law at Sunbury.

The political sentiments of the inhabitants of Northumberland are less virtuous and steady, than of the inhabitants of the less remote counties. Several of them took, last year, an active part in the revolt at Pittsburg, and still remain in confinement, on account of that affair. A definitive judgment being now daily expected in this business, every traveller, especially if he be supposed to come from Philadelphia, is asked by the interested inhabitants, as soon as he arrives, whether he brings any news respecting that judgment. We were asked, like all other travellers; and the questions, put to us on this subject, were conceived in terms, which by no means bespoke good and loyal sentiments.

Near to Northumberland, on the northern arm of the Susquehannah, and close to the point of confluence of the two arms of that river, lies an isle, which contains about two hundred and fifty acres of the richest soil, from fifty of which the largest trees have been cut down. The land is fit for all the purposes of agriculture; and might be cultivated with equal profit and satisfaction by an industrious owner. It is the most pleasant little estate, which can possibly be bought by any person desirous of settling in Northumberland. At present it is the property of a man, much advanced in years, who lives on it, in a small log-house. He bought it about seven years ago for one thousand six hundred dollars, and very lately refused three thousand three hundred, which were offered for this island.

Northumberland is the residence of Dr. PRIESTLEY. They, who know with what relentless fury the \* \* \* \* \* exerted all its influence to procure him to be harrassed by the mob, his house in Birmingham to be burnt down to the ground, and himself to be insulted and made uneasy wherever he went, will, undoubtedly, feel for the fate of this gentleman, who has deservedly obtained so much fame in the literary world, and whose persecution; were he even guilty of the grossest political misconduct, which is by no means the case, cannot but deeply interest in his favour every feeling mind. This unwarrantable extension

of influence must excite universal indignation, and it needs no gift of divination to foresee, that the English mob, thus set upon their supposed enemies by the \* \* \* \* \*, may possibly turn, sooner or later, against the instigators. However this may be, the persecution experienced by Dr. Priestley would hardly have driven him so soon to quit England, had he not expected to enjoy in America that high celebrity and distinction, which were promised him by some flattering friends. His celebrity was, however, of no long duration; the Americans are too little sensible of the value of that knowledge, by which he has acquired so distinguished a rank among the literati of the age. They concern themselves but very little about dogmatical discussions of the Bible, and the tenets of the Unitarians; and would readily give up all the experiments on air for one good and profitable speculation! The persecuted from various countries have, in these late years, sought an asylum among the Americans; such arrivals are, therefore, no uncommon sight to this people; and they have not much time to lose in vain civilities. Under these circumstances, the respect shewn to Dr. Priestley, who is a profound philosopher, an admired writer, a celebrated chemist, and a victim of the English ministry, did not last long. A few dinners, given to him at New York, where he landed, and at Philadelphia, to which place he afterwards proceeded, formed the whole train of honours which graced his reception. His son, who arrived in America some time before him, had bought lands, where all the Unitarians, and all the persecuted of Old England, were to join and rally under the Doctor's banner. This settlement was to enjoy a distinguished protection on the part of the American Government; and to secure to the Doctor a name, as chief of the sect, and founder of the colony. But these hopes have already vanished. No Englishmen have arrived to purchase his lands; and the Government of the United States, even that of Pennsylvania, did not consider the project of the Doctor's settlement as more important than that of any other individual. The constant praise of his uncommon merits as a natural philosopher induced his friends at Philadelphia, to solicit for him the professorship of chemistry in the college, which they obtained;

obtained ; but this place was far beneath the expectation of the Doctor, as well as of his family ; and it became necessary, even for the preservation of his celebrity in Europe, to withdraw from a scene, where his attempt of attracting universal attention had completely failed.

He therefore removed to Northumberland. The lands, purchased by his son, were situate in that county, though he had actually resolved to relinquish the idea of founding a colony, which would have had no colonists but his own family ; yet his removal to Northumberland, at least had not the appearance of an intention to abandon, in so abrupt a manner, a project which had already been announced to the world.

As Mr. Guillemard was slightly acquainted with Young PRIESTLEY, and more particularly with Mr. COOPER, who has also settled in Northumberland, we were induced to prefer halting at that town, rather than at Sunbury, though both lay on our road ; that I might gratify the wish, which I entertained, to be introduced to a man so justly celebrated. The project of forming the intended settlement in the country is entirely relinquished ; Mr. Morris has generously taken back the greater part of the lands, which young Priestley bought of him last year, with all the formalities prescribed by law. He has also found means to dispose of the rest, and has bought some land near the town, which he is now clearing and preparing for cultivation. The Doctor has built a house, to which he intends removing about the end of the summer. His modes of life and dress are nearly the same as in England, the wig excepted, which he has laid aside. He frequently laughs at the world, but in a manner which clearly appears not to be from his heart. He spoke with great moderation of the political affairs of Europe, and in very mild expressions of England. He is now busied in the institution of a college, for which six thousand dollars have already been subscribed, and seven thousand acres have been assigned him, as a free gift. In this establishment, of which he has drawn up a prospectus, there is a president's place, doubtless intended for himself. JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, the eldest son, seems at present to be more engaged in industrious pursuits, than in political discussions. He has married a young English

lady, apparently of a mild and amiable disposition, but who speaks very little in company. She, as well as her mother-in-law, seem less to accommodate themselves to American manners than their husbands. Mr. Cooper has purchased some hundred acres of land, which he is at present clearing of wood, and preparing for cultivation. He is undoubtedly a man of parts, of a restless mind, ill adapted to find happiness in a retired rural life. In the account he wrote of America, it was certainly his design, to persuade colonists to join Dr. Priestley. In his manners, he affects at present a strong predilection for American customs; and says, that he prefers his present mode of living to any other. He is suspected here of aiming at a seat in Congress. In point of abilities at least, he would hold no mean rank among its members. Some Englishmen, who lately arrived in America, intended to settle in the vicinity of Northumberland. It appears, however, that they have abandoned that intention, disgusted with the sort of precedence claimed by Dr. Priestley and his family, and with the austerity of their manners; though unquestionably the Doctor's acquaintance and library would prove a very great accommodation to new settlers; and his misfortunes and persecutions cannot fail to interest every one in his favour. As a companion of Mr. Guillemard I was received by these families, with as much politeness as their cold and gloomy tempers ever display.

In one of our water excursions with young Priestley, in the vicinity of Northumberland, we landed near a wooden house, built against the side of a high mountain, which is covered with wood and fragments of rocks, and separated from the river by a tract of land, about four and twenty yards wide. An English lady inhabits this small house, which would prove a highly interesting spot, if she were young and handsome, and awake to the pleasures or the sorrows of love. But, alas! such she is not. She has three daughters, the youngest of whom, the only one that resides with her, is twenty years old. This lady left England in consequence of her husband's becoming a bankrupt; to avoid the disgrace, attending an event of that nature, which, however innocent the bankrupt may be, must wound his own feelings, as well as those of his family;

family ; and to prepare an asylum for her husband, after he shall have settled his accounts with his creditors. Her name is DASH : her husband was a banker of Bath, Colonel of the militia of his county, and enjoys the reputation of an honest man. It is absolutely impossible, to display more spirit and perseverance, than this lady has done, ever since she settled on this estate, not an inch of which was cultivated at the time she purchased it. It contains about one hundred acres ; on which, six months ago, not a hut was to be seen, and where not a tree was felled. All these obstacles she has surmounted. She is now building a stone house, and will, therefore, be able, within a twelvemonth, to receive her husband in a retired and humble, yet decent habitation. The situation and misfortunes of this poor lady have in some degree injured her brain. But, this circumstance, while it increases her loquacity, does not prevent her from pursuing that direct line of conduct, which she has marked out for herself. Two of her daughters have been well married, since their arrival in America. With a sort of enthusiasm, I listened to the other, who is at home, whilst she played on the pianoforte. She performs very well, is young, pretty, unfortunate, modest, possesses no property on earth, and, in a wooden hut, plays upon one of the finest instruments, that ever came from Longman's shop. The strange contrast of all these circumstances might easily obtain a young lover for Miss Sarah Dash ; and this I most sincerely wished her, at my departure ; but, young lovers are not so easily to be won, in this country.

I had here another proof how profitable a speculation it is in this country to purchase wood-land, clear the ground, and render it fit for cultivation. Mrs. Dash bought one hundred acres for two hundred and sixty-five dollars, twenty of which she has cleared, and sown with wheat ; including the spot on which her house stands, and a small garden. The expence for clearing the land, and building her wooden house and a stable, amounted in the whole to one thousand and sixty-five dollars. Her twenty acres yielded each twenty bushels of wheat, the price of which, this year, is ten shillings per bushel. She employs no farmer, because she is herself on the spot ; and consequently the produce of the first year's



year's harvest from twenty acres amount to two hundred pounds, or five hundred and thirty-three dollars, the moiety of the amount total of her expence, the purchase money excluded.\*

We passed the Saturday and Sunday in Northumberland, and proceeded on Monday to Wilksbarre.

*Monday, the 18th of May.*

The road from Northumberland to Berwick, which we had been told was dreadful, we found in a much better condition, than any we have hitherto passed. The road is dreary, without the least variety of prospect, runs constantly, or at least generally, through woods, though it lies parallel to the river, upon which, however, a view only opens now and then, and the bed of which, to the southward, is continually hedged in between mountains covered with fir.†

We halted at Mr. MONTGOMERY's, twelve miles from Northumberland. The creek, on which his saw-mill is situate, is the only one we have hitherto seen. The land, which mostly slopes towards the river, seems good. Few or no rocks are to be seen. Mr. Montgomery is a surveyor; he does not keep an inn, but supplies both men and horses with food and provender for money. From him we learned, that the price of the best land in his neighbourhood, on the banks of the river, is from twenty-three to twenty-eight dollars an acre; but that when whole estates, for instance, four hundred acres of good soil, are sold, the tenth part of which is cleared, the price of land amounts to eight dollars per acre; that land, which lies yet in wood, fetches from two to five dollars per acre; that the price of labour is three shillings per day; that it is no easy matter to procure labourers, because the number of inhabitants in the neighbourhood is inconsiderable; that the colonists consist chiefly of Dutchmen, or their children; and, lastly, that this district has suffered much from an epidemical disease, which, two years ago, de-

\* The original says, the purchase-money *included*, but this is either an error of the press, or an oversight of the author.—*Translator*.

† With the exception of two or three large basins, formed by the river.

stroyed nearly all the horses. To judge from the symptoms, pointed out by Mr. Montgomery, I never heard of any similar distemper in France. By his description, it is a weakness, which destroys a horse in the course of two months. The liver is blown up by a swelling, which extends into the legs, and the whole mass of blood is entirely discoloured. This distemper is called here the *yellow water*.

The road to Berwick leads, for its whole length, constantly through woods, and consequently affords no prospect. There are few habitations here, and these have a mean appearance. At some distance from the houses, we saw a few straggling cows and sheep.

We halted in the district of Fishing Creek, at one ABRAHAM MILLER's, who is a farmer, and keeps an inn and a shop. His estate consists of three hundred acres, seventy of which are cleared. He clears annually about twelve or fifteen acres more, but not without considerable trouble, as labourers are very scarce in this district; they are paid three shillings and sixpence per day, and have besides their board, which is estimated at about one shilling and six pence. Here, as well as in all the other places through which we have hitherto passed, three dollars per acre are generally paid for hocking up the roots of bushes, on such ground as is destined for cultivation; or if day-labourers be employed in this work, they are paid five shillings a day, besides their victuals. This was the first place, where we used maple sugar, which we found excellent. Abraham Miller sells yearly about five or six barrels of this sugar. He buys it at thirteen pence per pound, and sells it at fifteen; the brown moist sugar of the colonies he sells at fourteen pence. He procures all the goods, sold in his shop, from Philadelphia; they are brought in waggons as far as Catawessy, where they are shipped on the Susquehannah, and thence conveyed to Fishing Creek. The aggregate amount of freight and carriage was, formerly, one dollar per tun, but since last spring it has risen to one dollar and a half.

The price of land in the neighbourhood is from eight to ten dollars per acre, if in any degree cleared of wood, and from two to three dollars, if still covered with trees. Habitations are scarce and straggling,  
but

but increase in number nearer to Berwick. This is the chief town of the district: it stands on the banks of the river. The situation is sufficiently agreeable, and more open than that of other places, through which we have lately passed. This small village consists of twenty miserable houses, in which we could not find an egg for our supper, but we procured some milk. The beds were clean, the stabling good, oats and hay excellent; and travellers on horseback are usually contented themselves with scanty fare, if their horses be well provided for. The innkeeper and his wife are a young couple, who have but very lately settled here. Their house is of wood, and only half finished; they possess, at present, eighty acres, ten of which are cleared and cultivated. The price of land at Berwick is twelve dollars, if the ground be already somewhat cleared, and from one dollar and a half to two, if the wood be not yet cut down.

The inhabitants of Berwick, as well as of the huts, we saw on this day's journey, are a medley of Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Flemings, and Scots. Most of the colonists, who have lately arrived, come from the Jerseys. They seem all poor, and are badly clothed, yet their strong and healthy appearance shews, that they are well fed, and soothes the mind, which sympathizes in their poverty. The number of children is, in proportion to the habitations, very great indeed. Near Ovens we saw a school for young girls, which, from the smallness of the hut, and the number of children who ran out to see us pass, had the appearance of an ant-hill. Two miles below Berwick are those rapid currents, known by the name of Nescopeck, which greatly impede the navigation of the river, especially at low water.

*Tuesday, the 19th of May.*

This day proved rather unfortunate to us. We left Berwick at six o'clock in the morning, and were unfortunately addressed to one 'SQUIRE BEACH, who lives seven miles from it, and who was to point out to us the the best road to Wilksbarre. Our ill-luck would have it, that this 'Squire Beach is a maker of roads, and had but very lately constructed

structed a new one, which is some miles shorter than the old road. He advised us to take the former, which he assured us was the best. Relying on his assurance, we followed his advice, but were on the very outset at considerable pains, to find the place where we were to be ferried across the river, to reach the new road. The ferry-boat, which was rowed by a man turned of seventy, was too small to contain our four horses; we therefore caused our baggage to be carried over first; and this arrived safe on the opposite bank. The servant was ordered not to wait for us, but to proceed. On the return of the ferry-boat, Mr. Guillemard and I embarked. His mare, who is always very spirited, and whose mettle was perhaps heightened by the sight of the other horses on shore, began to stir in the small boat, which was rather low at the sides; and in the midst of our passage put one of her hind-legs into the water, which brought her whole hinder part down. The boat heeled to that side, was filled with water, and would have been instantly overset, but for Mr. Guillemard's presence of mind. He pushed the horse into the river, and thus saved us in the most imminent danger of being drowned; a danger to which travellers must be frequently exposed in this country, from the bad construction of the ferry-boats, as well as from the imprudence and unskillfulness of the ferry-men. The mare, Mr. Guillemard holding her fast by the bridle, safely reached the shore; and thus far every thing was well. But this incident was the harbinger of accidents still more unpleasant. We could not discover any road; some trees, which had been felled, shewed an intention, it is true, to make one; but we saw even few of these. No beaten road was to be found; ten times already we had missed our way. We had to travel eighteen miles over felled trees, deep morasses, rocks, and loose stones. The girth of the baggage-horse broke two or three times; Mr. Guillemard's mare, who was badly saddled, twice lost her saddle on a steep road, and threw her rider. She ran away and scattered part of her load; a brace of pistols was lost; our horses were exhausted with fatigue; we were tired, faint with hunger, and unable to discover any human habitation on the road. A few houses standing at some distance

from it, which we visited, could not supply our wants; and, to increase our misfortunes, it rained all day long. At length we found some oats at an honest German's, whose wife procured us also milk and eggs. Thus refreshed, we pursued our journey, not without several new accidents befalling our baggage; and at last reached Wilksbarre. My friend's horse was lame, the saddle was broken to pieces by the accident in the ferry-boat, and our cloaths were torn; but at Dr. Cowell's we found a good fire, a good stable, good eggs, salt meat (fresh meat is entirely out of the question) and thus, as we smoked our segars, indulged the pleasant thought of having escaped all these misfortunes.

Wilksbarre stands on a wide and fertile plain. The prospect, on descending the mountains by the creek of Nantikoke, is one of the richest, most extensive, and most delightful, we have yet seen. The land is in a high state of cultivation. We were not able to obtain any new information, that deserves to be mentioned.

Wilksbarre is the chief town of the county of Luzerne. It is a small place, containing about a hundred wooden houses, of a much better appearance than those in Northumberland. The town is seated on the Susquehannah, and must in time become considerable, if the country, which lies higher up, shall be more generally cultivated. It is even now of some importance, and has about two hundred and fifty inhabitants. The population of the whole county is estimated at five thousand souls.

*Wednesday, the 20th of May.*

Mr. Guillemard's mare being lamed by our misfortunes of yesterday, he resolved to leave her at Wilksbarre, under the care of his servant. We accordingly set out by ourselves. A new road was proposed to us, which shortens the journey twenty miles, but is untrodden. However, having yesterday had enough of new roads, we preferred the old, though it was bad, and twenty miles longer. At the end of our first day's journey, we reached Huntsferry. The road was bad, and we were several times obliged to travel in foot-paths, which were hardly pass-  
able.

able. We frequently met with quarries of mill-stone, and with spots, where a path, only eighteen inches in breadth, was cut through the rock, or where the road was supported by trunks of trees, narrowed by falls of earth, obstructed by fallen trees, and led along the edges of a precipice. We often passed over declivities, rendered more dangerous by the ground being strewed with loose stones, or fragments of rock. Fortunately it so happened, that we never got more than a few yards out of our road; but we were obliged to enquire the way of every one we met, to avoid more considerable deviation. The dwelling-houses in this district are most of them so new, that the inhabitants are often ignorant of the names of places, which are scarce two miles distant; nor are they able to point out the direction and distance, so that their information beyond the next farm-house is not to be depended upon. There is not one inn on the whole road, but some private individuals are in the habit of selling oats to travellers. They live at certain distances, and, being known, travellers constantly put up at their houses. The first day we halted at the house of one HARRIS, twelve miles from Wilksbarre, and afterwards at HARDING's, fifteen miles farther on. Both are farmers; the former, a captain of the militia, is richer, and has been established much longer than the latter. They are both very bad husbandmen; they cultivate nothing but Indian corn and potatoes, in a soil, which is, for the most part, poor, and, with few exceptions, produces nothing but spruce fir and the common birch. All the cultivated fields are inclosed with fences, which consist of poles of wood, once split, and and laid zig-zag upon one another without any stakes; a manner of fencing, general in all parts of America, at the first clearing of the ground. The expence of clearing ground amounts, in this district, to seven or eight dollars an acre.

Five miles beyond Harding's habitation, we crossed the river in a very bad ferry-boat, and arrived at HUNT's, an Irishman, who settled here ten years ago. We found in his house Indian corn for our horses, but neither oats nor hay, and no milk for ourselves, nor even an egg. The house consists of one room on the ground-floor, and of a corn-loft over

it. Beds were not to be had. Hunt took an old paillasse from his own bed, and lent it me for the night; and on this, with my saddle-cloth, I rested comfortably. By Hunt's account, the spot, which he inhabits, is very unwholesome; and so, he says, are the banks of the river in general for some way, higher up, or lower down. His young and handsome wife has laboured under a hectic fever, for these eight months.

*Thursday, the 21st of May.*

In the morning we halted at one Mr. GAYLOR's, eleven miles from our last night's quarters. All the dwelling-houses are of the same sort. We pursued our journey to Asylum by Wyalusing. The latter is a considerable village, seated on a creek, from which it takes its name. The road is the same as yesterday, at times even and good, often recently cut through the wood, or interrupted by new settlements, the fences of which occasion a circuit of near a furlong, at the end of which it is difficult to find the road again.

Nearly all the plantations, which we have hitherto traversed in this district, have been more or less recently formed by families, who derive their titles from Connecticut. The right of property claimed by that state, in regard to these lands, has been declared to be unfounded, first by arbitrators in Trenton, three or four years ago, and since that by the judges of assize, who hold their sittings in Philadelphia. The last sentence has excited general discontent in these parts; and, in truth, should it be confirmed by the supreme court of justice, the natural consequence must be a general dispossessing of all the cultivators, who have settled here by right of purchase, or gift from the state of Connecticut, and who have spent several years labour on a soil, on which they established themselves in the most legal form. Several of these settlers were, during the last war, driven from their possessions by the Indians, who destroyed all the buildings, and burnt the woods, as far as they were able, on their retreat. These are indeed sufficient reasons for discontent; and the state of Pennsylvania, satisfied with being reinstated

in its right to these lands, will undoubtedly leave them in the possession of those families, who, *bona fide*, obtained them either for money, or by their labour. If Pennsylvania had sold the same lands, the supreme court of judicature would doubtless award an indemnification in money. But in the United States, whose constitution is, and must be founded on the rights of man, and modelled by justice, peaceful and industrious inhabitants will never be driven from their possessions, or expelled from their homes. The soldiers, ordered to carry such a sentence into execution, would be too deeply affected; their own feelings would contradict the oath of allegiance they have taken, and humanity would forbid them, to co-operate in the execution of the law. The state of Pennsylvania is too wise, and too just, not to embrace, in these circumstances, a resolution, which is dictated by the very principles it professes.

The inhabitants, who derive their titles from Connecticut, form, we were told, two distinct classes, whose rights are of a widely different complexion. One class settled here long before any public discussion of the claims of the two states took place; and most of these had to rebuild their houses, which, as has already been mentioned, were destroyed during the war. The other class formed their settlements after the above award, solicited by both states, had been issued, and therefore were not, or, at least, should not have been ignorant of the hazard, to which they exposed themselves. Several persons in Connecticut have proceeded in this business in a manner extremely blameable, especially one Colonel FRANKLIN, who, two years ago, decoyed several families into this country, notwithstanding the opposition of the state of Pennsylvania, and of all the friends of order, who discouraged these unfair proceedings, and foretold to the new settlers, that they would soon be dispossessed of their estates. Most of the families lately arrived here are poor. They obtained the land *gratis*, and are the less disturbed in their present momentary enjoyments, by apprehensions of some future dispossession, as the character of many among them is not of the fairest complexion. The colonel acted on the principle, that an  
increase



increase of the number of colonists would increase the force of resistance against the sentence of a judicial dispossession, in which, being himself a proprietor, he is personally concerned. This difference, in point of the period of possession, and of the species of property, renders it far more easy to accommodate matters, than it might otherwise have proved; since the difference being settled with the landholders of the former class, the execution of any vigorous measure, which it may be necessary to adopt against those of the latter, will be greatly facilitated.

Asylum stands on the right bank of the Susquehannah, which must be crossed, in order to reach this settlement. It has been only fifteen years established. Messrs. TALON and De NOAILLES, who arrived here from England, richer in hopes than in cash, fancied they should be able to purchase, cultivate, and people two hundred thousand acres of land. They interested in their project some planters of St. Domingo, who escaped from the ruins of that colony, and who had prudence enough carefully to preserve the remains of their fortune. Messrs. Morris and Nicholson, who possess immense tracks of land in the United States, were willing and ready to meet their views. Lands were chosen on the northern banks of the Susquehannah; the price and instalments were regulated, and the first trees felled\* on the spot, which was selected for the town. Mr. de Noailles took upon himself the management of the concerns of the company in Philadelphia. Mr. Talon caused the first log-houses to be erected here, and the land to be prepared for the reception of the new inhabitants. But they soon discovered, that they should be disappointed of all the money, which they had hoped to receive. Messrs. Morris and Nicholson readily released them from this first difficulty, and the contract was rescinded. From exclusive proprietors of these lands, the above gentlemen became associates and partners in trade with Messrs. Morris and Nicholson, in all the profits arising from their sale, and the quantity was enlarged to a million of acres. Each of them kept about six thousand acres, as his private property, the

\* In December, 1793.

price of which was somewhat raised; but more distant periods of payment were fixed. Mr. Talon was appointed agent for the company, with a salary of three thousand dollars. The buildings, as well as all other expences, were, with the consent of Messrs. Morris and Nicholson, placed to the account of the company. The use of the most considerable house, built by Mr. Talon, was assigned to himself as agent. Ignorance of the language of the country, want of practice in business of this kind, avocations of a different nature, and the embarrassments of the company, have deprived Mr. Talon of the most exquisite happiness, an emigrated Frenchman can possibly enjoy, to open a peaceful and comfortable asylum for his unfortunate countrymen, to assist them in the first moments of their settlement, and thus to become the founder of a colony, which would have proved as honourable to the name of a Frenchman, as useful to the unfortunate sufferers, whom it would have received. An enormous expence, partly incurred without a mature consideration of the plan, occasioned deficiencies. The company was not able to fulfil its engagements. The exertions of Mr. Talon and his associates were not equal to the removal of these difficulties; and it becoming evident, that the colony could not attain prosperity so quickly as Mr. Talon had expected, he resigned his situation as agent to Mr. Nicholson, and sold him his share in the property of the company, who, having six months before bought that of Mr. de Noailles also, is now become sole proprietor of the land.

This is a brief sketch of the history of Asylum. There cannot remain a doubt, but that this establishment, the plan of which is certainly the work of much deliberation, would have proved more successful, had it been formed by degrees, and with a sufficient supply of ready money. For notwithstanding the errors committed in the execution of the plan, and the adverse incidents it has met with, Asylum has already attained an uncommon degree of perfection, considering its infant state. Thirty houses, built in this town, are inhabited by families from St. Domingo, and from France, by French artizans, and even by Americans. Some inns and two shops have been established, the

the business of which is considerable. Several town-shares have been put into very good condition; and the fields and gardens begin to be productive. A considerable quantity of ground has been cleared, on the creek Loyalsock; where the company has allotted twenty-five thousand acres of land, in part of a hundred thousand acres, which the inhabitants of Asylum have purchased by subscription. Similar agricultural operations, which take place in almost every town-share, are intended to enliven, at once, all the different parts of this large tract of ground. The town-shares consist each of four hundred acres, from ten to twenty of which are cleared. The owner can therefore either settle there himself, at the end of the year, or entrust it to a farmer. The clearing of the town-shares is, at present, effected by subscription, on this principle; that for every acre belonging to a subscriber, who has cleared ten acres, five of which only are enclosed with fences, nine dollars are paid.

Mr. de MONTULÉ, one of the inhabitants of Asylum, directs this clearing of the ground; the plan of which he conceived for the welfare of the colony. The sentiments of the colonists are good. Every one follows his business, the cultivator as well as the inn-keeper and tradesman, with as much zeal and exertion, as if he had been brought up to it. The soil is tolerably good, the climate healthful. Almost all the ingredients of a thriving colony concur in Asylum, and afford room to hope, that these great natural advantages will, in time, be improved, for the benefit and prosperity of the colonists. A new trading company has superseded the former; at least the firm and management of the company's concerns have been altered. Mr. Robert Morris has entirely left it, and Mr. Nicholson, being now the only proprietor, has formed a bank of his million of acres, divided into five thousand shares, containing each two hundred acres, the price of which, at two dollars and half per acre, is five hundred dollars. They bear six per cent interest, which increases in proportion to the state of the land; and at the expiration of fifteen years, the period at which the company is to be dissolved, all the benefits and advantages accruing to the bank are

are to be divided among the holders of shares. An office has been established by the latter, for the direction and management of the concerns of the bank.

This new company, taught by the errors of the former, will no doubt make it their principal business, to promote the prosperity of Asylum; which, alone, can, in any considerable manner, increase the value of the land. Yet some previous sacrifices will also be required for that purpose. It will be necessary to construct new roads, and repair the old ones. Encouragement must also be given to the families, which already inhabit Asylum; and advantageous offers must be held out to such, as may be disposed to settle there. If these things be done, Asylum will soon be peopled. Motives arising from French manners and opinions have hitherto prevented even French families from settling here. These are now, however, in great measure removed, and if the company shall proceed with judgment and prudence, as it is to be hoped they will, there can hardly remain a doubt, but that Asylum will speedily become a place of importance. Its situation on the Susquehannah, two hundred miles from its source, fits it in a peculiar manner for an emporium of the inland trade. French activity, supported with money, will certainly accelerate its growth; and this will doubtless in time convince the world, that the enterprise and assiduity of Frenchmen are equally conspicuous in prosperous and adverse circumstances.

The following families have either already settled, or intend to settle, at Asylum, viz. 1. Mr. de BLAONS, deputy for Dauphiné, in the constituent assembly. Since his quitting France, he has married Mademoiselle de MAULDE, late canoness of the chapter of Bonbourg. They keep a haberdasher's shop. Their partner is Mr. COLIN, formerly Abbé de Sevigny, arch-deacon of Tours, and *conseiller au grand conseil*. 2. Mr. de MONTULÉ, late captain of a troop of horse, married to a lady of St. Domingo, who resides at present at Pottsgrove. 3. Madame de SYBERT, cousin to Mr. de Montulé, and relict of a rich planter of St. Domingo. 4. Mr. BECDELIERRE, formerly a canon, now a shop-keeper; his partners are the two Messrs. de la Roue, one of whom

was formerly a *petit gens-d'arme*, and the other a captain of infantry. The latter has married a sister of Madame SYBERT, Mademoiselle de BERCY, who intends to establish an inn on the road from Asylum to Loyalsock, eight miles from the former place, whither she is on the point of removing with her husband. 6. Mr. BEAULIEU, formerly a captain of infantry in the French service, who served in America, during the last war, in the legion of Potosky. He has remained ever since in this country, has married an English lady, and now keeps an inn. 7. Mr. BUZARD, a planter of St. Domingo, and physician in that colony, who has settled at Asylum with his wife, daughter, and son, and some negroes, the remains of his fortune. 8. Mr. de NOAILLES, a planter of St. Domingo. 9. Mr. DANDELLOT, of Franche-comté, late an officer of infantry, who left France on account of the revolution, and arrived here destitute of property, but was kindly received by Mr. Talon, and is now engaged in agricultural pursuits with spirit and success. 10. Mr. du PETIT THOUARS, an officer of the navy, who, encouraged by the constituent assembly, and assisted by a subscription, embarked in an expedition in quest of Mr. de la Pérouse. He was detained on the coast of Brasil by the governor of the colony, Fernando de Noriguez, and sent with his crew to Portugal, where he was very ill treated by the Portuguese government, stripped of all his property, and only escaped farther persecution by fleeing to America, where he lives free and happy, without property, yet without want. He is employed in clearing about two or three hundred acres of land, which have been presented to him. His sociable, mild, yet truly original temper and character, are set off by a noble simplicity of manners \*. 11. Mr. NORES, a young gentleman, who embarked with Mr. du Petit Thouars, and escaped with him to this country. He formerly wore the *petit collet* †, was a pupil of Mr. de la Chapelle, possessor of a small priory, and now earns his

\* Du Petit Thouars returned afterwards to France, obtained the command of a ship of the line, and was killed in the unfortunate battle off the mouth of the Nile.—*Transl.*

† The *petit collet* (little band) was formerly a distinguishing mark of the secular clergy in France.—*Transl.*

subfistence by cultivating the ground. 12. Mr. KEATING, an Irishman, and late captain of the regiment of Welsh. At the beginning of the revolution he was in St. Domingo, where he possessed the confidence of all parties, but refused the most tempting offers of the commissioners of the assembly, though his sentiments were truly democratic. It was his choice and determination, to retire to America without a shilling in his pocket, rather than to acquire power and opulence in St. Domingo by violating his first oath. He is a man of uncommon merit, distinguished abilities, extraordinary virtue, and invincible disinterestedness. His deportment is grave, yet affable. His advice and prudence have proved extremely serviceable to Mr. Talon in every department of his business. It was he who negotiated the late arrangements between Messrs. Morris and Nicholson; and it may be justly said, that the confidence, which his uncommon abilities and virtue inspire, enables him to adjust matters of dispute with much greater facility than most other persons. 13. Mr. RENAUD and family. He is a rich merchant of St. Domingo, who has just arrived with very considerable property, preserved from the wreck of an immense fortune. 14. Mr. CARLES, a priest and canon of Guernsey, who retired to America with a small fortune, and who has now settled at Asylum; he is an industrious and much-respected farmer. 15. Mr. PREVOST, a citizen of Paris, celebrated there for his benevolence; he was a member of all benevolent societies, treasurer of the philanthropic society, and retired to America with some property, a considerable part of which he expended on a settlement, which he attempted to establish on the banks of the Susquehannah, but which did not eventually succeed. He now cultivates his lot of ground on the Loyalsock, as if his whole life had been devoted to the same pursuit; and the cheerful serenity of a gentle, candid, philosophical mind, still attends him in his laborious retreat. His wife and sister-in-law, who have also settled here, share in his tranquillity and his happiness. 16. Madame d'AUTREMONT, with her three children. She is the widow of a steward at Paris. Two of her sons are grown up: one was a notary, and the other a watch-maker; but they have

now become hewers of wood, and tillers of the ground, and secure by their zeal, spirit, politeness, and unblemished character, the sympathy and respect of every feeling mind.

Some families of artisans are also established at Asylum; and such as conduct themselves properly earn great wages. This cannot be said of the greatest part of them. They are, in general, very indifferent workmen, and much addicted to drunkenness. In time they will be superseded by more valuable men; and American families, of a better description, will settle here: for those, who reside at present at Asylum, are scarcely worth keeping.

One of the greatest impediments to the prosperity of this settlement will probably arise from the prejudices of some Frenchmen against the Americans, unless self-interest and reason should prove the means of removing them. These are frequently manifested with that inconsiderate levity, with which Frenchmen, in general, decide on things and persons of the greatest moment; some of them vauntingly declare, that they will never learn the language of the country, or enter into conversation with an American. Whether particular facts and occurrences can justify this prejudice, in regard to *individuals*, I will not affirm; but certain it is, that they can never justify it in the latitude of a *general opinion*. A conduct founded on such prejudices would prove extremely hurtful to the interests of the colony; the progress of which has been already retarded by so many unavoidable obstacles, that there certainly is no occasion to create new ones, by purposely exciting the animosity of a people, among whom the colony has been formed, and who, in the judgment of every impartial man, must be considered as in a state of less degeneracy than many European nations.

The real farmers, who reside at Asylum, live, upon the whole, on very good terms with each other; being duly sensible, that harmony is requisite, to render their situation comfortable and happy. They possess no considerable property, and their way of life is simple. Mr. Talon lives in a manner somewhat more splendid, as he is obliged to maintain a number of persons, to whom his assistance was indispensable.

It

It is to be wished and hoped, that the whole settlement may prove ultimately successful. A more convenient spot might, doubtless, have been chosen. But not to mention, that all *en post facto* judgments are unfair, the present situation of the colony appears so advantageous, as to warrant the most sanguine hopes of success. Industrious families, however, without whom no settlement can prosper, must be invited to it; for it must be considered, that, however polished its present inhabitants may be, the gentleman cannot so easily dispense with the assistance of the artist and the husbandman, as these can with that of the gentleman.

A speedy adjustment of the present differences between Connecticut and Pennsylvania, with respect to the estates contiguous to the lands of Asylum, would also prove a desirable and fortunate circumstance for this colony. None but persons of indifferent character are willing to settle on ground, the title to which remains a matter of dispute. Even the small number of colonists we found between Wilkesbarre and Tioga are by no means praiseworthy in their morals; and they are poor, lazy, drunken, quarrelsome, and extremely negligent in the culture of their lands. The valuable emigrants from New-England, from the eastern branch of the Susquehannah, who should be encouraged to settle here, will certainly not make their appearance, till they can be sure of cultivating their land without opposition, and of retaining the undisturbed possession of their estates. It is therefore of the greatest importance to the company of Asylum, that this weighty business should be speedily and finally adjusted. When that is accomplished, the company will doubtless embrace the earliest opportunity of advertising the whole million of acres; they will endeavour to combine separate estates with each other, by purchasing the intervening lands; they will make public their right of property, pursue a well concerted general plan, execute it with the requisite care and dispatch, and make the necessary sacrifices. They will perceive how advantageous and important it is, to place Asylum, as it were, in full activity, by constructing the roads already projected and commenced, by establishing a school, by inviting industrious settlers, and by endeavouring to meliorate



limate the breeds of horses and cattle : in short, by encouraging useful establishments of every kind. A few hundreds of dollars, laid out here properly, would produce the most considerable and lasting improvements. In such cases, however, it is requisite to calculate well, that we may expend judiciously. By prudent and liberal measures, the prosperity of this French colony, and consequently of the company, would be essentially insured and promoted. And when this settlement shall have once ripened into a flourishing state, it will serve to connect the country, which is already cultivated along the banks of the river, above and below Asylum, and thus prove a source of animation to this interesting part of Pennsylvania. But unless active and judicious measures be pursued, Asylum will inevitably suffer from the partial inconveniences, which attend its situation, and from the errors committed in the first formation of this colony ; and instead of attaining to the wished for prosperity, it must, on the contrary, find its decline, if not downfall, in the very nature of its establishment.

Every thing in this settlement, at present, appears in a precarious condition. The price of provision depends on a variety of fluctuating circumstances. By the activity and prudence of certain individuals the town is abundantly supplied with grain and meat, and this honest economy keeps provision at a moderate price. But men of a less liberal way of thinking have it also in their power to occasion scarcity of the first necessities of life, and raise their price to a rate beyond all proportion to that of other commodities. The information, which I have been able to collect, relative to the state of agriculture, however accurate at the present moment, can hardly be thought sufficient for the direction of a planter, who should incline to settle here ; I shall, however, lay it before my readers, such as it is.

The land behind the town is tolerably good ; but that on the banks of the river consists of excellent meadows, laid out by families, who settled here, before the present colonists, producing very good hay, pretty considerable in quantity, and they are capable of still farther improvement. The soil of Loyalsock is, in general, excellent. Many trees  
grow

grow there, which evince its goodness, such as, the white Virginian walnut-tree, white oak, plane-tree, sugar-maple and hemlock-fir. It is a circumstance worthy of notice, that half-way between Loyalsock and Asylum, common oak, which in the fields about the latter place is found in abundance, becomes at once so scarce, that not two hundred oak trees grow in the whole district of Loyalsock, which contains two thousand five hundred acres. The price of the company's land is at present two dollars and half per acre; very little however is sold. That of the town of Asylum fetches little more; although there is little doubt, that the price will rise gradually to ten dollars. The land contiguous to Asylum, which does not belong to the company, being at present in an unsettled state with respect to the right of property, this circumstance renders it a very undesirable possession for such settlers, as do not wish to expose themselves to the danger of subsequent litigations, and consequently to being dispossessed of their purchases. Hitherto the grain appears to have suffered but little from the Hessian fly and from blights. The winter lasts here from four months and half to five months. Agriculture however has hitherto advanced so slowly, that the cattle suffer much during that season from want of fodder. They are, for the most part, fed with turnips, gourds, and straw of Indian corn. Both oxen and cows are of a very indifferent sort, as little attention has been paid to the breed of cattle brought hither by the settlers. Both seed-time and harvest take place here about a fortnight later than in the vicinity of Philadelphia. The land yields about fifteen or twenty bushels of wheat, sixty bushels of Indian corn, and three tuns of hay per acre. The soil seems naturally better adapted for meadows than for corn land; but from the little trouble attending the driving of the cattle into the forest, the produce in corn is rather apparently great than so in fact. In ploughing they generally employ oxen, which, it should be observed, are not subject to any particular disease. They are at times driven to Philadelphia; and the country people frequently act here with so little judgment, as even to send them two hundred miles off, when they might obtain much better prices, and even ready money, in the neighbourhood.

bourhood. The bullocks, which are consumed in Asylum, are generally brought from the back settlements, but it is frequently found necessary, to send thither for them. They are generally plentiful: the uncommon duration of the last winter, however, proved so destructive to the cattle, that few are now to be seen, and a great scarcity of beef prevails at Asylum, as well as in various other parts of America.

The grain, which is not consumed in Asylum, finds a market in Wilksbarre, and is transported thither on the river. In the same manner all kinds of merchandize are conveyed from Philadelphia to Asylum. They are carried in waggons as far as Harrisburg, and thence sent in barges up the river. The freight amounts, in the whole, to two dollars per cwt. The salt comes from the salt-houses at Genessee, on the lake of Ontario. Flax is produced in the country about Asylum; and the soil is very fit for producing crops of that commodity. Maple-sugar is made here in great abundance. Each tree is computed to yield, upon an average, from two pounds and half to three a year. Melasses and vinegar are also prepared here. I have seen Messrs. De VILAINÉ and DANDELÔT make sugar in this place, which much surpasses any of the same kind, that has hitherto come under my observation. A considerable quantity of tar is also made, and sold for four dollars per barrel, containing thirty-two gallons. Day-labourers are paid at the rate of five shillings a day. Mr. de Montulé employs workmen from the eastern branch of the river, to clear his land; to these he pays half a dollar a day, besides allowing them their victuals; the overseer receives a dollar and a third per day; these people turn out to be very good workmen. They are easily procured, when employment is ensured to them for any length of time; but otherwise, it is very difficult to obtain them. The manufacture of potashes has also been commenced at Asylum; and it is in contemplation to attempt the brewing of malt-liquor. A corn-mill and a saw-mill are building on the Loyalsock.

The foregoing is a brief sketch of the present state of this interesting settlement,

settlement, which, even a twelve month hence, will no longer retain its present features. To judge from the actual condition of the probable progress and duration of this infant colony, it must either rise or fall rapidly. It is to be hoped, that the want of similarity to the original in my description, which may be observable next year in the colony, will arise from its rapid progress towards maturity; and this hope is grounded on probable appearances.

*Tuesday, the 2d of June.*

On our arrival at Asylum, it was not our intention to have stopped more than four days in that place. But the pleasure of meeting with Mr. and Madame de Blacons, a desire to obtain a thorough knowledge of the present state of the colony, as well as of its prospects of future improvement; and the cordial reception we experienced from all its inhabitants, induced us to add four days to our stay; and, in the whole, we stopped twelve days. On Tuesday, the 2d of June, we at length took our departure. Messrs. De Blacons and Du Petit Thouars joined our caravan; the latter, who travelled on foot, had set out the preceding evening. The road from Asylum to Tioga leads, like the rest, through continued woods. We preferred that on the right bank; as we should then be obliged to cross the river only once. The road is in some places excessively miry and stony, although in others it is very good. On the whole it may be called tolerable, yet it is often difficult to be found. It affords but few striking prospects. The Susquehannah, which we met with but once, during our whole journey, flows constantly between two chains of mountains, which seem to encroach upon its channel, but from time to time open into vallies more or less deep, but never very extensive.

We stopped at SOLOMON TEASY's, to rest our horses. This planter occupies an estate of five hundred acres, only thirty of which are yet cleared; and which belongs to the village of Old Sheshequen. Its owner arrived here about five years ago, from the county of Orange, in the state of New York; but he now intends to settle in Genessee;

and, consequently, wishes to dispose of his plantation, which he holds from the state of Connecticut; the price he demands is five thousand three hundred and ninety dollars, that is to say, about ten dollars and three-fourths per acre. Another landholder, at whose house we stopped to procure directions about the road, intimated to us a similar design, as he mistook us for land-jobbers. His plantation consisted of three hundred acres, sixty of which were cleared, with a corn and a saw-mill; which he estimated at one thousand three hundred dollars. He asked for the whole estate two thousand six hundred dollars, which is tantamount to eight dollars and half per acre. The state of agriculture is no better here than in the other parts of Pennsylvania, and even worse than in many of them, all the plantations being yet in that infant state, where the soil yields rich crops without cultivation. The settlers too are doubtful whether their rights to their possessions will be confirmed, have much business upon their hands, and are in general little able to advance money for the improvement of their lands, so that they hardly give themselves the trouble even to plough up the ground. For this purpose they make use of oxen, the medium price of a yoke of which is seventy dollars. Wheat commonly sells for one dollar a bushel, rye for four shillings, and oats from two shillings and six-pence to three shillings. There are two schools in the neighbouring country, which are both kept by women, who teach needle-work and reading. To learn to read is, therefore, the only instruction, which boys can obtain here. These schools are maintained solely by the fee of five shillings a quarter paid by each scholar. They are evidently insufficient, yet they are schools; and these are yet very rare in Pennsylvania.

No place has been hitherto set apart here for religious worship. They, who desire to perform this, assemble in private houses, and engage a preacher for a yearly salary, which, however, is very small. Families of methodists constitute the principal part of the inhabitants.

On the other side of the river stands New Sheshequen, a small neat town, containing about twelve houses, which are built either of rough logs or boards. It is seated in a very pleasant plain. The justice

justice of the peace, the surgeon, and the pastor of the neighbouring country, reside in this place. It contains shops, in short all those things which are found only in a principal town.

The road from Old Sheshequen to Tioga, which had been represented to us as a very bad one, proved, on the contrary, very good. Here the farm-houses lie closer to each other. Near Tioga, the river of the same name discharges itself into the Susquehannah. The site of the town, or rather of the eight or ten houses which are so called, is about two miles distant from the confluence of the two rivers, and very pleasant. The mountains, which form the banks of the Susquehannah, do not lie so close together, as in any other part of its course that we have yet seen. The country behind Tioga descends into a plain of upwards of three miles in extent. The soil is good; and, from the situation of the town, it is likely to acquire some importance in time, when the land on both sides of the river shall become cultivated and populous. There is not one spring, however, to be found either on the spot where the town stands, or in its vicinity, so that the inhabitants are obliged either to sink wells, or to fetch water from the river; and, in either case, the water is far from being good. The price of land, in the neighbourhood of the town, is eight dollars per acre, when, out of three hundred acres, to the proportion of fifty or sixty are already cleared of wood. The town-shares are sixteen yards in breadth by fifty in depth, and cost twenty dollars. The price of wheat is seven shillings and six-pence per bushel, rye sells for six shillings a bushel, and oats from three to four shillings. Some venison, excepted, which at times comes to market, no fresh meat has been seen at Tioga since last autumn. The merchants of the place carry on an inconsiderable trade in hemp, which they get from the upper parts of the river, and send to Philadelphia by Middle Town. We were informed, that the shops at Asylum prove very hurtful to the trade of Tioga, a complaint which gave our fellow-traveller, who keeps a shop in Asylum, no small satisfaction.

Last year there were three inns in Tioga, but, at this time, it con-

tains but one; we found it crowded with travellers from the Jerseys, Pennsylvania, and New York, who intended to settle on the lakes. After a scanty supper, we were all obliged to take up with two beds; more were not to be obtained on any terms. The sheets, which had already served three or four other travellers, were, according to the landlady's account, very clean; and so indeed they are called, in all the American inns, when they are in fact totally unfit for use. Yet, on the other hand, we enjoyed the special favour of being permitted to lie down in boots, as those of our party really did, who, like myself, preferred taking their repose on the ground, wrapped up in a blanket.

*Wednesday, the 3d of June.*

Our company consisted, as I have already mentioned, of four persons, one of whom (Mr. du Petit Thouars) travelled on foot, but whom we had promised to relieve occasionally by walking in rotation part of the way.

Near Tioga we turned from the river Susquehannah, along the banks of which we had travelled near two hundred and fifty miles, and yet the source of that branch which we quitted is distant two hundred miles still farther inland; it rises near the Mohawk's river. The Susquehannah, throughout its course, serves to open up an extensive country of rich fertile soil, and which is likely to acquire an increasing importance from its navigation, that extends as far as to the Chesapeake. It is an unfavourable circumstance, however, that its course is so frequently broken by rapids, which, even at high water, cannot be passed without danger by small vessels. It is in such small vessels, or on rafts, constructed of trunks of trees covered with boards, that cargoes of provision, &c., are at present transported. These rafts, which draw but little water in proportion to the breadth and extent of their surface, are mostly laden with provision for the lower country. The navigation of these rafts and vessels is sometimes impeded by obstacles insurmountable; they are many times shattered from being dashed on the banks or shallows, and often beaten entirely to pieces.

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The number of men, and especially of vessels, thus wrecked and lost, is very considerable.

At the distance of four miles from Tioga, the state of Pennsylvania borders upon New York, and here begins a new standard of coinage. A dollar, which in Pennsylvania is worth only seven shillings and sixpence, is here, with greater convenience and propriety, divided into eight shillings.

Near the confines of Pennsylvania a mountain rises from the bank of the river Tioga, in the shape of a sugar-loaf, upon which are seen the remains of some entrenchments; these the inhabitants call the *Spanish rampart*, but I rather judge them to have been thrown up against the Indians in the times of Mr. de Nouville. One perpendicular breast-work is yet remaining, which, though covered over with grass and bushes, plainly indicates, that a parapet and a ditch have been constructed here.

We stopped to breakfast about ten miles from Tioga, at the house of one Mr. WARREN, a landholder, who settled here four years ago. His estate along the river consists of three hundred and seventy acres of land, fifty of which only are cleared; the rest are stony, hilly, and poor. The price of wheat is one dollar, oats three shillings and sixpence, and rye five shillings per bushel. The cultivated land lies mostly in grass. These meadows, which are sown with timothy-grass, and white clover, are used as such for three or four years. They are then broken up, sown with wheat, and used again as grass land. Mr. Warren, it seems, never sows oats among the clover. His stock appeared to be in very good order; the sheep were tolerably good; at the shearing time the wool weighs from four to five pounds a fleece; its medium price is four shillings per pound. This planter, only three years ago, paid nine hundred dollars for this estate, and he now asks two thousand five hundred dollars for it.

There is no school kept in the neighbouring country, except in the winter months, when every scholar pays a dollar per quarter.

The road from Tioga to Painted Post lies for the most part along the



the bank of the river Tioga, which is here about as broad as the mouth of the Oise. Its water is very clear. The stream is rapid, and the country in general, through which it flows, is more open and pleasant than that watered by the Susquehannah.

We dined at New Town, which has not been built more than seven years, and is situate on the banks of the Tioga. Before the building of this town the Indians were in possession of the territory. This place is, at present, the chief town of the county of Tioga. The district of New Town contains twenty thousand acres of land, sold originally for eighteen pence the acre, which now sells for five or six dollars, and in some places from twenty-four to twenty-six dollars. The soil near the river is remarkably good. The plain in which New Town stands is large, and covered with meadows. In the other parts of the twenty thousand acres but very little wood has hitherto been cut down, although we were assured, that new settlers are continually pouring in. The whole town consists of about fifteen houses, most of them being either inns or shops.

In New Town we met with Colonel STARRET, and we accompanied him to his own house, which is eight miles distant from the town. He is an Irishman by birth, but has been for many years a resident of America; he has a plantation of about thirteen hundred acres, only one hundred of which have been hitherto rendered fit for cultivation. Six hundred were cleared of wood by the Indians, who quitted this part of the country only five years ago. He has lived here seven years, during two of which he was entirely surrounded with Indians; he assured us, however, that he had no reason to complain of them as neighbours. The Indians burn the trees down to the stumps, when they clear any ground; but although the former are thereby destroyed, the stumps which remain must be rooted out, before the soil can be cultivated. The Colonel's estate is apparently under good management. He assured us, that his land is much superior to any in the neighbourhood; that it yields forty bushels of wheat, and as much Indian corn annually; and that his meadows produce two tuns of hay per acre.

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He ploughs with oxen, which are of a very good sort. According to his account, he ploughs deeper than we have observed any where else in America, making use of ploughs of various constructions. He keeps no sheep, on account of the wolves, which are said to be very numerous in this part of the country, it having been but lately cleared. He has a beautiful breed of cows, and a fine looking young bull, produced from a cow, which he bought of 'Squire WALLIS, on the eastern arm of the Susquehannah; it is of the English breed. The cow, big with calf, cost him thirty-two dollars; he rears his calves, and does not sell them. The winter commonly lasts here six months; during which time his cows and oxen are kept in the stable. He deposits his turnips, which he gathers in autumn, under ground, and feeds his cattle with them, as well as with Indian corn and hay.

The price of wheat in this part of the country is one dollar, rye five shillings, and oats three shillings per bushel. It is difficult to procure workmen hereabouts. Mr. Starret pays them after the rate of one dollar per day, exclusive of victuals. He has two distilleries, one upon the estate, and another in New Town; in both together he distils about two thousand gallons of whisky in a year. Mr. Starret assured us, that a bushel of rye yields, in his distilleries, only from two to two gallons and a half of whisky; and that the spirit is not good, if a larger quantity be distilled from a bushel. He sells his whisky for one dollar per gallon, while, according to the best information we have hitherto been able to collect, whisky, three gallons of which are obtained from a bushel, costs but five shillings. From what we have since heard of this planter, it is probable, that his account is greatly exaggerated, for the purpose of obtaining a higher price, for his whisky. The workmen, employed in his distilleries, receive one hundred and ninety dollars *per annum*. The Colonel told us, that he proposed to sell his estate; that he has refused ten thousand dollars for it, and that he means to reside for the future in New Town; he hinted, at the same time, that he is very rich. The same evening we learned from 'Squire MAC CORNICK, that this pretended Colonel is an impostor; that he purchased

purchased his estate, which he told us he had bought from the state of New York for eighteen pence per acre, of a private gentleman, at the rate of two dollars per acre; that he has not yet paid the purchase money; and that he will probably be compelled to quit the estate, unless he finds means to discharge the debt within the short time still allowed him. This man, who to all appearance was so free-hearted and kind, is, at the bottom, a mere swindler; or, at least, he supposed we had a design to purchase land, and wished to sell us some at an exorbitant price.

'Squire Mac Cornick; with whom we took up our quarters for the night, is a farmer, and keeps, at the same time, an inn, but one of that description, which affords neither hay for horses, nor food for travellers, and scarcely even a bed. The horses were turned out on the grass. Our supper consisted of rusty bacon and coffee; and we were all four obliged to sleep in two beds, which belonged to the family. The sheets had already served them some time, and it appears were to serve them still longer. Mr. de Blacons and myself took possession of that of the landlord. Though completely dressed, we could not lie down without extreme reluctance; our weariness, however, overcame our double aversion to sleep together, and between such sheets.

Supper-time was, as usual, spent in mutual enquiries. We learned, that 'Squire Mac Cornick purchased his estate, four years ago, of Messrs. PHILIP and GORUM for ten shillings and sixpence per acre; that he would not sell it now for three dollars; that he possesses about three thousand acres, one hundred and fifty of which are cultivated, exclusive of forty others, which have been cleared by the Indians. His land yields about thirty bushels of wheat, fifty bushels of Indian corn, and four hundred bushels of potatoes, per acre. He keeps about forty or fifty sheep, of a middling sort, and but common wool. He appears duly sensible of the advantages to be derived from a good flock, and accordingly he values them higher, than any American that has hitherto fallen within my observation. He keeps twenty-three cows, which look tolerably well, a bull of a very indifferent breed, and two yokes of very fine,

oxen;

oxen; he has refused one hundred dollars for a yoke. The wolves have already destroyed some of his sheep. To prevent a repetition of such accidents, he now keeps several large bull-dogs, and causes the flock to be folded every night; neither is he deterred, by the damage he has sustained, from increasing the number of his sheep. 'Squire Mac-Cornick has lived here for so short a time, that, though a very intelligent man, he could not state with any degree of accuracy the usual expences of house-keeping. His father was an Irishman; but he himself was born in Pennsylvania, and has travelled in England, Ireland, Scotland, France, and Switzerland. He held, at least according to his own account, a commission in the English service; but he did not name the regiment in which he served. He is an entertaining man, who appears to understand thoroughly what he is about; is very conversable, civil, and modest, and expresses himself with judgment, and often indeed with elegance. He seems well acquainted with the laws and interests of his country, and is the father of a numerous family, from whose assistance in his labours he is now beginning to reap some advantage.

The price of every thing, except corn, is much higher here, than at Asylum, Tioga, or even Newtown, chiefly from the expensiveness of carriage. This was at least the reason assigned by 'Squire Mac-Cornick for the high amount of his bill, which seemed to bear no kind of proportion to the compulsory frugality of our entertainment.

The state of New York imposes no taxes, to defray the expences of its government: property is taxed only to pay the expences of the county and district. Neither the land, which is still covered with wood, nor that which has lately been cleared, is required to pay any. It is only the land, that has been cultivated for a considerable time, that is liable to taxation. The county taxes are raised upon horses, oxen, in short, upon the whole live stock of the farm. All these different species of property are valued by overseers, and taxed by assessors, in proportion to the pecuniary demands of the county. These taxes, of which I shall have an opportunity hereafter to give a more particular account, are all

laid very low. 'Squire Mac-Cornick paid for the whole of his taxes last year only four dollars and a half.

The laws of the state of New York have established poor-rates for such districts as contain paupers; but there are very few of that description to be found in this new country. The habitation of 'Squire Mac-Cornick appertains to the county of Ontario; and here this tax is raised, but not in the county of Tioga. The expence of building prisons, sessions-houses, &c. is defrayed by the subscription of individuals. The schools lie at considerable distances from one another, and are kept only in winter; their charge is one dollar a quarter for each scholar. Reading and writing are taught in the schools, but in these thinly inhabited forests the instructors are, in general, ignorant, and extremely indolent. No church has yet been built here; people of all religious persuasions live in this country, and all seem to be little solicitous about religious matters, whatever be the particular sect to which they belong.

On our way from Newtown, especially between Starret's and Mac-Cornick's habitations, the soil is good; and, where it is not yet cleared, is covered with oaks and fine pines. A great part however has been cleared by the Indians, and produces excellent grass.

From Mac-Cornick's house to Painted Post the soil continues the same; but the dwellings are so thinly scattered, that you may travel twelve miles through the forest, without finding a single house. The country, being flat, is exposed to inundation, whenever the creeks and the river Tioga overflow. In the month of December, last year (1794), the water rose to an unprecedented height, namely, from fifteen to nineteen feet above the usual level. Captain STARBER, who keeps an inn at Painted Post, reported this circumstance to me as an unquestionable fact. He could easily measure the rising of the water in his well. This extraordinary inundation swept away a great number of fences.

*Thursday, the 4th of June.*

We breakfasted at Painted Post, six miles from the place at which we had passed the night. It is the principal town of the district, and de-  
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rives its name from a post, hewn and painted by the Indians, the stump of which is yet left standing. The first inhabitants settled here only four years ago. The whole town at present consists of ten or twelve small houses. The land here has also been parcelled out and sold by the state of New York. The soil is good, especially near the town, where from fifteen to eighteen dollars are the common price for an acre. The woods are full of rose-bushes, apple and plumb trees, and bilberries. There are however but few sugar-maple trees. The price of this sugar at the beginning of last spring was one shilling per pound. Wheat sells for seven shillings a bushel; Indian corn for four; oats, three; rye for eleven shillings and six-pence; and hay for three pounds a tun; although very little of this last article is sold, and that only in the depth of winter. A cow costs from eighteen to twenty-five dollars; a yoke of oxen seventy-five dollars; sheep from sixteen to twenty shillings, and wool four shillings a pound. Labourers' wages are from four to six shillings a day, and ten dollars a month without victuals. Maid servants earn about six shillings a week. The quantity of uncultivated land is very considerable in this part of the country, though numbers of emigrants, as we were told, are constantly coming from all parts to settle here. On our journey from Painted Post to Bath we met several families, who had quitted their former habitations in quest of new ones. These transigrations are generally removals from an old into a new country. The attachment to local property is yet but little known among the Americans. The soil, on which they were born, nay that which they have themselves rendered fit for cultivation, is valued by them little more than any other. Every where they live in a simple and frugal manner; their friendly connections also are mostly confined to their own families, which move about with them. Every where they can procure whisky and salt pork. They even experience a real pleasure in clearing the ground and rendering it fit for cultivation, independently of the profits they make when they leave their estates, either altogether in a state of cultivation, or at least partly so, to purchase another, yet covered with wood, and some hundred miles farther inland. Among the many emi-

grants we met this day, there were a great number of persons who came from Niagara, situate in the English dominions, and were travelling to South Carolina. They were originally Pennsylvanians, from the neighbourhood of Pittsburg, who, allured by the promise of Governor SIMCOE, that they should have lands *gratis*, belonging to the King of England, and also be assisted for some time in their labours, quitted their former places of residence, but did not find their new situation so comfortable as they had been led to expect.\* Being also visited by the fever, they forsook their settlements, apparently much exasperated at the expence and labour they had uselessly bestowed on them.

The road from Painted Post to Bath, leads, like that we have passed, through the midst of forests, up and down hill, particularly after passing the creek of Connesteon, which flows into the river Tioga, near Painted Post. This road, as it is called, which was made by Captain WILLIAMSON, with a design to open a communication between his estate and the eastern arm of the Susquehannah, is in fact nothing but a straight line cut through the wood. The felled trees are, indeed, for the most part removed, but the roots remain, and make the road very bad, miry, and deep; so that in the middle of June, the driest season of the year, a horse cannot travel it without difficulty. At the distance of a mile and a half from Bath is a small lake about two miles in circumference. The lake itself lies within the forest, but close behind it are the marshes, which reach as far as Bath, the chief place of the settlement of Captain Williamson (of whom I shall have occasion presently to speak) and where he generally resides. The Captain was absent in Canandaqua, where he presided as a judge at the sessions, but was expected to return hither in two days time. To make an acquaintance with this gentleman, was an important object to us; we accordingly arranged our plan in such a manner, as to prevent his escaping us. We, therefore, resolved to make an excursion to the small lakes, and to return to Bath in three days, when we should be sure to find the Captain at home.

\* By the treaty of 1794 Niagara was to be ceded to the state of New York, which it was in 1796. Hence, probably, we may account for the disappointment of the settlers.  
*Translator.*

*Friday, the 5th of June.*

We set out without any baggage, as Mr. Guillemard hit upon the benevolent idea of leaving his servant at Bath, that he might lend his horse to Mr. Dupetitthouars. Nothing remarkable occurred during the whole day's journey of thirty-five miles, which we made through continued woods. All this way we have met with but six habitations, which stand within the forest. From Boys' inn to Friendsmill, that is to say, in a space of eighteen miles, there is not a single house to be seen. About eight miles from Bath is Crooked Lake, on which stands Boys' inn, as it is called, but where we could procure neither eggs, butter, hay, nor oats. Crooked Lake takes its name, as might be supposed, from its form; it flows from north to south with a gentle current, in the midst of mountains, which are not very high; but which, in point of external form, bear a striking resemblance to each other; this uniform appearance is increased by the wood, with which they are covered. I never saw a country abounding more in water, than that through which we passed from Boys' inn to Friendsmill. Most of the brooks, on account of the season, contained, comparatively, but little water; though we continually met with tracks of torrents, which, to judge from the ground they had washed away, and the large stones and trees they had swept along, must have been very violent and rapid. The road, which runs by the river side, is nothing but a foot path, which it is frequently difficult to distinguish. It passes between rocks, felled trees, and bushes, and is one of the most unpleasant to traverse that can be conceived. The woods, however, are extremely beautiful, and shew that the soil is, perhaps, the richest we have yet seen.

The mountains slope toward the lake, and terminate in inconsiderable hills. Their shape announced to us, that we were approaching those vast savannahs, which divide the enormous mass of water, that irrigates America. The plain expands, and the country on a sudden assumes a different aspect, although its decorations are still the same. All the  
land,



land, which we have hitherto traversed, belongs to captain Williamson, who is very generally beloved and esteemed.

At length, about night-fall, we arrived at Friendsmill, after a very tedious journey, which, on account of the fondness of one of our companions for his bed, we did not begin till late in the day. and which was afterwards delayed by the fall of another ; this last accident, however, was not attended with any disastrous consequence. The inn, which contained but two rooms, we found already full ; some persons, who intended to buy land near the Great Sodus, and Captain Williamson's agent, who was to sell it to them, had taken possession of it a little before our arrival. After an American supper, consisting of coffee and boiled ham, we all lay down to rest in the same room. There were only *two* beds for *ten* persons ; in consequence, these two beds were occupied by four of us, and the others lay down in their clothes upon straw, which, though I enjoyed here the privilege of sharing in one of the beds, appears to me the best method of taking repose, when you cannot have a bed to yourself.

*Saturday, the 6th of June.*

Friendsmill is a place, consisting of several houses, which takes its name from its being settled or founded by the Friends or Quakers. It lies in the center of the district, which is called the Friends settlement.

One JEMIMA WILKINSON, a Quaker, and a native of Rhode Island, manifested so fervent a zeal in her religion, that at the age of twenty she was admitted to all the meetings of the society, which were held weekly, monthly, and quarterly, for settling the general concerns and watching over the conduct of the brethren. She at length fancied, that she was called to act some great and extraordinary part, and in this persuasion formed the project of becoming the leader of a sect. In the course of a long and dangerous illness, she was suddenly seized, or gave it out that she was seized with a lethargy, so that to her friends she appeared as really dead. She continued, several hours, in this situation ; and preparations were actually making for her interment, when she suddenly

denly started up, called for her cloaths, declaring " that she had risen from the dead, and that she had cast off all her material substance, and retained only the spiritual." She went, accordingly, to the next meeting, as if with the authority of some celestial being, spoke there as one inspired, and gained some followers. She, ere long, expressed her displeasure at some religious observances of the Quakers; and was, on this account, reprimanded by the meeting; which appears to have been precisely the thing she wished for and expected. In the opinion of others, she met with this reproof, because at the beginning of the revolutionary war, she had been much attached to the Tories, and favoured the English party by declaiming against the war, according to the principles of the doctrine she professed. She continued preaching and proceeding in this manner, till she was excluded from the meetings, which indeed all along appeared to be her particular wish. Being now a persecuted person, at least by her own account, she began to gain some partizans. She preached publicly on the necessity of the abolition of all meetings convened to censure, of a reform of the church-establishment, of granting to the Friends universal liberty to preach, what they pleased, without first asking leave to do so, &c. She soon made some profelytes, and at the same time drew on herself the displeasure of all, who adhered to the old forms of the religion of the Quakers. She experienced, therefore, a very unfavourable reception for herself and her doctrines, both in Philadelphia and New York. Wherever she came, every Quaker turned away from her with abhorrence, as the enemy of his religion; and all other persons deemed her a fool or an enthusiast. This disposition of the public she again called a persecution, it being favourable to her ultimate views. The number of her followers was now daily increasing; and as she confidently trusted it would become still more considerable, she thought they might perhaps be willing to follow her. Accordingly she proposed to a number of them, to flee from these regions of intolerance, and to settle in a place where they might worship God undisturbed, and free from that bitter spirit

spirit of persecution, which men had introduced in opposition to the divine will.

Soon after the country about Lake Seneca and Crooked Lake was fixed upon as the place of their settlement. The company of New York, which had purchased this land from the Indians, entered into a treaty for the sale of it with these reformed Quakers. They were promised three tracts of land, containing each six thousand square acres, which were to form three districts, and to which Jemima instantly gave the name of Jerusalem. Thirty families removed hither with her; but she had confidently expected three or four hundred more, of whom, however, not above twenty at last arrived. This society soon spread over the three districts, which it was to occupy; but was not sufficiently numerous to replenish the fourth part of each. The enchantment, however, had already been broken by Jemima's absence, and with it had also vanished their zeal for peopling this new land of promise.

We saw Jemima, and attended her meeting, which is held in her own house. We found there about thirty persons, men, women, and children. Jemima stood at the door of her bed-chamber on a carpet, with an arm-chair behind her. She had on a white morning gown, and waistcoat, such as men wear, and a petticoat of the same colour. Her black hair was cut short, carefully combed, and divided behind into three ringlets; she wore a stock, and a white silk cravat, which was tied about her neck with affected negligence. In point of delivery, she preached with more ease, than any other Quaker, I have yet heard; but the subject matter of her discourse was an eternal repetition of the same topics, death, sin, and repentance. She is said to be about forty years of age, but she did not appear to be more than thirty. She is of middle stature, well made, of a florid countenance, and has fine teeth, and beautiful eyes. Her action is studied; she aims at simplicity, but there is somewhat of pedantic in her manner. In her chamber we found her friend, RACHEL MILLER, a young woman of about twenty-eight or thirty years of age, her follower and admirer, who is entirely devoted to her. All the land which Jemima possesses is purchased in the  
name

name of Rachel Miller, an advantage which she owes to her influence over her adherents, and to her dexterity in captivating their affections.

Jemima, or *the Friend* (as she is called by way of eminence) inculcates, as her leading tenet, poverty, and resignation of all earthly possessions. If you talk to her of her house, she always calls it "the house, which I inhabit." This house, however, though built only of the trunks of trees, is extremely pretty and commodious. Her room is exquisitely neat; and resembles more the *boudoir* of a fine lady, than the cell of a nun. It contains a looking-glass, a clock, an arm-chair, a good bed, a warming-pan, and a silver saucer. Her garden is kept in good order; her spring-house \* is full of milk, cheese, butter, butcher's-meat and game. Her hypocrisy may be traced in all her discourses, actions, and conduct, and even in the very manner in which she manages her countenance. She seldom speaks, without quoting the Bible, or introducing a serious sentence about death, and the necessity of making our peace with God. Whatever does not belong to her own sect is with her an object of distaste and steadfast aversion. She sows dissention in families, to deprive the lawful heir of his right of inheritance, in order to appropriate it to herself; and all this she does under the name and by the agency of her companion, who receives all the presents brought by the faithful, and preserves them for her *reverend friend*, who, being wholly absorbed in her communion with Christ, whose prophets she is, would absolutely forget the supply of her bodily wants, if she were not well taken care of. The number of her votaries has, of late, much decreased. Many of the families, who followed her to Jerusalem, are no longer the dupes of her self-interested policy. Some still keep up the outward appearance of attachment to her; while others have openly disclaimed their connexion with Jemima. Such however as still continue her adherents, appear to be entirely devoted to her. With these she passes for

\* These are small offices or detached houses in America, in which butter, milk, and fresh meat are generally kept. They are called *spring-houses*, because a stream of fresh water is always running through them.

a prophetess, an indefcribable being; she is not Jemima Wilkinfon, but a spirit of a peculiar name, which remains a profound secret to all, who are not true believers; she is the *Friend*, the *All-friend*. Six or seven girls of different ages, but all young and handsome, wait upon her, with surprising emulation, to enjoy the peculiar satisfaction of being permitted to approach this celestial being. Her fields, and her garden, are ploughed and dug by the Friends, who neglect their own business, to take care of her's; and the *All-friend* is so condescending, as not to refuse their services; she comforts them with a kind word now and then, makes enquiries after and provides for their health and welfare, and has the art of effectually captivating their affections, the more perhaps because she knows how to keep her votaries at a respectful distance.

When the service was over, Jemima invited us to dinner. The hope of watching her more narrowly induced us to accept the invitation; but we did not then know, that it forms a part of the character she acts, never to eat with any one. She soon left us; and locking herself up with her female friend, sat down, without other company, to an excellent dinner; we did not get ours, till after she had dined. When our dinner was over, and also another, which was served up after ours, the sanctuary opened again. And now Jemima appeared once more at the door of her room, and conversed with us, seated in an arm-chair. When strangers are with her, she never comes over the threshold of her bedroom; and when by herself, she is constantly engaged in deliberation how to improve the demesne of her friend. The house was, this day, very full. Our company consisted of exactly ten persons; after us dined another company of the same number; and as many dined in the kitchen. Our plates, as well as the table-linen, were perfectly clean and neat; our repast, although frugal, was yet better in quality than any, of which we had partaken, since our departure from Philadelphia; it consisted of good fresh meat, with pudding, an excellent salad, and a beverage of a peculiar yet charming flavour, with which we were plentifully supplied out of Jemima's apartment, where it was prepared. The devout guests observed, all this while, a profound silence; they either cast down  
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their eyes, or lifted them up to heaven with a rapturous sigh; to me they appeared, not unlike a party of the faithful, in the primitive ages, dining in a church.

The *All-friend* had by this time exchanged her former dress for that of a fine Indian lady, which, however, was cut out in the same fashion as the former. Her hair and eye-brows had again been combed. She did not utter a syllable respecting our dinner; nor did she offer to make any apology for her absence. Constantly engaged in personating the part she has assumed, she descanted in a sanctimonious, mystic tone, on death, and on the happiness of having been an useful instrument to others in the way of their salvation. She afterwards gave us a rhapsody of prophecies to read, ascribed to one Dr. LOVE, who was beheaded in CROMWELL's time; wherein she clearly discerned, according to her accounts, the French Revolution, the decline and downfall of Popery, and the impending end of the world. Finding, however, that this conversation was but ill adapted to engage our attention, she cut short her harangue at once. We had indeed already seen more than enough, to estimate the character of this bad actress, whose pretended sanctity only inspired us with contempt and disgust, and who is altogether incapable of imposing upon any person of common understanding, unless those of the most simple minds, or downright enthusiasts. Her speeches are so strongly contradicted by the tenor of her actions; her whole conduct, her expence, compared with that of other families, within a circumference of fifty miles, her way of living, and her dress, form such a striking contrast with her harangues on the subject of contemning earthly enjoyments, and the extreme assiduity, with which she is continually endeavouring to induce children, over whom she has any influence, to leave their parents, and form a part of her community; all those particulars so strongly militate against the doctrine of peace and universal love, which she is incessantly preaching, that we were actually struck with abhorrence of her duplicity and hypocrisy, as soon as the first emotions of our curiosity subsided.

Her fraudulent conduct, indeed, has been discovered by so many persons, and so much has been said against it, that it is difficult to account for her having had any adherents at all, even for a short time. And yet she will probably retain a sufficient number, to increase still further her fortune, which is already considerable for the country in which she resides, and fully adequate to the only end which she now seems anxious to attain; namely, to live independent, in a decent, plentiful, and even elegant manner. There are so many weak-minded religionists, and Jemima is so particularly careful to select her disciples among persons who are either very old or very young, that her imposture, however gross and palpable to the discerning, may yet be carried on for some time with success, sufficient to answer her ultimate purpose. If her credit should sink too low, she would find herself constrained to transplant her holiness to some other region; and, in fact, she had, last year, harboured the design of removing her family and establishment, and of settling in Carlton Island, on the Lake of Ontario, where she would enjoy the satisfaction of living under the English Government, which, by her account, has proffered her a grant of land.

If we may believe common rumour, she dissuades the young women generally from marrying. In regard to those about her, this advice originates from motives of personal interest. I have little doubt, but that the pious devotion of these girls is fervent enough, to submit to all the caprices of the *All-friend* (which in their belief are inspirations). Another report is also handed about, that she has met with a male being, whom she fancies sufficiently purified, to unite occasionally with her own exalted society and converse. On this head a story prevails, which, though somewhat ludicrous, may yet properly find a place in a work of the gravest complexion, especially as it affords an additional proof of the endless multiplicity of pious deceptions.

Among other votaries of Jemima was one 'Squire PARKER, who settled in her neighbourhood, and still resides near Friendsmill. Though a jolly fellow, ever gay and jocund, he espoused very zealously the cause and interest of the prophets. This Parker, who was constantly in Jemima's

ma's retinue, gave himself out to be the Prophet Elijah, and very rightly conceived, that, by assuming a peculiar dress, he should give a more imposing character to his impostures. He wore accordingly a white gown with large sleeves, and a girdle; in short, whatever he fancied might belong to the costume of the ancient prophets. This was the being, who was honoured with the high privilege of living with the *All-friend* on terms of the greatest intimacy. One evening the 'Squire, during a colloquy, instituted by the divine and holy friend for the edification of her flock, stole into the celestial bed, which happened to be already occupied by a young girl of only fourteen. This girl, who had frequently heard the *All-friend* say, that the Messiah sometimes appeared to her in her bed under different forms, and that she then conversed with him, fancied herself chosen by heaven to enjoy the felicity of being a witness of one of these apparitions, and retired piously to the edge of the bed, where with awful respect and in profound silence she listened to the repeated raptures, with which the pretended Messiah blessed the *All-friend*. The next morning the poor girl could not refrain from indulging her vanity by acquainting all her friends, that in the bed of her friend she had seen Christ, but who greatly resembled, she said, the Prophet Elijah. Her curious and enraptured friends enquired into all the particulars of this apparition, of which she gave the most satisfactory and circumstantial account in her power. It will hardly be doubted, that this religious trick not a little strengthened the credulity of the female friends in the *All-friend*, and inspired Jemima with assurance, frequently to enjoy similar apparitions.

A justice of the peace in the country, speaking of Jemima, assured us also, that one of the girls, who lived with her, has judicially deposed, that, one day, she heard the cry of a new-born infant, which Jemima's negro-woman, as is conjectured, was in the act of smothering between two mattresses. That this deposition exists is undeniable; but the fact itself is so atrocious, that it would seem incredible with respect to any other person except a prophetess. Whether this child were the result of a slip of one of the maids of honour, or the fruit of her own intercourse with



with the apparitions, is not known. If, from the little regard that has been paid to this story, its veracity should appear doubtful, let it be observed, that in this new country justice is but seldom duly administered; that, often, it is difficult to obtain it at all; and that no one deems himself interested in substantiating the truth of the deposition, which, after all, it would be no easy matter to do. Dervises, pontiffs, and priests of most religions persuade throughout the world, such at least as would render religion subservient to worldly purposes, are either impostors or enthusiasts. Alas! alas! much the greater number, I fear, belong with Jemima to the former class!

The first settlers, who thoughtlessly followed their divinity to this place, not being able to purchase the lands, which composed the three districts, the remainder has been restored to the company, who have again disposed of it, and are still selling it to all, who are desirous of becoming settlers. Accordingly, numbers of Methodists, Anabaptists, and members of the Church of England, are now to be seen here; yet the colony retains its original name of *The Friends' Settlement*. Two meetings have been built here for the Quakers; one for the Methodists, and one for the Anabaptists. The soil in these parts appears to be of prime quality. The land, occupied by families of Quakers, amounts to about five hundred acres, more or less cleared, which produce excellent crops.

The estate, which we viewed with most attention, is that of BENEDICT ROBINSON, situate between Lake Seneca and Friendsmill. This Robinson is one of the Quakers, who arrived here in the retinue of the *All-friend*, being then one of her most zealous disciples. He now speaks on this subject with evident embarrassment, in terms which still evince his attachment, yet without enthusiasm, and without extolling her or placing implicit confidence in her divine mission and oracular effusions. In short, he expresses himself in a manner, which sufficiently indicates, that he has been imposed upon by her in a higher degree, than he is willing to acknowledge. Knowing that he still professed an attachment to her, and perceiving the embarrassment with which he delivered himself on this subject, we thought proper to discontinue our enquiries.

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This Benedict Robinson is a sensible, mild, and well behaved man; he resides on an estate of five hundred acres, about one hundred and fifty of which are cleared. Eighty have been laid out as meadows, and on these are sown timothy-grass, and white clover. He purchased his demesne from the New York company for five shillings an acre, and it is now worth, at least, three or four dollars. His present stock amounts to about thirty-five head of cattle; but he intends to rear more, and to make this the chief branch of his farming business, on a plan which appears well adapted to the nature of the ground. Mr. Robinson, who has resided here only three years, has not yet been able to acquire any important information on the different departments of agriculture, and on the productions best adapted to the soil; and besides he appears to labour under prejudices, which he entertains in common with the great majority of American farmers. He does not plough his land, but contents himself with breaking it up with a harrow of iron teeth, which tears up the ground about four inches deep. After this simple operation, he sows his wheat, yet never until he has reaped two crops of potatoes or oats from the land, on which the wheat is sown. The soil is so strong, that, if rye were sown immediately after clearing the ground, the ears would run up so high, and grow so heavy, that they would fall on one side, and be damaged by rotting. This fact, as he assured us, is evident from the general experience of the other farmers of this district. Wheat, sown after the first harrowing, produces from twenty to twenty-five bushels, and Indian corn about sixty bushels. Wheat is sown for several years successively, after harrowing, without the least assistance from the plough, and the crops continue constantly the same. Several farmers, who have sown wheat in this manner for these last six years, have still obtained good crops. Rye yields also from twenty to twenty-five bushels, and oats thirty-five. But I must once more observe, that neither wheat nor rye is ever sown for the first crop. Mr. Robinson told us, that, in compliance with the wish of a friend, he ploughed half an acre, on which he sowed wheat, but that the other half, which was not ploughed, turned out more productive than the former. This assertion, however, is so contradictory to

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all theory, as well as to the universal experience of agriculturists, who use the plough, that it seemed to us very problematical, and founded on prejudice, rather than on mature reflection and observation. Mr. Robinson is also of opinion, that barked trees, which are left standing on the cleared land, far from lessening the produce, rather increase it, by shading the land, and thus preventing the soil from being too rapidly penetrated by the rays of the sun; the immediate contact of which having never experienced before, it should be accustomed to it by degrees. But this opinion is rather the offspring of prejudice than sound reason; and, according to a general practice observable in all countries and climates, seems rather intended to reconcile us to the impossibility of proceeding otherwise, than to establish itself as a new agricultural truth. It cannot be denied, that the number of the sheaves, and compactness of the ears, which we meet with on lands, where two hundred barked trees have been left standing on an acre, is in itself really surprising. But then these two hundred trees, reckoning only eighteen square inches for each tree, must engross a considerable space, which might produce a proportionate quantity of grain.

In this part of Genessee the winter lasts from four to five months. The cattle are fed with hay and straw, but remain always in the open air. Mr. Robinson fed his cattle at first in the stall; but the experience of the last two years has convinced him, that they thrive better in the open air, where they also consume less fodder: his cattle are, therefore, now fed in the farm-yard. The produce of the estate consists in grain, cheese, and butter. The hay is mostly consumed on the farm. The average produce is one tun and a half per acre, beside the grass, which is consumed by the cattle as it grows. As the extent of his meadows shall be gradually enlarged, he proposes to increase his stock, which he intends to make a principal article of his trade. The produce of his estate is transported on the lakes, either to Canandaqua, Geneva, or Bath. Last year he sold one thousand pounds weight of cheese, at the rate of a shilling a pound. He keeps about forty sheep, and hopes to increase his flock, without being apprehensive of the wolves, which, though very numerous  
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in the surrounding forests, do but little harm. His wool is fine, and sells for four shillings a pound, without regard to its quality; for in this country, which is yet too young to possess manufactories, every farmer manufactures, in his own family, all the cloth he wants: the sale of wool is therefore very inconsiderable; a circumstance, which tends not a little to confirm the farmers in their prejudices against rearing sheep. Wheat sells here from six to seven shillings, Indian corn four, and rye five shillings per bushel; the price of flour is two dollars and a half per hundred weight; salt beef ten pence per pound, and fresh beef from four pence to five pence. Hemp sells at one penny a pound; a pair of tolerably good oxen will fetch from sixty to seventy dollars, and a cow from twenty-five to thirty. Servants earn from five to six shillings wages a week. A few negroes excepted, maid-servants do all the work about the farm as well as the house. Day labourers, as in most other parts of America, are not easily procured; their pay is four shillings a day, or from nine to ten dollars a month.

In the whole adjoining district there is but one school, and that is kept by the Quakers, who, however, admit all children without distinction, on their paying four shillings per quarter. None of the medical faculty have yet settled here. The settlement, however, upon the whole, is advancing to prosperity with rapid strides. It is surrounded by the immense tract of land, which belongs to Captain Williamson, and consequently enjoys all the advantages and improvements, which his extensive establishment commands. Mr. Robinson's estate, which he purchased from the company in New York, appears to be actually within the precincts of Captain Williamson's demesne; as the latter, who bought his lands from the state of Massachusetts, learned from the report of his surveyors, that the boundaries of New York lay farther out. Accordingly these boundaries were marked out, and a line drawn, forming a triangle with the old line, the point of which touches the line of Pennsylvania, below the river Tioga, while the base, which stretches along the Lake of Ontario, is from three to four miles in breadth; this has enlarged Captain Williamson's demesne, which he holds from the state of Massachu-

setts, one hundred and twenty thousand acres. Robinson's estate lies within this new line. Under some apprehension for the consequences, with which this change of property might be attended, he has not, at present, made all the improvements, which he had in view. He is assured, however, that he will be well used, and that the state of New York, equally weighing the justice of Captain Williamson's claim, and the legality of possession of the lands since parcelled out to the settlers, will indemnify the former by grants of an equal quantity of uncleared ground, and thus prevent the latter from being molested in the quiet possession of the lands, which they hold from the company in New York. Robinson is now building a good wooden house, and he proposes to clear a great additional number of acres.

The expence of felling and barking the trees, and inclosing the ground, amounts, at present, to six dollars per acre. Two years ago it did not exceed four. The owner of the land provides the oxen necessary for removing the largest trunks.

I must not forget, however, to observe, that according to an agreement, concluded many years ago, between the states of New York and Massachusetts, all the lands sold by and belonging to the latter, are to be subjected to the territorial supremacy of New York.

The lands hereabouts are frequently visited, as they were this year, by a species of locusts, which fix chiefly on the trees, and destroy the leaves. They are so extremely numerous, that every attempt to destroy or remove them must apparently prove fruitless. Flies likewise are very troublesome here, being found in such prodigious swarms, especially about noon, that the farmers are obliged to keep large fires burning near their houses, where the cattle find shelter from these tormenting insects, until the cool of the evening, when the latter disappear, and retire into the woods.

Lake Seneca is about two miles and a half distant from Mr. Robinson's estate. By the Indians it was called Canada Saga. Its present name is doubtless derived from the circumstance of its discharging itself into the river Seneca, which, after being joined by six or seven smaller

smaller lakes, at length empties itself into the immense lake of Ontario. It is remarkable, that all the other waters, even up to this degree of latitude, flow in a southerly direction. Lake Seneca is about forty miles in length, by three, four, and five miles in breadth. It is said to abound in fish of a very fine flavour, as do all the other American lakes, and yet fish is as scarce here as in any other part. The inhabitants of the banks are so few, and have so much other business upon their hands, that they can seldom or ever find time to go a fishing. To render this branch of industry flourishing, the population and wealth of a country must have reached to a certain height, from which America, in its present state, seems far removed. In the towns every inhabitant is engaged in business, either as a merchant or a tradesman; and in the country every planter and farmer either keeps an inn or a store. All other occupations are, and will yet, for some time, be out of the question.

The point, where we arrived at the banks of Lake Seneca, contains a settlement of about three or four houses, among which that of Mr. NORRIS is the most conspicuous; it is a small, neat log-house, handsome in its appearance, and connected with another, in which he keeps a store. It is no easy matter to conceive why this person, who is possessed of an immense quantity of land on the opposite bank of the lake, should erect these two houses here, on a spot which does not belong to him, but which, according to a verbal promise of the company at New York, which claimed the property of the ground, was to be sold to him, if he chose to have it, a contract which the company is now unable to fulfil; as by the late ascertainment of the boundaries, this spot is included within the demesne of Captain Williamson, of whom, for want of a written agreement, he has no right to demand an indemnification. Yet Captain Williamson will himself, no doubt, perform that promise, if it shall appear to have been made actually and *bona fide*. Independently of the benevolent sentiments, which are generally ascribed to this gentleman, he possesses sufficient discernment to perceive, that his interest is greatly promoted by a just conduct and civil demeanor.

A pot and pearl-ash work forms no inconsiderable part of this small

settlement. The navigation on the lake not only facilitates the home conveyance of the ashes, which are made on both banks of the lake, whenever the ground is cleared, but also the exportation of those articles to Geneva or Catherine's Town; which places are situate at the two extremities of the lake. By means of his store, Mr. Norris can procure his ashes at a very reasonable rate, as he pays for them in commodities, which he receives at New York, and the carriage for which amounts to only three dollars per cent.

Our two travelling companions, who had last year passed over this part of our journey, introduced us on the same day to Mr. POTTER, a rich land-owner, who possesses about twenty-five thousand acres, and resides eight miles from Friendsmill. About one hundred and fifty acres of his estate are already reduced under tillage; and he gave us nearly the same information, relative to the state and agricultural productions of these parts, as Mr. Robinson. Mr. Potter and his whole family were formerly among the several zealous adherents of Jemima, but his attachment is now converted into contempt, and even detestation. He has not only renounced all communion with her, but, at the same time, all the peculiar habits and tenets of the Quakers. He lives on his estate in a more elegant and gentleman-like manner, than any other land-holder in this neighbourhood. He keeps several servant-, and rather superintends the management of his estate by others, than attends actively to it himself. He possesses a good corn-mill, and a saw-mill, which are both worked for him, by a miller whom he employs. His corn-mill has yet ground solely for the public; and, for this reason, it has only one course, although the quantity of water is fully sufficient to supply two. He intends to add another course, as soon as the country shall be sufficiently populous to keep it in employment. The saw-mill may also be enlarged, as occasion requires. The usual price for the sawing of timber is either six dollars in money for every thousand feet, or half the boards cut. We were very civilly received by Mr. Potter and his family, yet rather with exterior politeness than true urbanity. Mr. Potter speaks little, yet expresses himself on most subjects with great propriety. Whether from bashfulness, or affectation,

affectation, he has about him an air of reserve, which is not a little disagreeable to a traveller, and proves unfavourable to his desire of information—the great motive which brought us hither. It must, however, be admitted, that to answer the endless questions of strangers must, at best, prove an irksome task to a land-holder—a confession, which includes our most grateful acknowledgments to those, who have been polite enough to gratify our curiosity.

The whole country abounds in sugar-maple trees \*, and very considerable quantities of this sugar are made here. The following is the substance of the information, which we were able to procure on this head :

1. The medium produce of a tree, standing in the midst of a wood, is three pounds of sugar.
2. The average produce of trees, standing on ground which has been cleared of all other wood, is from six to seven pounds per tree.
3. A barrel of the first juice, which comes from the maple-tree, will yield seven pounds of sugar, if the tree stand single, and four, if it stand in the midst of other wood. This sugar is sold at one shilling per pound.
4. A barrel of the second juice will yield three gallons and a half of treacle.
5. Four or five barrels of the third juice will yield one barrel of a good and pleasant vinegar.
6. The vinegar is found to be better, in proportion as it is more concentrated. This is the case with Robinson's vinegar, who, from ten barrels of the third juice, brews but one barrel of vinegar.
7. To clarify the vinegar, it must be boiled with leaven.
8. The third juice, which is not used for vinegar, yields cyder of an excellent flavour, when mixed with an equal quantity of water.
9. The longer the first juice is boiled, the better and finer the sugar will become.
10. In order that the trees may continue productive, they require to be tapped with extraordinary care; i. e. the fissures must be neither too deep, nor too wide, so that no water may settle in them, after the juice

\* *Acer saccharinum*, Lin. called by the Indians Ozeketa.—*Transl.*



is extracted, and that the wood may close again in the space of a twelve-month.

11. During the time the juice is flowing out, which lasts about six weeks, and generally begins on the 1st of February, all the days on which it freezes or rains are lost, so that the number of days on which the business can be pursued to advantage is frequently, from these circumstances, much diminished.

12. Maple sugar, however, is already obtained in sufficient quantities to form a respectable article of trade, as during the above time two persons can frequently make from five to six hundred pounds of it, and this quantity will be increased in proportion to the number of workmen employed. As the maple-tree, wherever it grows, multiplies with astonishing rapidity, we found, almost every where on our journey, no want of excellent sugar. At Robinson's it was better and finer than we had met with any where else; although in general it is not so white here as at Asylum, where Messrs. de VILLAIN and D'ANDLAU refine it with the yolks of eggs. At honest Robinson's we also partook of an excellent *liqueur*, or dram, which he called cherry-rum, and which consists of the juice of wild cherries, mixed up with a small quantity of rum. We learned, on this occasion, that the cherry-tree never produces fruit in a forest, but only when it stands single; from which it should seem, that the neighbouring trees injure and impede its vegetation. We were indebted chiefly to Mr. Robinson for the information we obtained on this subject, but the truth of it was equally confirmed from other quarters.

Our rambles in this neighbourhood led us, at length, to Friendsmill, where we found Captain Williamson. The resolution of making this additional excursion, in lieu of waiting for him at Bath, seemed the most proper we could adopt. I think it right here to take some notice of our worthy landlady at Friendsmill. She is a young woman, born and married at New York, whom the speculating propensity of her husband has brought into this country to keep an inn. She arrived here about two months ago; the elegance of her manners, and the propriety of her conduct, distinguish her very advantageously, even from many American

American ladies, who move in a higher sphere than that of inn-keepers. Her husband, engaged in his speculations, has been absent almost all the time since her arrival here. This young and elegant person, highly amiable in every point of view, derives additional charms from her delicate state of health, which seems to indicate, that she was not designed by nature for the drudgery of an inn-keeper's wife in America. She is, moreover, without the assistance of any servant, and is, consequently, obliged to perform every menial work herself in her new situation; and this she does with a degree of industry, and a mien so noble and graceful, as at once to command our sympathy, respect, and love. We found ourselves interested in her, she attracted all our esteem, and gained our warmest admiration. On our departure we testified our wish that her husband might soon return, and bring with him the servants she stands so much in need of; and, without whose assistance her health would be irretrievably injured, by the incessant toils requisite in her present situation. On the whole, we observed, that the women are handsomer here than in any other parts of the Continent we have hitherto traversed.

*Monday, the 8th of June.*

Our friend Blacons, who had not yet completely recovered from his fall, and was apprehensive of a similar accident on our way back, proposed to wait for us in Canandaqua, in order to avoid the fatigue of travelling eighty miles with us in a difficult country. We should value our friends not for the pleasure they afford us, but on their own account. This truism, which in general is considered as mere theory, was here reduced by us to practice. We felt and testified our regret at parting with Blacons, but left this matter to his own option; fearful, only, that he should mis his way, though short and plain enough. He would not have taken this resolution, probably, could he have foreseen that M. Dupetitthouars and myself, missing our way at the very outset, would be necessitated to strike into the upper road, which is very good, and thus avoid the impediments, which occasioned his fall, and justified his apprehensions.

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On our way back to Bath we met, with nothing remarkable, except an Indian intoxicated with whisky, and who demanded of us more of that liquor. He belonged to a troop, which was hunting in the forest, and had his child with him, though no Indian habitation was to be found within the space of two or three hundred miles. Nothing, however, is more common than these hunting-rambles, even at such a great distance from all habitations. The produce of the chase they sell to any inhabitants they meet for a dollar or a bottle of whisky, and behave, on most occasions, in a very orderly manner. Few or no complaints are made of them; a circumstance the more easily accounted for, as an intoxicated person is here by no means an uncommon appearance.

*Wednesday, the 10th of June.*

At Bath we were led by a train of reflections to observe, how much the success of a settlement depends on the activity, judicious management, incessant application, and steady prosecution of a well-concerted plan; success, indeed, must necessarily crown not only this sort of undertaking, but all others, when thus planned and executed. Whether Captain Williamson be the sole proprietor of the lands in Genessee, or co-owner thereof; or, which appears to me the most probable, is merely the agent of the wealthy Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY of London, the real possessor of these lands, all things relative to the settlement of them are transacted in the Captain's name, he being considered as the sole creator, director, and main spring, of every act of purchase and sale which is made or negotiated.

The land in Genessee, or rather that part of it which belongs to the State of Massachusetts, and was not then sold, was, in 1791, purchased in London of Mr. Morris for one shilling per acre; he had bought it of Mr. PHELPS for five-pence per acre. The contract was concluded on the supposition, that this tract of land contained a million of acres; and on condition, that the fifty thousand pounds sterling, which were to be paid immediately, should be returned by Mr. Morris, provided

vided that Captain Williamson, who was to view the lands, should not find them answerable to the description given by the vender. Captain Williamson was highly satisfied with the lands; and, of course, the agreement was definitively settled. It reflects no little credit on Mr. Morris, that, when on surveying the lands a surplus of one hundred and twenty thousand acres was discovered, he made no difficulty in transferring them, together with the rest, to Captain Williamson, without the least remuneration, because, as he observed, it had been his intention *bona fide* to sell the whole without any reservation whatever. But for this generous mode of proceeding, the discovery of such a considerable surplus might have furnished ample matter for litigation. It is much to be wished, that so disinterested and liberal a character may find means, to extricate himself from the difficulties, in which he is now involved.

This district of Captain Williamson's, bounded on one side by Lake Ontario, and on the other by the river Genessee, extends eighty miles in length by thirty or forty in breadth. Though this district comprehends a quantity of land, which was sold antecedent to Captain Williamson's contract, yet its continuity is not thereby interrupted. Captain Williamson has purchased some other land, which he has annexed to that bought of Mr. Morris, so that he is now the proprietor of a tract consisting of not less than one million five hundred thousand acres. After having spent six months in visiting and surveying this extensive district, he at length came to a determination, to found at once several large establishments, rather than one capital colony. He accordingly fixed upon the most eligible spots for building towns, which were to serve as central points to his whole system of settlements; these were, Bath, on the creek of Conhocton; Williamsburg, on the river Genessee; Geneva, at the extremity of Lake Seneca; and Great Sodus, on Lake Ontario. He has divided his whole territory into squares of six miles, more or less, varying a little according to local circumstances. Each of these sections is to form what he calls a district.

The captain very justly observed, that this excellent land, for it is in general of the best quality, would soon find purchasers, when its

fertility should come to be properly known. He made it therefore his first business, to establish a mode of communication between Philadelphia and this new tract. Formerly persons travelling to these parts were obliged to proceed hither by the way of Albany and New York; which caused a circuit of five hundred miles or more, that part of the road included which leads from Northumberland to Loyalsock, on the eastern arm of the Susquehannah. Captain Williamson has shortened this way by at least three hundred miles. The new road likewise, which leads from Bath by Painted Post, is now continued as far as Williamsburg, while a by-road runs from Bath to Canandaqua, another from Bath to Geneva, and a third from Canandaqua to Great Sodus. In addition to these, several others have been made, which, though yet not much frequented, will in time become of great importance. For the use of this vast territory, the Captain has already erected ten mills, namely, three corn and seven saw-mills, together with a great number of houses; and he has begun, in several places, to clear the waste-lands. The considerable sums, which, being sufficiently rich for that purpose, he was under the necessity of advancing, before he could sell an inch of ground, he justly considers as money laid out to the greatest possible advantage.

He moreover put himself to the heavy expence of transporting eighty families hither from Germany; which should have been selected from among the inhabitants of Saxony; but which his agent at Hamburg chose from among the crowds of foreigners, whom poverty, idleness, and necessities of every kind, induce to resort to that mercantile city, with a view to emigration. These families, which on their arrival here were placed on small farms, have not however cleared the land allotted to them. Being maintained from the first out of Captain Williamson's stores, they did not so much as work on the roads, which they were to finish; and their leader, the very agent, who had selected and brought them over, after having rioted for some time in idleness, drunkenness, and debauchery, at length ran away, with the whole set, to Canada; being gained over, if we may believe common fame, by the English.

This

This sinister incident, discouraging as it was to the Captain, engaged in business of great urgency and importance, did not however depress his spirits, or cool his zeal. The foreign labourers were instantly replaced by Irishmen, with a very considerable gain in point of the progress of labour, as well as of saving in the article of expence. The roads, which had been only begun, were soon put into good condition; and the land, which at first was sold at one dollar per acre, in two years time sold for three. The produce of about eight hundred thousand acres, disposed of in this manner by Captain Williamson, have not only refunded the purchase-money, and the whole amount of the other expence incurred, but also, by his own confession, yielded a nett profit of fifty thousand pounds sterling.

This great and rapid accumulation of property he, undoubtedly, owes to the money he at first advanced; but besides the necessity of this money being laid out with judgment and activity, it was also requisite, that, in addition to his other means of forwarding improvement, he should be master of some subordinate advantages, without which, so rapid a return of his first disbursements was hardly to be expected. Captain Williamson constantly resides in the very centre of his settlements, which circumstance, alone, gives him a very superior advantage over all the great landholders, private speculators, and trading companies, who reside in towns; for these, being often engaged in stock-jobbing, which holds out considerable profit, nearer in prospect than what can be obtained from the sale of land, discourage purchasers, either by subjecting them to enormous travelling charges, or obliging them to carry on a tedious correspondence, in the course of which they have frequently to wait a long time before they can get a definitive answer, if they do not incur considerable unnecessary expence to expedite the business.

Captain Williamson, on the contrary, who is always to be found in the midst of his possessions, and is ever attentive to see and answer those who have business with him, frequently concludes a contract, and removes every difficulty, in the course of a few minutes conver-

sation; so that the purchaser, when he comes to view the land, being extremely pleased with the soil, the trifling purchase-money, the speedy conclusion of the contract, and the good reception he has experienced from the Captain, on his return home, imparts his satisfaction to his whole neighbourhood, and generally brings along with his own family some new settlers, who also win over other proselytes in the like manner, and from the same motives.

2dly, Captain Williamson's land is free from all dispute or question concerning its right of occupancy. His claims being strictly legal, all his land is properly ascertained and marked out. The purchasers can, therefore, with entire security, extend at once, like Captain Williamson, their operations over every part of their settlement. This is an important additional advantage in the sale and purchase of land, which however is but too little attended to by those, who are engaged in speculations of this nature.

3dly, His land, the price for an acre of which has gradually risen from one dollar, to twelve shillings, two dollars, and at last to three dollars, is always sold with a proviso, that a number of acres be cleared, equal to the number of families which shall come to settle, within eighteen months. This clause is, however, only exacted from those, who purchase a large quantity of land; they who buy small shares of five hundred or a thousand acres, are bound only to procure one family. No contract is concluded without this clause, which is of more importance, than at first sight it appears to be; for every man, who possesses a piece of ground, the value of which is progressively encreasing every year, will be solicitous not to forfeit the possession of it, and conduct himself accordingly. However, if he should sell again before the expiration of eighteen months, the new purchaser is rendered liable to the condition, and Captain Williamson, who adheres to his original contract, and considers the land as mortgaged for the execution of it, resumes the possession of the shares then sold, if the conditions of the sale be not fulfilled. This rigorous measure is not pursued in cases, where  
known

known obstacles impede or protract the execution of the clause: for the Captain is too sensible, that it is his interest to act uniformly in a mild, just and condescending manner. The clause however can always be enforced, and is actually enforced often enough, to spur the indolence of such purchasers as need this incitement. It is, therefore, upon the whole, extremely well adapted to promote the success of his undertaking. For, in proportion to the quantity of land already rendered fit for cultivation, will doubtless be the price of that which yet remains unfold.

4thly, The following are the Captain's terms of payment: to discharge half the purchase-money in three years after the first conclusion of the contract, and the remainder at the expiration of six years. The payment of interest to commence from eighteen months after the period when the bargain is struck. These terms are remarkably advantageous to a purchaser; for if he instantly set about clearing the ground, he may easily obtain the produce thereof, before the interest becomes due; nay, his crops may frequently procure him somewhat towards the payment of the first instalment. Such families, as are extremely poor, the Captain supplies occasionally with a cow, an ox, or even a house to live in. But this generosity he exercises with great prudence and discretion. He makes but few presents of this nature, yet these are in sufficient number, to invite colonists, by a well-founded reliance on his general character for benevolence; and hitherto none, but German families, have abused his kindness. Assistance so highly important can only be afforded by landholders, who reside personally on their demesnes. A proprietor, who is absent from his estate, or a distant commercial company, can only act upon general principles, the application of which frequently leads to inconvenient expences, or has a tendency even to deprive the country of inhabitants, who alone can give it agricultural or political importance.

5thly, Captain Williamson never establishes a settlement, without having previously made such arrangements, as shall secure a regular supply of provision



provision to the inhabitants. His own stores, which however he does not seem to consider as his own, are never opened, unless it should happen, that settlers, from want of prudence or property, are exposed to want. Were he to open them before, the industry of the inhabitants would be quickly relaxed; which in all new settlements, it is highly necessary to foster and stimulate. While he employs the same means in such settlements as are already formed; and this precaution, though, not always necessary, is never attended with any loss or damage, because in a new country of such vast extent, the prime necessities of life are sure at all times to meet with a ready sale.

6thly, He encourages every new settlement by taking himself a share in it. When five or six new settlers have formed the project of building their houses together, he always adds one to them at his own expence, and which is much superior to theirs. This expence, which at first sight seems to carry with it an air of generosity, or perhaps affectation, is in reality founded on the soundest policy. The share, on which Williamson builds, generally acquires ten times its former value. A purchaser or tenant soon appears; and the different houses and mills, which he has erected, have hitherto, without exception, produced twice or three times as much as they cost.

7thly, Once every year, at least, he makes it a point, to visit each of his settlements, and thus diffuses activity by his presence. This inspection tends to promote the sale of the land, and to ensure security and ease to the purchaser. In addition to these prominent traits of his management, he employs all the various means, which the peculiarity of situation or other circumstances may offer. Independently of the medical stores, which he keeps in all the chief places of his settlement, he encourages by premiums races, and all other games and pastimes of young people. He is attempting likewise to establish horse-races, with a view to improve the breed of horses, and keeps himself a set of beautiful stallions. These horses cover only the mares of proprietors, who must hire them, from motives which must be obvious to all who are conversant in subjects of this nature.

Captain

Captain Williamfon has now nearly put the finishing ftroke to his great undertaking. Next autumn he propofes to fail for England, and to return the following fpring with a choice afsemblage of horfes, cattle, and fheep, of the beft breeds he can obtain, and a collection of models of all implements of agriculture, the dimensions of which are fo nicely calculated, and fo well made in that great country, where all ufeul arts, and efpecially thofe which relate to agriculture, have attained to an uncommon degree of perfection. Captain Williamfon will, therefore, not only procure to his extenfive poffeffions, fingular advantages over thofe of other landholders, but alfo become the benefactor of America at large, whole agriculture he cannot fail to meliorate, by offering to her view improvements, fanned by time and experience.

What I have related on this head is not merely the refult of what we faw and heard from the Captain himfelf during our ftay at Bath, but it tallies correctly with the information we afterwards collected at Genefsee. Captain Williamfon is here univerfally refpected, honoured, and beloved. How glorious, in my efteem, is his career ! How fortunate and enviable his deftination ! How much more important than that of a diffipated courtier, or a mercenary ftock-jobber ! I too, not in a new country, but in France, where there is fuch an ample field for ufeul exertion, formed fimilar eftablifhments on my eftates, by which I diffufed activity and induftry all around me ; I ftudied to enrich the country, and to render it induftrious and flourifhing. I hoped, and expected, to encrease the felicity of my own fituation, by adding to the comforts of my poor neighbours. Undertakings, which had no object but the welfare of my country, were beginning to be crowned with all the defired fuccefs, when I was fuddenly obliged to relinquifh that much loved country, to which I was rendering fo much fervice. I am now, alas ! an exile ; all my hopes have vanifhed like a fadow. Solitarily I wander, without a country I can call my own : life, therefore, for me, is completely at an end. But no more of thefe reflections on what I was, and what I am : they are too painful.

To return to Captain Williamson. The four days we remained here, we employed in visiting the different settlements in the neighbourhood of Bath. This place has been fixed upon, to be the chief town of a county. The present county of Ontario, at the next sitting of the Legislative Assembly of New York, is to be divided into two parts, one of which is to retain its former name of Canandaqua, from the chief town so called; and the other is to assume the name of the county of Bath, the chief place of which is to be the city of that name.

Mr. Williamson is, at present, building a school, in Bath. This he intends to endow with some hundred acres of land, and to take upon himself the maintenance of the master, until the money, paid for the instruction of the children, shall be sufficient for his support. For good reasons, the Captain has been for some time past enquiring after an able school-master. He is also building a sessions-house and a prison. The present inn was likewise built by him; but he afterwards disposed of it at a considerable profit. He is now building another, chiefly to excite proper emulation, and an Englishman already occupies a part of the unfinished building, which, in addition to other conveniences, is also to contain a ball-room. Near Bath, on the other side of the Conhocton, he has erected a corn-mill, and two saw-mills; which works, from the great quantity of water at hand, are capable of considerable enlargement. He is likewise constructing a bridge, for the purpose of opening a free and uninterrupted communication with the country on the other side; it will also prove of essential service to the road leading to Williamsburg, which runs along the foot of the mountains. These mills, when finished, will not cost more than five thousand dollars; and the Captain has already been offered for them twelve thousand five hundred dollars, besides a share of one hundred acres of land. He also possesses some small farms in the vicinity of Bath. A good husbandman, who was his neighbour in Scotland, superintends these farms, which appear to me to be better managed, and better ploughed, than any I have hitherto seen. In all these settlements, he has at least one estate reserved for himself. The stock on all of them is remarkably good, and he keeps them in his own possession,

possession, until he can oblige some of his friends with them, or handsome offers are made for them from other quarters.

"To the different settlements already mentioned the Captain is now adding two others on Lake Ontario; one near Rondegut, on the river Genessee; and the other at Braddock, thirty miles farther inland. As there appeared some danger of a war breaking out between America and England, it is but very lately, that he carried this project into execution; and for the same reason the works at Great Sodus have also been much delayed. Last year General Simcoe, Governor of Upper Canada, who considered the forts of Niagara and Oswego, which the English have retained, in violation of the treaty, as English property, together with the banks of Lake Ontario, sent an English officer to the Captain, with an injunction, not to persist in his design of forming these settlements. The Captain returned a plain and spirited answer, yet nevertheless conducted himself with a prudence conformable to the circumstances. All these difficulties, however, are now removed by the prospect of the continuance of peace, and still more so by the treaty newly concluded. It is asserted, that the situation of Great Sodus, on the coast of this district, promises to afford safe and convenient moorings for ships, from the depth of the water, and that the post may also be easily fortified against an enemy. On consulting the map, the great importance of such a harbour to the United States, will be readily discerned, whether it be considered as a port for ships of war, or for merchantmen.

Hitherto I have spoken of Captain Williamson merely in his public character, as founder of the most extensive settlement, which has hitherto been formed in America. I shall now follow him into private life, where his hospitality and other social qualities render him equally conspicuous and amiable: and here it is but doing him common justice to say, that in him are united all the civility, good nature, and cheerfulness, which a liberal education, united to a proper knowledge of the world, can impart. We spent four days at his house, from an early hour in the morning un-

til late at night, without ever feeling ourselves otherwise than at home. Perhaps it is the fairest eulogium we can pass on his free and easy urbanity, to say, that all the time of our stay he seemed as much at his ease, as if we had not been present. He transacted all his business in our presence, and was actively employed the whole day long. We were present at his receiving persons of different ranks and descriptions, with whom the apartment he allots to business is generally crowded. He received them all with the same civility, attention, cheerfulness, and good nature. They come to him prepossessed with a certain confidence in him, and they never leave him dissatisfied. He is at all times ready to converse with any, who have business to transact with him. He will break off a conversation with his friends, or even get up from dinner, for the sake of dispatching those, who wish to speak to him. From this constant readiness of receiving all who have business with him, should any conclude, that he is influenced by a thirst of gain, this surmise would be contradicted by the unanimous testimony of all who have had dealings with him, those not excepted, who have bought land of him, which many of them have sold again with considerable advantage to themselves. But were it even undeniable, that money is his leading or sole object, it is highly desirable, that all, who are swayed by the same passion, would gratify it in the same just, honourable, and useful manner.

The prices of all sorts of provision, of cattle, and labour, in this district, are exactly the same as in the Friends' Settlement, or, at least, so nearly the same, that it is needless to mention the difference. The price of carpenter's work is four pence a foot for hewn timber, and two dollars for ten square feet in boarding the sides of buildings, or covering them with shingles. It should be observed, however, that all sorts of merchandize are much dearer in the shops here than at Mrs. Hill's, at Friendsmill. The price of commodities in these new settlements depends, it may be said, entirely on the honour of the trader; for he alone can supply the wants of the inhabitants, and the Americans never offer less than the seller demands. The prices of planks are  
higher

higher at the Captain's mill than any where else. He takes seven dollars per thousand for cutting them, and the mill, which is continually at work, can cut six thousand in twenty-four hours time. He sells them at the rate of nine shillings per hundred. Should he continue possessor of the mill for any length of time, it is his intention to lower the price. He observed to us, that if he were to do so at present, he should discourage all the other inhabitants, who may have formed the design of constructing mills, and that the prices will soon be brought down by competition.

We are assured, that the climate here is much more temperate, both in winter and summer, than in Pennsylvania; that the winter seldom or never lasts above four months; that the cattle, even in that season, graze in the forest without inconvenience; and that no provision of fodder is requisite, during the winter, except for such cattle as are to be fattened. Neither does the snow ever lie so deep as to cover all the herbs, which serve for their pasture.

Captain Williamson has hitherto endeavoured, but in vain, to remove the objection of this district being rather unhealthy. In his opinion, the unhealthiness ascribed to it is nothing but the natural effect of the climate upon new settlers, and is confined to a few fits of fever, with which strangers are usually seized in the first or second year after their arrival. It is certain, however, that the inhabitants all agree in this unfavourable report of their climate; notwithstanding which crowds of new settlers resort every year to this district. Thus much, at least, we observed, that marshes and pieces of stagnant water are thickly spread over the face of the country; but these will, no doubt, be drained, as population and cultivation shall encrease; this however is and will for some time be unattempted; and moreover, the water for common drink is in most places unpleasant and unwholesome.

Though we slept at the inn, yet we spent the whole day, from morning to night, at Mr. Williamson's, where we enjoyed more tranquillity than in the noisy inn, which is no bigger than a sparrow's nest, and is

always crowded with travellers. One night twenty-five of us slept in two rooms, in six beds, which rooms were, in fact, nothing but despicable corn-lofts or garrets, pervious to the wind and rain.

The habitation of the Captain consists of several small houses, formed of trunks of trees and joiner's work, which at present make a very irregular whole, but which he intends soon to improve. His way of living is simple, neat, and good; every day we had a joint of fresh meat, vegetables, and wine. We met with no circumstances of pomp or luxury, but found ease, good humour, and plenty. In the useful, yet comfortable, manner, in which the Captain lives, life may be securely enjoyed, without disturbing the enjoyments of others.

About twenty houses compose, as yet, the whole of the town of Bath. It is built on one of the bays, which the Conhocton forms in its course. The banks of this creek are bounded on the opposite side by pretty high mountains, which are chiefly covered with pines and hemlock firs.

Our first intention was to have stopped at Captain Williamson's only one day; in compliance with his wish, however, we added another, and necessity compelled us to stay a third. When on the point of setting out, I perceived that my horse was lame; and though we were assured, that he might make the journey without the least inconvenience, yet Captain Williamson obligingly insisted on our staying one day longer. We should not have hesitated a moment to comply with this invitation, but for the uneasiness, which our delay might occasion to our friend Blacons. Mr. Guillemard obviated this difficulty, by offering to proceed himself, and thus remove any anxiety of our friend. Mr. Dupetitthouars and myself yielded, after this, with great pleasure, to the earnest and polite entreaties of the Captain.

Mrs. Williamson, whom we had not seen for the first two days, made her appearance on the third at dinner. To judge from her deportment, timidity, even to a degree of bashfulness, had till then deprived us of her company. She is a native of Boston, and was married there to the Captain, who, in the contest with Britain, had resided at Boston as a prisoner

of war ; being carried thither by a privateer, who captured the ship, on board of which he was a passenger, with a view to join his regiment. Mrs. Williamfon, it seems, had followed her husband to Scotland, and afterwards to Genesee. She is yet but a young woman, of a fair complexion, civil, though of few words, and mother of two lovely children, one of whom, a girl three years old, is the finest and handsomest I ever saw. This our opinion we did not fail to report to her parents, which afforded them great satisfaction.

*Friday, the 12th of June.*

Our horses, as well as ourselves, being completely refreshed and recovered, through the civility of the Captain, we at length quitted his hospitable dwelling, and took our leave, with mutual promises of epistolary correspondence, and rendering each other every service in our power—by which at least my travelling companion, Dupetitthouars, and myself, could surely be no losers.

After leaving Bath, we passed through a small settlement, consisting of about four English families, which arrived here from London only six months ago. They are chiefly lawyers, who had been used to work for the cabinet-makers in that great metropolis. They now work for themselves, and possess each an estate of about ninety acres. These they have already begun to clear for cultivation, assisting each other with their cattle and labour. They cannot fail, in time, to make their fortunes ; and in the mean while they enjoy that state of independence, which forms one of the best blessings of life, if accompanied with the means of subsistence. Their log-houses have an appearance of cleanliness, neatness, and order, which plainly bespeak these families to be English. To judge from the choice of their books, which form a part of their furniture, and from the conversation of some of them, they appear to be Methodists. These new English settlers have, this year, already made maple-sugar, and one of them the finest I have yet seen, even that of Asylum not excepted. Two of the wives of these new settlers have already caught the fever, and not



one of them appears to enjoy a good state of health. Eighteen miles farther from Bath, we found another family, that came hither last autumn from Maryland, afflicted with a fever. Four miles farther on we stopped at one Mrs. BEVER's, who was likewise laid up with an intermittent fever, the fits of which returned every day. This fever may, perhaps, be a tribute, paid but once to the climate, as Captain Williamson thinks; but the country, excellent as it is in all other respects, carries, I think, undoubted marks of being unhealthy; such as stagnant waters, phosphoric exhalations, swampy creeks, bad water for drinking, and an absolute scarcity of springs. Having some quantity of bark in our travelling-case, we gave a little of it to Mrs. Bever, with directions how to use it; we, at the same time, wrote a letter to Captain Williamson, informing him of the distress of this family, and of their want of more bark. We entertain little doubt, but that the Captain will receive this intelligence as a first attempt to fulfil, on our part, the engagement we entered into when we took leave of him.

It will be easily conceived, that after we had given the poor woman this advice, her husband shewed us all the respect, which men of the medical profession generally receive in this country. Yet his demonstrations of respect ceased, when we refused his repeated offers to pay us for the bark. Though we no longer appeared to Bever physicians of the usual cast, yet we were certainly deemed very knowing and clever, for several of the ten or twelve persons, who had repaired to this cottage for shelter and food, shewing us their wounds and contusions, requested our advice concerning them. We recommended to them, to wash their sores with salt and water; and the simplicity of this remedy, which would perhaps have met with little approbation from European peasants, did not here, in the least, abate the high opinion, which these good people had conceived of our superior knowledge. The company we met with at Mr. Bever's consisted of surveyors and some other persons, who had surveyed land, which they intended to purchase on the heights of Lake Canandaqua.

I say *on the heights*, because in that place a chain of mountains, about  
ten

ten or twelve miles in length, separates the water, which flows in a southern direction, from that, which discharges itself into the river of St. Laurence.

We found, among these persons, a young man, who about six weeks before had been bitten on the knee by a rattle-snake, while he was fishing on the banks of Lake Canandaqua. At first he did not feel much pain in the part affected; but an hour afterwards a swelling appeared, which gradually extended all along the leg to the foot, and both became so stiff, that he was unable to move them. A cure was effected within the space of only six days by the juice of snake-root laid on the wound and swelling, as a poultice, mixed with milk, together with a few drops of that juice, pure and unmixed, taken internally. Instances of such bites occur but very seldom, and only, it seems, when the animal has been touched; otherwise it constantly retires, and may be killed by a blow with the slenderest stick.

It is a common observation, that wild animals are less fierce in America than in other parts of the globe; the truth of this is confirmed by the testimony of such as, from their residence in forests, are best qualified to possess satisfactory information. Wolves, bears, nay even panthers, mostly flee before man; and the instances of their doing mischief are so rare, that the very reality of it might be doubted.

The dangers, therefore, to which new settlers are exposed, are not much to be apprehended. The severest misfortune, to which the inhabitants of the American forest are liable, is the loss of their children in the woods. These unfortunate infants, over whom it is almost impossible to keep constantly a watchful eye, are apt to run out of the house, which is seldom fenced the first year, and straying from their homes are unable to find them again. In such cases, however, all the neighbours, nay persons from the remotest parts, join in the search after these little unfortunate creatures, and sometimes they are found; but there are also instances of their being totally lost, or discovered only when dead of hunger or fear.

*Saturday,*

*Saturday, the 13th of June.*

From Bever's we rode on, till we came to Captain METCALF's, where we stopped for the night. He lives at the distance of eight miles from the former house, and keeps an inn. This district is called Watkinson, from several families of this name, who possess the greatest property here. The road from Bath to Metcalf's habitation is generally bad enough, as is mostly the case in a luxuriant soil, and especially after a fall of rain; so that, where the roads are not properly made, the interest of the traveller must absolutely clash with that of the landowner.

Two miles on this side of Bever's house we had observed the commencement of a range of mountains, which appeared to us to separate, in these parts, the waters of the Susquehannah from those of the lakes.

After we had passed the above English settlement near Bath, we met with no habitation but at distances of eighteen, twenty, and twenty-two miles. Between Metcalf's house and Canandaqua, however, the dwellings stand closer together. The lands, belonging to Captain Williamson, terminate at Bever's house; all the ground thence to Canandaqua, and farther on, has been sold by Robert Morris, or Messrs. Phelps and Gorham, who had purchased their demesnes before Mr. Williamson bought his. Metcalf, for instance, three years ago, purchased his estate from them for one shilling per acre. Of the one thousand acres, he then bought, he has already sold five hundred and upwards for from one to three dollars per acre, and some have fetched twenty-five dollars.

The profits, which are made by speculations in land, all over America, and especially in this neighbourhood, are great, beyond calculation. We passed, however, through several settlements, which were deserted. Occurrences of this kind are common enough in new countries; and experience shews, that of ten new settlers, who, in the first instance

instance join to clear and cultivate fresh grounds, at the expiration of a couple of years, one only will, for the most part, remain; and the *second*, nay, at times, the *third* settlers are generally the best colonists. They take advantage of the labours and disbursements of their predecessors, remain in the country, and thus become truly useful to the settlement. Captain Metcalf, besides his lands and inn, possesses a saw-mill, where four thousand five hundred feet of boards are cut daily. These boards he sends on the Lake to Canandaqua, where they are sold for ten shillings a thousand feet. Wheat is sold here for six shillings a bushel, and Indian corn for four shillings. There is a schoolmaster in Watkinstown, with a salary of twelve dollars per month; all the families, that contribute to this stipend, have the right of sending their children to his school.

The road to Canandaqua is bad and miry, running for the first three miles constantly along water. A little farther on, where its direction is more elevated, it mends. The soil contains a stratum of black earth, a foot or more in depth. On travelling this road, we observed one or two extensive tracts of ground, cleared by the Indians, but few habitations. The few ploughs we saw here were drawn by oxen. The woods are thick and lofty. Sugar-maple, black birch, oak, hickory, hemlock fir, and beech, are the most prevailing trees. The ague is a common disorder in all these parts.

The Lake of Canandaqua, which we reached at the distance of four miles from the town, exhibits a very delightful aspect. The banks are not very low. The long and tedious sameness of these woods, through which we had passed, contributed, probably, not a little to enhance the agreeableness of the prospect now before us. On the opposite side of the lake is an orchard, where very considerable quantities of cyder are made for sale at Canandaqua.

*Sunday, the 14th of June.*

Canandaqua is, as I have already observed, the chief town of the county of Ontario. It stands on the bank of the lake of the same name. On

the ground, now occupied by the town, stood, four years ago, a single factory, which carried on some trade with the Indians. The town consists, at present, of forty houses. The territory of this city, which contains about fifty thousand acres, is one of the districts, which belonged to the State of Massachusetts, and were sold prior to the contract concluded with Captain Williamson. The town, although seated on an eminence, is not more healthy than the neighbouring country. Mr. de Blacons found here, last autumn, a great number of persons afflicted with the ague. This was attributed to the uncommon wetness of the season, and the ague, it was said, had made its appearance during the rains. We are now here in the month of June; and yet it rages as much, if not more, than it did last autumn. No alleviation of this afflicting circumstance is, therefore, to be expected, except from time, and a gradual increase of labour, cultivation, and population. The houses in Canandaqua, though all built of wood, are much better than any of that description I have hitherto seen in other cities. They consist mostly of joiner's work, and are prettily painted. In front of some of them are small courts, surrounded with neat railings. Some of the inhabitants possess considerable property; among these are Messrs. Phelps and Gorham, for a long time past proprietors of these lands, or, to speak more properly, their children; Mr. THOMAS MORRIS, son of Mr. Robert Morris of Philadelphia, and agent for his father in the management of a large tract of land, which he possesses in this neighbourhood, with other considerable districts on the banks of the river Genesee, and beyond it, still occupied by the Indians, but which he has acquired the right of purchasing in preference to all other persons; Mr. CHIPPING, director of the affairs of the United States with the Indians; and many others, whose names I have not been able to learn. There are two inns in the town, and several shops, where commodities are sold, and shoes and other articles made. The increase of population, however, is not considerable in these new settlements; and there is at present a great deficiency of labouring men. The habitations in the adjoining district are but thinly scattered. The lands, as well as the

town.

town-shares, are, for the most part, the property of rich individuals, who reside in towns, and having purchased them on speculation, are unwilling to part with them until time shall have raised their value.

The only potable water in Canandaqua is obtained by pumps; but even this is indifferent, and no spring has yet been found in the town, or in its neighbourhood. There is not even a creek less than four or five miles distant; and there is, consequently, no prospect of establishing any mills nearer the town.

The lands here are said to produce as much wheat as is necessary for the consumption of the inhabitants; the ordinary price of it is six shillings a bushel. The woods contain but very few large trees, the scarcity of which, together with the want of saw-mills, is the reason why boards, when bought at the mill, cost here ten dollars a thousand. The price of land is three dollars per acre, without the town, and fifteen dollars within its precincts. The price of Indian corn, oats, &c. are much the same as at Friendsmill and Bath. Day-labourers, whom it is difficult to procure, generally earn five shillings per day wages. During the last harvest, however, Mr. Thomas Morris paid as high as ten shillings, besides finding them in victuals. The land, although tolerably good, is inferior to what we saw in other parts of Genesee, which we traversed. The average produce, in the first year of its cultivation, is from twenty to twenty-four bushels of wheat per acre. They make use of the plough even in the first year. The oxen are good, because most of the new settlers come from New England, and generally bring their cattle with them from that province. In our journey we met, near Canandaqua, several parties of American emigrants, more or less numerous, travelling to Niagara. One of them consisted of five or six families, who had with them, thirty-four head of cattle. These travelling companies are very frequent: emigration from Niagara into the United States is also considerable, but less so than in the first-mentioned direction.

I had a letter to Mr. Chipping from General KNOX, which Mr. de Blacons had delivered previous to our arrival. This letter procured us

an Indian, who spoke the French language, and was to conduct us in our journey from Canandaqua to Niagara. He was accordingly sent for by Mr. Chipping. We called at the house of that gentleman, to return him our thanks for this favour, and also to see some Indians, who were with him. He acts as agent for the United States, with all the nations bordering on Canandaqua.

These Indians were about twelve in number, among whom were several chiefs of the tribe of Seneca Indians; one of them was **RED JACKET**, a warrior of no small note among his countrymen. They paid Mr. Chipping a visit, that is to say, they came to partake of his whisky and meat. Such parties come very frequently, and, in general, merely for this, and no other purpose. On these occasions they drink as much as they can, and, when satiated, a few bottles are generally distributed among the party, to take with them. We found them in a small hut, behind the agent's house, which indeed resembled a stable, rather than a house. Two of them lay on the ground, intoxicated to a high degree of insensibility. They were nearly naked, except that each wore a woollen apron, about a foot square, fastened to a girdle, to which it was again tied behind. From this girdle is suspended that dreadful instrument, the scalping-knife; a small knife, which they generally use to cut their meat. Their heads were not shaved, but the hair was cut very short, and tied above in a braid, which is made to pass through a silver pipe; their ears were quite bare, and adorned with a variety of small rings. Some wore small silver plates at the extremity of the nose, which is generally considered as an ornament of distinction for the chieftains. They were all very cheerful, addicted to laughter, and full of glee. They appeared highly delighted with viewing us, and were most of them handsome looking men. One spoke a little English. As we expect to see whole tribes of Indians in the progress of our journey, I may perhaps hereafter be able to give a more ample and satisfactory account concerning them. As far as my knowledge and observation reach at present, it is merely the immoral policy of civilized nations, which has subjected these

these people to the lowest rank in the scale of human beings. As long as they were suffered to remain in their savage state, they were warlike and independent, wild, perhaps, yet humane. Now that the white people find it convenient, to attach them to their interests, they are seduced with money and whisky, and rendered as brutal and debauched, as it is possible to make them. The odious and illiberal artifices practised by civilized nations, to render every thing subservient to their interests only, make their vaunted superiority appear the more disgusting to the eye of genuine philanthropy.

A little before our arrival, a party of Indians, from the neighbourhood of Le Boeuf, came to Captain Chipping's, to demand justice upon an American soldier, who had murdered two Indians, from motives of jealousy and revenge. The business, however, was hushed up by the payment of two hundred dollars for each Indian, which is the settled price of compensation in such cases, and the soldier remained at liberty. Not so, however, when an Indian murders a white man: in this case, the assassin is delivered up to the Americans, and hanged. And thus it is that a people, which makes its boast of honesty, justice, and equality, can connive at the most flagrant perversion of justice, to the eternal disgrace of both its executors and its victims! The treatment of the Indians, and the servitude of the negroes, have branded the fair face of American freedom with an odious stigma, which government, as soon as possible, should strain every nerve to efface. It is to be feared, however, that the causes will not be easily removed, connected as they are with one of the most powerful passions of the human breast—the love of money!

We hoped to find a good inn at Canandaqua, which is no unpleasant thing in the Genesee country in general, but we were disappointed. What reasons could induce Mr. Blacons to prefer the second inn, I could not learn, but it is certainly far inferior to the first. We put up, however, at the second, though not without throwing some blame on our friend, who is, in general, more prudent in his counsel. Our dissatisfaction was greatly increased, when we were shewn into the corn-loft to sleep, bring  
four



four of us, in company with ten or twelve other men! But sleep, the great balm of human uneasiness, soon calmed our minds.

My rest, however, was ere long interrupted by a little circumstance, which I shall mention, as it may serve to illustrate the habits of this country. This was the arrival of two new guests, who soon entered our loft; an old man, and a handsome young woman, who, I believe, was his daughter. Three rows of beds were placed in this large apartment, which half filled it; and there were two empty beds in the same row with mine.

In one of these the good old man lay down without undressing himself, and the young woman, thinking every one about her fast asleep, fell to stripping, which she did as completely as if she had been in a room by herself. No movement on my part interrupted the business of her toilette, although I could not fall asleep again until the candle was put out. This little anecdote, at which European coyness will no doubt either scoff or laugh, shews, in an advantageous light, the laudable simplicity and innocence of American manners.

Last night, we rejoined Blacons at Canandaqua; and this morning Dupetitthouars left us, to proceed straight to Conawango, where the Indian, who speaks French, is waiting for us. We set out with Blacons on our way to Ontario, intending to take a view of an estate belonging to one Mr. PITT, of which we had heard much talk throughout the country. On our arrival, we found the house crowded with Presbyterians: its owner attending to a noisy, tedious harangue, delivered by a minister, with such violence of elocution, that he appeared all over in a perspiration. We found it very difficult to obtain some oats here for our horses, and a few hasty morsels for our own dinner. As we had no opportunity of viewing the estate, we were obliged to content ourselves with the fine prospect of the neighbouring grounds, which the house afforded. The fields are in a better state of cultivation than any we have hitherto seen, and thoroughly cleared of wood.

This estate has been only five years under cultivation. Old Mr. Pitt and his two sons possess about nine hundred acres, one hundred and thirty

thirty of which are cultivated. These beautiful fields were cleared long ago by the Indians. Of the above one hundred and thirty acres just mentioned, sixty are laid out in meadows, on which clover and timothy-grass are sown. Their stock consists of sixty or seventy head of cattle, of which they sell very little, as they wish to augment their number by breeding. The first crop of their meadows yields two tons of hay per acre, and the second is fed off by the cattle. The winter does not last here above three months and a half, during which, the live stock kept near the house are fed with hay, morning and evening, in the farm-yard. The dung-cart very rarely visits the land. Its average produce is twenty bushels of wheat, and thirty-five bushels of Indian corn, per acre. The price of wheat is six shillings, and of Indian corn and oats three shillings per bushel. The price of cattle is the same, as in the place before mentioned. Labouring men earn five shillings a day wages, without victuals. The saw and corn-mills lie at a considerable distance from this house. The first is eight miles, the second twelve miles distant. Corn and flour are transported on sledges, during the winter. All the corn-fields, as well as grass-lands, had a fine appearance, and seemed to be under excellent management. Yet a view of the handsome married and unmarried women, who filled the church during both morning and evening service, was even more delectable to our senses, than the fine rural scenery.

We stopped at Captain WATWORTH's to pass the night. Along the whole route from Canandaqua, the woods appear beautiful to the eye, but are not so crowded with trees as on the other side of that place. Several parts of the forest have been burnt down by the Indians, who possessed this country from time immemorial. We frequently traced or met with Indian *camp*s, as they are called, i. e. places where troops of them, who were either hunting or travelling, had passed the night. Their tents or huts are nothing in the world but four posts, driven into the ground, and overlaid with bark. In this day's journey we passed by the extremity of four lakes, viz. of Hemlock, Conesus, Honeygoe, and Conhocton.

We

We were much concerned at our disappointment in not finding Mr. Thomas Morris at Canandaqua. But a young gentleman of the name of WICKHAM, who seemed to be his clerk, and lives in his house, received us with as much civility as he could have done himself. In addition to other kind offices, he gave us a letter to Captain Watworth, a nephew of Colonel Watworth of Connecticut, who lives in Ontario, and is concerned with Mr Thomas Morris in the purchase of lands.

Our letter of introduction obtained us, as we expected, an invitation to sleep at the Captain's. On our arrival, he told us, that he was obliged to set out early the next morning for Canandaqua, to review a party of soldiers, over whom he is captain. Two minutes after this the Captain got on horseback, to see a friend, as he told us, though it was then eight o'clock at night. This conduct, in France, would have justified a suspicion, that the master of the house was displeased with the visit of his guests. With some latitude it might, perhaps, have borne the same construction in America; but we found it more convenient to ascribe it to an uncommon love of ease, and freedom from restraint. There was no inn in the neighbourhood; and, as we found our situation not at all the worse, but rather better for this his behaviour, we endeavoured to make ourselves on our part as agreeable as we could. As to his habitation, it is a small log-house, as dirty and filthy as any I have ever seen. Whether the offensive smell, which infected this dwelling, proceeded from cats or decayed stores, which the Captain is reported to keep sometimes till they become putrefied, I am unable to determine; but, this is certain, that we never passed the night in a more unpleasant hole. The beds, bedding, sheets, fowls, room, smell, &c. in short, every thing was nauseous, so much so, indeed, as to render the house extremely disagreeable. I rose early in the morning to see the Captain, before he set out on his journey. I found him undergoing the operation of hair dressing by his negro woman. He had just sold a barrel of whisky to an Indian, and was treating about the sale of some land with two inhabitants of Williamsburg.

The price of the Captain's land is from two dollars to two and half per acre;

acre ; at least, this is the price at which he offers it for sale. He demands payment of the whole sum agreed for within four years, or one fourth of the purchase-money every year. The interest to commence the first day after the sale. It may easily be conceived, that Captain Watworth is not a little jealous of the great character and influence of Captain Williamfon, who, from his terms of sale being far more moderate, and other circumstances, cannot but have, and actually has, greatly the advantage over him.

We learned, in this place, that the Genessee flats are, every year at the end of March, regularly inundated for four or five days by the river of that name, which flows through them, and deposits on the land a bed of slime, about two or three inches deep ; this serves as an excellent manure to the soil, and greatly promotes its fertility. Instances are known of one acre having produced fifty bushels of wheat ; but the average crop is thirty bushels per acre. Very little of this land has been vended yet ; as the proprietors do not care to part with it, until an increase of population shall have added considerably to its value. It is very difficult to procure day-labourers here, and their wages are one dollar per day. Maple sugar, of which great quantities are usually obtained in this neighbourhood, has not answered this year, from the uncommon wetness of the season. It is sold for one shilling a pound. Many commodities, together with numerous droves of cattle, are exported hence annually into Upper Canada. The Captain, who keeps a shop, imports his goods from Connecticut. They are brought in waggons, drawn by oxen, which he afterwards fattens, and, by selling them at Niagara, amply indemnifies himself for any loss he may sustain from the long carriage of his wares. The beef of the oxen thus fattened fold, at times, for one shilling a pound.

After the Captain had left us, his nephew, a youth about fifteen years of age, conducted us to the flats, or low grounds, which border on the river Genessee. They are a tract of land, about five or six miles in length and breadth, for the most part situate on the east-side of the river ; yet some are on the other side. Captain Watworth possesses

about fifteen or sixteen hundred acres ; of these some are cultivated, but much the greater number lie in grass, which was as high as our horses. The flats belong, for the most part, to the Indians ; but, as they are situate within the limits of the territory lately ceded by Great Britain, which extend to the river St. Lawrence, the State of Massachusetts claims the supreme right to the property, and, in virtue of this right, has sold to Messrs. Phelps and Gorham the exclusive privilege of purchasing these lands from the Indians, whenever they shall consent to part with them. Messrs. Phelps and Gorham have sold this privilege of purchase to Mr. Robert Morris, by whom it has been again sold to the Dutch Company ; this gentleman has also engaged to open a negociation with the Indians, and to prevail upon them to relinquish their right to a part at least of these lands. Thus four different sets of purchasers have succeeded each other in regard to an object, concerning the sale of which the consent of the true original owners has not yet been obtained ; and four different contracts have been entered into, founded on the supposition, that it will be an easy matter to remove the Indians from these distant corners into which they have retired. It is some satisfaction, however, to reflect, that the property of these lands cannot be actually transferred without their consent ; but this, alas ! is very easily obtained as their more polished neighbours well know. A little whisky will bribe their chieftains to give their consent to the largest cessions ; and these rich lands, this extensive tract of territory, will be bartered away, with the consent of all parties, for a few rings, a few handkerchief, some barrel of rum, and perhaps some money, which the unfortunate natives know not how to make use of, and which, by corrupting what little virtue is yet left among them, will, ere long, render them completely wretched. Yet, on the other hand, it will not be disputed, that, if America were to become more populous ; and if, in process of time, this immense region could, by fair means, and on reasonable terms, be obtained from the honest and peaceful natives, and duly cultivated ; such a measure would doubtless promote the general good of America, and even conduce to the interests of mankind at large. At present, scarcely the twentieth part of this

this vast continent is inhabited, unless nineteen uncultivated parts, still in the possession of the Indians, be so considered. In a word, it may be questioned, whether, even in the case of all America being peopled with European settlers, the signal benefits, to be derived from the cultivation of such extensive tracts of land, might not be obtained honestly and honourably, without driving the original inhabitants out of their possessions, or at least without thus palpably imposing upon them.

The husbandry of the Indians is confined to the culture of a little Indian corn, and some potatoes. The produce of one or two acres is fully sufficient for the maintenance of a whole family. Their extensive meadows they leave to such settlers, as choose to pasture their cattle on the grass, or to cut it for hay; nay, they even suffer them to be cultivated and inclosed by fresh colonists, who are continually removing westward. Property, whether real or personal, has with them no value; and the meadows, which at present only produce from four to five tons of hay per acre, would yield the richest crops of various kinds of produce, and throw into cultivation vast quantities of marketable and useful commodities. To reduce an acre of ground under skilful cultivation, is, to confer a benefit on the mass of civilized society. This is an admitted principle of political economy. But here unfortunately it happens, that the ground, even when taken out of the hands of the Indians, is not immediately reduced to a proper state of cultivation. It frequently continues long in the hands of mercenary speculators, who choose neither to sell nor cultivate it, until its value shall have been considerably enhanced. As an ultimate consequence of this conduct the poor Indians will be harrassed, gradually expelled from their homes, and, in the end, either extirpated, or rendered completely miserable.

In the course of our twelve miles excursion to the flats we ascended two eminences, from which we had a view over the whole plain; one of these, called Squawhill, lies nearer to Ontario, and the other, Mountmorris, to Williamsburg. They both contain Indian villages. That situate on the former height consists of about fifteen, and that seated on the latter.

of about four or five small log-houses, standing close together, roughly built, and overlaid with bark. In the inside appears a sort of room not floored; on the sides they construct shelves, covered with deer-skins, which serve as their cabins or sleeping places. In the midst of the room appears the hearth, and over it is an opening in the roof to let out the smoke. Their stores, consisting, for the most part, of nothing but Indian corn and the flesh of deer, lie carelessly thrown together in a corner. One of their huts not unfrequently contains two or three families.

As we passed through their villages we saw some women employed in works of husbandry, but very few men. Among the Indians the husband does not work at all; all laborious services are performed exclusively by the wife. She not only transacts every part of domestic business, but cultivates the ground, cuts wood, carries loads, &c. The husband hunts, fishes, smokes, and drinks. Yet there are some tribes, such as, for instance, the Tuscarora-Indians, among which the husband works, though occasionally and slightly. When I speak of Indian tribes or nations, I wish to be understood as confining my observation to the five nations, commonly called the Iroquois, who inhabit the northern parts of North America, to the south of Lake Ontario, namely, the Onondagas, Tuscarora, Oneidas, Cayugas, Seneca, and Mohawks. The Oneida nation excepted, which, northwards from New York, still inhabits the banks of the lake that bears their name, all the other tribes have been gradually expatriated, and have decreased in number; every nation is now divided into different branches; the families are dispersed abroad, and whisky is rapidly thinning the number of those which yet remain. A few years more, and these nations will disappear from the surface of the earth, as civilized people approach!

Near the Genesée, on this side of that river, and about five miles below the villages before-mentioned, stands another village belonging to Indians of the Oneida nation. The men are here less slothful than among the Seneca Indians; they are also tolerably ingenious and expert. It should be recorded highly to their honour, that the Indians, of whatever tribe or nation

nation, are in general mild and peaceful, kindly officious in little services to the whites, and, on the whole, excellent neighbours. I for my part am pretty well assured, that, in all the numerous quarrels, which have taken place between the different colonists and the Indians, on the confines of the United States, in ninety-nine instances out of a hundred the former have been the aggressors; they are weak, and they are oppressed.

In Mountmorris Mr. Morris possesses a farm of about sixty acres, the management of which he leaves entirely to an Irishman, who arrived here about two years ago, from New England. The wheat, rye, and Indian corn are certainly excellent; but the account this man gave us of the nature and quality of the soil does not correspond with Captain Watworth's statement. It yields, he says, only twenty-five bushels of wheat per acre; and as this person is not concerned in the selling of land, I judge his report to be much more deserving of credit, than the Captain's. It must be allowed, however, that the land here is uncommonly productive, that the flats form a very extensive tract of ground, and that they afford a fine prospect, which cannot but be extremely pleasing even to those, who have not been cloyed, as we were, with the eternal aspect of forests and woods. Mr. Morris, it should seem, had established this farm rather with an intention to exercise and secure his right of property, than from any immediate views of profitable culture. Its present occupier enjoys the produce but of a very small portion of this vast territory. Neither his habitation, nor his establishment in general, impresses you with the idea of a respectable farmer.

Returning from our excursion, we passed through Williamsburg, the central point of Captain Williamson's settlements in this neighbourhood. It is a village consisting of about twelve houses. The habitations are said to be very numerous in the adjacent country. Williamsburg is seated on the point, where Canaseraga creek discharges itself into the river Genessee. This river, as well as the creek, which on our excursion we were several times obliged to ford, are so closely hemmed in, that frequently it is very difficult to scale their banks. The course of the river Genessee

is



is rapid, and full of windings, its water also is generally muddy, and bad.

Three miles from Captain Watworth's habitation, a Frenchman, formerly an inhabitant of St. Domingo, resides, with his mulatto, on an estate of about twenty acres, and in a house only twelve feet square, which he constructed himself, with the assistance of his faithful servant. This Frenchman is named DE BOUI, and is a native of Alsace. A quarrel with a gentleman of consequence in his province, whom he accused of having defrauded him of an inheritance, and a duel that ensued, in which he wounded his antagonist, who was much older than himself, compelled him, in the prime of youth, to quit his native country, from the dread of a "*lettre de cachet*." The first step, which he took after this, was to enlist, as a private, in the regiment, which bears the name of the Cape; and in this situation he soon evinced by his conduct, that he had received a liberal education. He next obtained his discharge; and as he had been originally destined for the profession of an engineer, his attainments, which were very respectable, furnished him with the means of rendering himself useful to the colonists. By degrees he rose to the situation of *Grand Voyer* (inspector general of the high-roads) in St. Domingo: he moreover cultivated a plantation, bequeathed to him by a friend. He now possessed a good income, and had a fine prospect of acquiring a very handsome property, when on a sudden the civil dissensions at the Cape broke out. Being forced to quit the town, he retired to America, though in a very indifferent plight, with but little money, few effects, and some bills on France. From motives of parsimony, he proceeded to Hartford. Here Colonel Watworth, commiserating his misfortunes, and his distressed situation, made him an offer, that he would endeavour to negotiate his bills, in which he should probably meet with less difficulties than an emigrant Frenchman; he at the same time made Mr. de Boui a temporary grant of a certain number of acres on the river Genessee, engaging to supply him with the necessary money and stores, and to render him every other assistance in his power. The bills were

were to serve as a security for all the previous disbursements. Such is the outline of the history of Mr. de Boui.

There are but few men, I should suppose, who do not feel themselves agreeably interested by the sight of a countryman in a remote part of the world. Unhappily the French revolution has in a great measure stifled these amiable, natural feelings. If two Frenchmen now meet, they are, in general, so soured by political partialities, that they feel a mutual distrust, if not aversion. Thanks to heaven, the revolution and its concomitant evils have not yet inspired me with hatred to any individuals, much less have they soured my feelings to misanthropy. This is a comfort, which I highly prize, and to which, even in my present situation, I am indebted for moments, not altogether unaccompanied with pleasure. I, therefore, sincerely sympathised in Mr. de Boui's misfortunes. Mess. Blacons and Dupetitthouars became acquainted with him last year. Blacons was deputed by the rest of us to inform this hermit, a name, which he deserves as well as any man living, of our intention to dine with him that day. De Blacons' visit, and our arrival, afforded him much pleasure and satisfaction. The sight of his countrymen was the more agreeable to him, as from a peevishness of temper, either contracted by prior misfortunes, or because he has been actually ill used, he is highly dissatisfied with the Americans. He is about forty years of age, possessed of a sound understanding, and entertaining in his manners and conversation. From the natural generosity of his own mind, his disgust at the selfishness of others, and his over-nice feelings, he is a perfect misanthrope; a constant gloom hangs upon his spirits. He speaks of Americans with a bitterness, which can hardly be justified when applied to individuals, but evidently degenerates into prejudice and injustice when applied to the nation at large. He lives here, sequestered from all the world, or at least with no other company, but that of his mulatto Joseph; who has never left him, and is indeed his friend, rather than his servant. Joseph acts in the different capacities of cook, gardener, and husbandman, for Mr. de Boui sows one or two acres in the flats with Indian corn, half the produce of which he allows the proprietor; he takes care of the fowls and pigs, and works at times for the

the neighbours, that they *may*, in return, lend their oxen occasionally to his *master*, and supply him with eggs, milk, and other such like articles, which, though trifles in themselves, are of no small value in this solitude. Joseph always appears busy and cheerful: he is, in fact, a rare and affecting instance of the most faithful attachment to his master, who, in return, sets a high and just value on this respectable servant, without whose assistance and support his philosophy would be of little avail. Mr. de Boui is a man of extensive reading, but the morosity of his temper frequently distorts his ideas. He hates mankind, and therefore is constantly *fullen* and wretched.

Dupetitthouars, who rejoined us there, and myself, stopped the night at the habitation of this worthy gentleman, because he seemed to wish it. Mess. Guillemard and Blacons, however, took up their night-quarters in Canawaga, with a view to get every thing ready for our journey to Fort Eric. We passed the afternoon and next morning in conversation with our host, and in taking little walks, especially to a small Indian village already mentioned, with which De Boui holds a frequent intercourse of civilities, services, and trade, and where at times, when there is a press of business on his hands, he also hires labourers to weed his garden: these ~~are~~ women, whom he pays at the rate of three shillings a day. We left him, not without a high sense of gratitude for the kind and friendly reception we *had* met with, nor did he seem altogether insensible to a degree of satisfaction afforded by our company. He may perhaps prove, ere long, a very valuable accession to the settlement at Asylum.—May he live there, if *not* happy, at least *content*; but it is *greatly* to be feared, that the peevishness of temper, which this unfortunate man has contracted, will dry up every source of promised happiness and comfort, which this world might yet afford!

*Tuesday, the 16th of June.*

The road from Ontario to Canawaga is a good one for this country. As usual, it leads through the midst of woods. Within a space of twelve miles

miles we saw only one habitation. In this journey we discovered two Indians lying under a tree; though we had already seen a considerable number of them, yet this meeting had for us all the attraction of novelty, as we found them in a state of intoxication, which scarcely manifested the least symptom of life. One wore round his neck a long and heavy silver chain, from which a large medallion of the same metal was suspended, on one side whereof was the image of George Washington, and on the other the motto of Louis the Fourteenth—*non pluribus impar*, with a figure of the sun, which was usually displayed with it in the French arms. This Indian was, no doubt, the chieftain of a tribe; we were, however, obliged to leave his excellency in a ditch, out of which we made repeated efforts to drag him, but in vain.

Canawaga is a small town; Mr. Morris is the proprietor of the lands, which he holds on the same condition of procuring their cession from the Indians, as he does all the other lands already mentioned. The price of land here, which at first was one shilling and six pence per acre, soon rose to three shillings, and, by degrees, has been so enhanced, that single acres, near the town, were lately sold for eight dollars. The habitations here are yet but few, but among them is one of the best inns we have seen for some time past. Mr. BERRY keeps it; a good, civil man, but constantly inebriated. In common with several other inhabitants of the town, he has bought land from the Indians, regardless of the prior right of purchase, vested in Mr. Morris by the state of Massachusetts. Without any wish to vindicate this prior right, which, in my judgment, considered with respect to the Indians, the original proprietors of the soil, is an act of flagrant injustice, I cannot help observing, that this right, founded as it is on the laws of the land, cannot be infringed by private individuals, without exposing themselves to the hazard of being dispossessed, and that in strict justice, of the lands, purchased in violation of this right. The persons here alluded to, who have bought land from the Indians, are perfectly aware of the slippery ground on which they stand; but hope, that as the affairs of Mr. Morris are rather in a state of derangement, he will not be able to make good his purchase

of the lands from the Indians; hence they are led to conclude, that the **contract**, by which he has transferred his right to the Dutch company, **must** eventually become void.

This whole track of land is, as yet, so thin of inhabitants, that we could not come at a right estimate of the price of provision, labourers' wages, &c. Both labourers and provision are equally scarce; and the prices are, I presume, not much different from those in the districts I mentioned last. The neighbourhood of the Indians occasions a frequent intercourse with them, for the purpose of buying game, fish, &c. and though they are no strangers to the value of money, and appear fond of it, yet scarcely any business is transacted with them, unless in the way of barter. Whisky is their chief object; but old clothes, hats, knives, looking-glasses, paints, &c. in short, almost every commodity, the refuse of European markets, will do for them; and it may be advanced as a moral certainty, that the white people can hardly become losers in this traffic. The Indians, indeed, to speak a well known truth, are constantly cheated; their ignorance lays them open to fraud, and it is taken advantage of almost ninety-nine times in a hundred, by those who have dealings with them.

Before I quit this country, which is more or less inhabited by subject of the United States, I shall present the reader with a few general observations on their manners and customs, which may serve as a supplement to those I made on my arrival at Northumberland. Since that time we have traversed a country altogether new: the various settlements, which lie more or less closely together, and are occupied by colonists from all parts of the world, afford nothing particularly worthy of observation. It seems to be the chief object of the inhabitants of this new country, to raise the price of their labour as high as possible, and then to spend their earnings in unnecessary trinkets, as fast as they can. From this prevailing humour we may readily account for the flourishing condition of the shops, or stores, as they are called. A labourer or his family goes to a shop, to lay out six-pence in ribbands, or two-pence in tobacco. Perhaps they have four dollars in their pockets, and with these, such is the rage  
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for shop commodities, they purchase articles, which, on entering the shop, they never intended to buy, and for which they have no real occasion. Sometimes they purchase on credit; and the shop-keeper, who clears, at least, one hundred per cent, has generally no objection to selling upon these terms to persons who are housekeepers in the neighbourhood, or who work there for any length of time. The disbursements of those, who, in this new country, undertake to clear large tracks of ground, and at the same time keep a store, are, therefore inconsiderable, especially in regard to labourers' wages, as the money cleared in the shop quickly brings back all that is expended in labour for days, weeks, and months together. The storekeepers too frequently take advantage of the credulity, easiness of temper, and ignorance of the half-savage sort of people, who inhabit the back settlements, and these in return abuse the credulity, easiness, and ignorance of the poor Indians. In fact the conduct of mankind at large is in general nothing more than a chain of frauds and impositions, only somewhat less barefaced than those of the storekeepers in the new American dominions.

I shall add a word or two on the methods practised by them in the management of these new settlements. When a family have come to a resolution to settle in this country, the husband, the latter end of summer, repairs to the spot where the settlement is to be made. The first thing he does is to cut down the small trees on one or two acres; he next barks the larger trees, and then sows a little rye or wheat. Of the wood he has felled, he constructs a small house, and makes suitable fences around it; a labour, which may be performed in about a month's time. He then returns to his former habitation; and, at the beginning of spring, he brings his family and the best of his cattle to the new settlement. His cows cost him little, being turned into the woods to graze: he then finishes his house, plants potatoes, sows Indian corn, and thus is enabled to provide for the first year's maintenance. While thus employed, he is at the same time

clearing more ground, burning the trees he has already felled, and, as far as may be, even those which he has barked. By this process the roots of the bushes are in a great measure destroyed; yet they require to be more carefully grubbed out of land, which is to be thoroughly cleared. The ashes afford a very useful manure, and, in the opinion of the best judges, are employed this way to much greater advantage, than when converted into pot-ash, the making of which is, with the new settlers, merely the result of necessity; for if a saw-mill be at hand, the large trees can be conveyed thither by oxen. Thus, within the space of twelve months, a man may clear fifteen acres; and few families cultivate more than thirty. The barked trees are left standing for a longer or shorter time, according to circumstances, viz. the species of the tree, the nature of the soil, and the degree of the wetness of the season. The hemlock-fir will stand eight or nine years, the oak four or five, the maple three or four, and trees, all the branches of which have been burnt off, seldom fall before this time. The stumps of the felled trees, generally two or three feet high above the ground, hardly rot sooner than the barked trees, which have been left standing on the lands. The dwellings of new settlers are commonly at first set up in a very slight manner; they consist of huts, the roofs and walls of which are made of bark, and in which the husband, wife, and children pass the winter, wrapped up in blankets. They also frequently construct houses of trees laid upon each other; the interstices of which are either filled up with loam, or left open, according as there is more or less time to fill them up. In such buildings as have attained to some degree of perfection, there is a chimney of brick or clay; but very often there is only an aperture in the roof to let out the smoke, and the fire is made and replenished with the trunks of trees. At a little distance from the house stands a small oven, built sometimes of brick, but more frequently of clay, and a little farther off appears a small shed, like a sentry-box, which is the necessary, or privy.

Salt pork and beef are the usual food of the new settlers ; their drink is water and whisky, yet there are few families unprovided with ~~coffee~~ and chocolate.

We should not omit to observe, that the axe, of which the Americans make use for felling trees, has a shorter handle than that of European wood-cutters. Not only the Americans, but Irish and German workmen have assured me, that they can do more work with this short handled axe, than with the European. The blade likewise is not so large as that of the latter. Most of these axes are made in America, but considerable numbers are also imported from Germany.

Though some or most of the particulars above detailed may be found in works, which treat of the inland or back parts of America, yet I judge them not unworthy of a place in this journal.

Respecting the tenets or observances of religion, it should seem that little room is left for a due attention to either, among the inhabitants of Pennsylvania and other parts of Genessee. In the towns, as well as in all parts of the country that are in any degree populous, there are, indeed, every where places appropriated to religious worship ; but, unless I am greatly mistaken, religion is generally considered rather as a political engine than a way to salvation. In the new settlements you meet frequently with religious books, but they contain the peculiar effusions of different sects, rather than the simple morality of scriptural religion. Prayer-books, with other devotional exercises of that description, are chiefly found among the rigid Methodists, or fanatic Scotch Presbyterians. Yet the bitterness and fanaticism of these sects are rapidly wearing away in these forests. Chiefly taken up with clearing the ground, and anticipating in imagination the beneficial results of their labour, they soon forget all other concerns.

The colonists, who arrive from New England, are, upon the whole, more religious than any of the other inhabitants. They make a point of building churches, and providing preachers, as soon as circumstances enable them to do so. Most of these religionists settle in  
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the upper district of Genessee, and speak with contempt of the settlements on the Susquehannah, and in the neighbourhood of Tioga, where the inhabitants, far from having places of worship, scarcely ever mention the name of God. At the same time it must be admitted, that the planters, who come from New England, are purer in their morals than any of the rest; and that they are not only remarkably industrious, but also the most expert agriculturists and workmen.

As to the fertility of the country in natural productions, it is very great indeed. In many parts, the trees are of a prodigious size and thickness. It is remarkable, that the largest trees seldom strike their roots deeper than about four or five inches into the ground; this was at least the case with all those which had been overturned by the winds, and lay near the road. The thickets are frequently so close, that, for several miles together, they bear the appearance of one large tree, under which grass is growing in thick tufts and clusters. Fern, a sight rare in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, is very frequently in the back settlements. Shrubs of every description, and flowers of various forms and hues adorn the woods and please the eye with their beautiful appearance, but do not so much regale the traveller with their fragrance. They more or less resemble European plants; but are in general of different species.

Among the great variety of insects and flies seen here, which alone would furnish abundant matter of enquiry for the curious naturalist, luminous worms are so very numerous, as frequently to diffuse by night a brightness, which is really astonishing.

The town of Canawaga is situated on the river Genessee, the course of which we have followed without deviation ever since we left Ontario. By the Indians this river is called Cashoufiagon. We much regret, that we did not see the three falls of this river, which are but half a quarter of a mile distant from each other; the first is one hundred, the second thirty, and the third seventy feet high; they are all two hundred and fifty feet in breadth. This river, which empties itself into

Lake

Lake Ontario, previously forms a very small lake of uncommon depth, which also is discharged into Lake Ontario by a narrow channel, not very deep. The appearance of these falls is said to be extremely grand and beautiful; we felt a strong inclination to visit them; but Mr. Blacons expressing an earnest desire to hasten his return to Asylum, and to see the Niagara, we sacrificed to his wishes our own curiosity with respect to the falls of the river Genessee.

*Wednesday, the 17th of June.*

After remaining half a day at Canawaga, we at length set out, early in the morning, to traverse the deserts, as they are called. The guide, procured by Mr. Chipping, as already mentioned, had been waiting for us two days. This man, a native of Canada, who, according to false reports, had adopted the manners and customs of the Indians, from love for a *squaw* (the term for an Indian woman) of whom he was excessively fond, did not, on a nearer acquaintance with him, answer any of the romantic, or at least extraordinary ideas, we had been led to form of him. During the American war, he had served for some time in an English regiment in Canada; but having found an opportunity to desert, he settled in the American dominions on the banks of the Genessee. He has been enabled to save a little money by means of a small trade, which he carried on, and especially by selling whisky to the Indians; after this he became acquainted with an Indian girl, tolerably handsome, whom he married, after she had borne him several children; that is to say, he declared her his wife in the Indian manner; an obligation, however, which binds him no longer than he himself chooses. According to his own account, he possesses a small estate in the district of Genessee, and another much larger in Tonawanté (an Indian village equally distant from Niagara and Canawaga), which PONDRET (our guide) purchased of the Indians for some gallons of whisky, and which he can enlarge, at pleasure, as every one there is at liberty to appropriate to himself any quantity of land he thinks proper. This man, as far

as we could judge, appears to have settled among the Indians from motives not the most praise-worthy, viz. laziness and indolence; he would rather, it seems, let his wife work, than do so himself, gain money without care or toil, and by his superior knowledge overreach the Indians in the small trade he carries on with them. In other respects he is a free, jovial fellow enough, proud, good-humoured, artful under the appearance of awkwardness; and in brief, not a little like many of the French peasants, who, after having served some time in a regiment, return to their native village with a tolerable stock of self-confidence and assurance, which, if not blended with a due regard to conscience and morals, frequently degenerates into impudence, and sometimes draws them in the end, into a licentious and restless way of life. Under the guidance of this Pondrit, who, by the by, was not even dressed as an Indian, we set out on our journey. He led a horse that belonged to him, and was loaded with our stores, which Indian guides generally trudge with on their backs.

About a mile and a half from Canawaga, stands a small village of the Seneca Indians, through which we passed, consisting of only three or four houses. We found there again a handsome young man, who had visited us the night before in Canawaga. It was observable, that these Indians shewed a strong attachment to us as Frenchmen, repeatedly assuring us, that the remembrance of our nation was peculiarly dear to them; we in return regaled them plentifully with rum. The young man, who was more intoxicated than his comrades, was seized every now and then with fits of madness, which might have proved fatal to himself or those about him, but for the careful attendance of a young squaw, who, partly by menaces, and partly by caresses, got him out of the inn, caused his arms to be tied by his comrades, and carried him to the banks of the river, where, less disturbed, she continued her attendance, until she had soothed his rage, though he was not perfectly restored to his senses. An Indian washed the face and head of his inebriated comrade, by spouting water upon him, which

he took into his mouth, and at the same time by rubbing him with his hand. The intoxicated young man, though not quite sober, was at length, however, so far recovered, as to be set on his legs. A boat was waiting to carry him across the river, when, on a sudden, he broke from the hands of his attendants, and precipitated himself with great violence into the river. A moment after he came up again, and we saw him swimming towards the opposite bank. The indefatigable young woman then sprang alone into the boat, and rowed up to her charge, overtook him, and seized his hand to make him step into the boat. But he would not enter, but dived again, rising up in different places; so that to all appearance he was in no little danger, considering the state he was in, of being drowned. The young squaw followed him with her boat, called on him several times very kindly, did not cease a moment to follow him, with her eyes constantly fixed on him, or on the spot where she thought he was likely to appear again; for he was as frequently under as above water. At last she grasped him again, and so tenaciously as to retain her hold. This impressive scene lasted about two hours, during which time the uneasiness, care, and endearments of the young woman, were incessantly manifested, and inspired us with mingled emotions of surprise, admiration, and esteem. She was tolerably handsome, and a sister of the young man. It is hardly possible to shew more sympathy, or more sincere, tender, and unwearied affection, than was evinced by this poor squaw, as long as her intoxicated brother was in danger; and all this too in a manner so sweet and engaging, as it is not in the power of man possibly to do. This scene imprinted in still deeper characters on my mind the idea, which I have constantly entertained, of the great superiority of women above men in every thing, relative to affections of every sort. He, who never experienced the friendship of a woman, knows not half the charms and delights of friendship. Men, undoubtedly, are capable of making great sacrifices, which I certainly should be the last to disown; indebted as I am for the preservation of my life, to the generous and ardent attachment of two friends. May they, since a

more explicit testimony of my gratitude might perhaps endanger their safety and welfare, recognize in these lines the grateful sentiments, which fill my bosom, and which shall not cease but with my existence, though I should never have the happiness of personally expressing to them the tribute of my thanks. But while a woman is capable of the same attachment and sacrifices, while a female friend will cheerfully meet the same dangers as men, she possesses besides the art of embellishing and brightening the saddest moments of our life, by unutterable sweetness of temper, constant care, and unwearied attendance on her friend; she can sympathize in his sufferings, mingle with his pleasures, and comprehend and divine all his projects; she can pour balm on his wounded sensibility, raise his dejected spirits, unburden him of the load of sorrow, and thus reconcile him to himself. Well can she soften the harshness of advice, which she has the courage to offer at a seasonable interval, and can inspire a boundless confidence, without creating pain, or causing exertion. She bids defiance to obstacles, is discouraged by no accidents, not even by absence itself. In short, female friendship is a divine feeling, and the sweetest charm and comforter of life: when deprived of it by misfortune, the bare remembrance of it will still afford us moments of refined pleasure.

A journey through uninterrupted forests offers but little matter either for speculation or remark. The woods are, in general, not close, but stand on a fruitful soil. A foot-path, tolerably good, upon the whole, but in some places very miry, winds through them over a level ground, that rises but seldom into gentle swells. After a ride of twelve hours, in which we crossed several large creeks, we arrived at the Plain, where we determined to take up our lodgings for the night. Big Plain is about thirty-eight miles distant from Canawaga. We breakfasted at Buttermilk Fall, and dined on the bank of the creek of Tanawago, which is, several times, either approached or crossed, in this line of travelling. For both these meals our appetites were so keen, that we, perhaps, never ate any thing with a better relish. But, this was not the case with our supper. The mar-  
rangouins,

rangouins; of which we had heard such frightful accounts, but from which we had hitherto suffered but little, began now to torment ~~us~~. We were near a brook, for it is necessary to keep within a little distance from water, if between arrival and departure it is intended to breakfast, sup, and water the horses. The fire and tobacco smoke were not sufficient to keep off the offensive swarms of marangouins, musquitoes, wasps and gnats; nor did the veils of gauze, provided by Mr. Guillemard, shelter us from their pungent stings. These innumerable small blood-sucking insects are a very great annoyance, and though killed by thousands, they seem to encrease in proportion as they are destroyed. It is indeed impossible to form an adequate idea of the torment and trouble they occasion, without having felt it.

Two Americans, who arrived from Buffalo Creek, with two horses, loaded with furs, shared our fire and our molestation, but not our sufferings. The next day (Thursday) at four o'clock in the morning, the Americans having found their horses, proceeded on their journey; while our horses, which, in spite of our entreaties, Mr. Guillemard's servant had not coupled, were not to be found, having run back part of the way we came. It happened, however, very fortunately, that a bell, which I had fastened to my horse, having in the night indicated to our guide the course they pursued, he traced them before the break of day, overtook them at a distance of fifteen miles, and brought them back about eleven o'clock in the morning. His uncommon zeal to serve us, joined to his successful alertness, inspired us with as much admiration, as we felt pleasure, to see our horses safe returned.

The two Americans, who left us in the morning, belonged to Boston; they make, it seems, the journey to Buffalo Creek, five or six times every year, to barter for furs with the Indians; they carry on this trade jointly with three or four other small companies; and we learned that, on the whole about twenty thousand dollars are annually circulated in this way, the share of these two amounting to eighteen hundred or two thousand dollars.

It was too late to indulge the hope of reaching Buffalo Creek before ~~the~~fall of night. Our journey must, therefore, take us up two days longer, although we had provision only sufficient for one. In these circumstances we resolved to take the road to Tonowanté, the residence of one PONDRIE, which determination, though it occasioned a circuit of ten or twelve miles, yet secured to us all the certain advantage of obtaining fresh provision, which, by Pondrie's account, was in great abundance in that place. But Pondrie is as frivolous a prattler as he is a good pedestrian; we found no provision, nor was there the least prospect of procuring viands of any sort in the hut of this demi-Indian. We were fain to be content with a little rum and two wet indigestible cakes of Indian corn, prepared by Mrs. PONDRIE, and were, moreover, under the necessity of waiting a whole hour for the lady's return, who, on our arrival was engaged in cultivating the grounds of her husband. Besides this wretched repast, we got a little Indian corn for our horses. Mr. Guillemard, whose limbs were swollen in consequence of the stings of the musquitoes, fancied he was ill, and determined to remain that night at Tonowanté. We left him under the care of the squaw Pondrie; and Mr. de Blacons, Dupetitthouars, and myself, set out, with our guide, to pursue our journey.

Tonowanté, which we have just left, consists of fifteen houses or wigwams, built on the zig-zag windings of the river of the same name. The soil is marshy, yet good. However desirable it would have been, to shorten our next day's long journey by proceeding ten miles further this night, yet the remembrance, and the still-existing sensation of the musquito-stings of last night, deterred us from adopting this measure, and we halted, therefore, half an hour before sun-set, to gain the necessary time for making arrangements more likely to keep these insects off. A small Indian camp, which we found in the woods near *Small-fall*, was chosen for our night-quarters, notwithstanding dreadful swarms of musquitoes and small flies, perhaps even more troublesome than the former, were buzzing about us. We surrounded this little place

place of refuge, to the windward, with fires, which we kept up with dry leaves and rotten wood. The wind driving the smoke through our camp, the musquitos could not exist there. After having coupled our horses, tied them to trees near us, and thus prevented the danger of losing them, we procured some water, made a mess of a few cakes of portable soup, which we had remaining, and being protected from the attacks of our enemies, we partook of our cakes and remaining ~~ham~~ with great satisfaction, and being farther comforted by a few segars, we passed a very pleasing night; I, on my part, at least, did not awake from nine o'clock at night till half past three in the morning, the time when we were obliged to prepare for our departure. What an excellent remedy, or, at least, what a palliative for the sufferings of the head and the heart, is travelling. Alternate weariness and rest leave no room for any train of ideas, and every thing conspires to render us as happy as if our sufferings were ended.

Before I close the history of the day, I must observe, that in the morning we met with a large rattle-snake, on our way to Tonowanté. She was awake, bent backwards, and her head erect; in short, she was in the attitude, in which these reptiles dart to bite. Our guide noticed her at the small distance of two paces, and Cartouche had approached her within half a pace. We stopped; I called my dog. The aspect of our horses, our dogs and ourselves, who surrounded her so closely, did not disturb her; and Pondrit, who had cut a stick, was at full liberty to choose the spot where he would apply his blow. This snake was upwards of four and half feet in length, beautifully black, with rings of a bright, golden yellow, and sixteen rattles. I relate this trifling incident, to shew how little dangerous these animals in general are, the accounts of which, in Europe, so greatly alarm all, who are preparing to go to America. We continued upwards of five minutes within a smaller distance from her than her own length. The dog almost touched her; she was awake, and yet shewed no sort of malignity. Since I have travelled so much in forests, I have met with a great number



ber of rattle-snakes, killed some with my own hand, and, notwithstanding, have never yet received the least injury.

*Friday, the 19th of June.*

For these two days past the roads have been truly execrable, full of deep holes, earth-falls, and thick-set bushes. You are obliged, at once, to beware of the branches of trees, which tear your face or throw you down, to select the spot for the horse to tread on, to give it the necessary aid when it passes a difficult place, and to take care not to crush your knee or leg against a trunk or stone, which even with the utmost precaution cannot be always avoided, and frequently causes a very painful sensation. By the account of our guide we were this day to enter better roads; and yet, a level tract of about seven or eight miles excepted, these were even worse than the former.

Being desirous of seeing a large Indian settlement, and having learned that Buffalo Creek is the largest in this neighbourhood, we turned that way, left the foot-path which leads straight to Fort Erie, and struck into another, which is the worst I have yet seen. We breakfasted twelve miles from the spot where we had passed the night, and finished the remainder of our stores in Buffalo Town. You reach Creek Buffalo twelve or fifteen miles before you come to the village. The source of this creek, which is very narrow on the spot where you see it first, is fifteen miles farther up the country. Yet it considerably enlarges its breadth, and is upwards of a hundred yards broad, where it discharges itself into the river. You must ford it between a hamlet inhabited by the Cayuga nation and the village of Buffalo, where it is about forty yards in breadth, but its bed is so confined and miry, that we were scarcely able to work our way out of it.

The village of Buffalo is inhabited by the Seneca-Indians. The chief of this nation is BROTHERFARMER, a man generally respected by all the tribes as a great warrior and statesman, and for this reason much  
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courted both by English and American agents. Buffalo is the chief place of the Seneca nation. Instead of eighty houses, of which it had been told this village consisted, we found only about forty. The rest stand on the banks of the creek farther up or downwards, and thus people an extent of several miles. The village is situated on a plain, the soil of which, to judge from the grass it produces, is extremely fertile. We saw Indians cutting the grass with their knives. Some families keep cows, and others even horses. There were some fine oxen to be sold in the village. All the commodities being considered as the produce of the labours of the wives, they alone dispose of them at pleasure. They are looked upon as the sole proprietors. It is with them that every bargain is made, all the money, even the houses in which they live, belong to them; the husbands have nothing but their gun, their tomahawk (a small axe), and at the same time their pipe), and the scalps severed from the skulls of the enemies they have slain, and which in greater or less number form the decoration of the dwellings of all Indian warriors. More property they do not want.

The dignity of a chieftain is, in general, hereditary among the Indians; though some are also appointed by election. The sons of the chieftains, however, do not succeed, but those of the female chiefs. For the wives preserve this right of succession in their families, and transmit it to their descendants. Yet these Indian queens cultivate their fields with the spade in their hand. Though they have oxen to sell, it has hitherto not occurred to them, to yoke these animals to the plough. I have already observed, that a small field of Indian corn suffices for the wants of a family. There is, at times, another planted with potatoes; but, in general, these are planted between the rows of Indian corn.

The fields are mostly irregular pieces of land taken from the common; they are not inclosed, being more effectually guarded by an universal honesty, which never deceives. The cattle, which constantly remain in the woods, do no damage to the crops. The fields, cultivated by the Indians, have, in general, a more luxuriant appearance than  
others,

others, from the manner in which they are cultivated. Being better tilled, and kept constantly free from weeds, they cannot but produce heavier crops, which is actually the case. The Indian huts in Buffalo are not so bad as others I have seen, but equally unclean and filthy.

Our guide conducted us to a family, in which he said a demi-French woman lived, which, however, was not the fact. On entering the habitation, we found the landlord engaged in bleeding himself in the foot. He said he suffered from pains in the bowels, and placed great confidence in this remedy, which he prescribed and applied himself. Two leaves of sage served for a compress, and an old garter for a bandage; he looked about for his tomahawk to smoke during the application of this remedy. One or two other families live in the same hut. The husbands, fathers, and brothers were sitting before the door; the women were in the fields; we were compelled to wait their return, to learn whether they had any eggs or milk. When they came home, we found that they had none. They gave us, however, butter-milk, and very good butter. During the two hours we passed among them, nothing particular occurred. There is but little expression in their faces, little cheerfulness, and little sagacity. They were extremely curious, as every one would be, who has seen nothing. They laid hold of our watches, our compass, our pencils, and bridles, viewed them with much attention, yet without the least mark of astonishment or satisfaction; but remained as cold and unconcerned as three-fourths of the American country-people remain on similar occasions, though they are as curious as the Indians.

I had bought at Philadelphia a great quantity of trifles, with a view of distributing them among these people, who, I knew, are excessively fond of them. With these trifles we paid what services they had rendered us; but I distributed my fineries far beyond their amount; men and women seemed to receive them with astonishment rather than pleasure. The young girls appeared more pleased with them than the rest. Three or four of these were very handsome; and I fancied that

I could

I could observe in their manners a certain modesty, which I love to see blended with beauty.

The Indians seem to occupy themselves much with their children; they are extremely fond of them during their childhood, and their affectionate attachment frequently lasts far beyond that tender age. Sucking children are generally suspended in a basket, fastened to the ceiling by long ropes, and thus rocked. When the mother goes on a journey, or to work, the babe is put into a sort of portable cradle, the back and lower part of which are made of wood; it is laced before with straps of cloth, with which the child can be tied as fast as they please. This sort of cradle is carried by means of a strap, tied around the forehead of the mother. In this manner the Indians generally carry all their burthens.

Few Indians live to be very old. They who grow old and infirm are put to death by their children, who consider this act as a duty they are bound to perform, in order to save their parents from the miseries of old age. However, they do not always fulfil this duty. Let this barbarous custom be fairly considered, and it will be found in some manner consistent with reason; for of what use and value is life, when nothing can be expected but sorrow and sufferings?

Death is, with the Indians, no object of terror; and the relations of the deceased grieve but little for their loss. Some howlings at the burial are the only signs or expressions of their grief, while several days before and after the interment are spent in feasting and dancing. The entire property of the deceased is frequently spent in thus eating, drinking, and rioting to his honour.

The imperfect civilization, which the Indian nations, we have seen, owe to their constant intercourse with white people, has altered their original manners, which it would be peculiarly interesting to observe. Whisky renders them stupid; and whisky is known and sought after by all the Indians, who are engaged in the fur trade with white people. Europe has inflicted, and will ever inflict so many evils on every country discovered by her, that it is necessary to travel as Mr. MACKENZIE has done, beyond the known tribes, in order to trace the original man-

ners of the Indian nations; yet Mr. Mackenzie himself distributed whisky as he went along.

I shall subjoin here a few observations concerning the Indians, which, though they may not be perfectly new, will yet form a sketch, not altogether uninteresting to Europeans, and which I shall be able to improve from other accounts, especially from the narrative of the captivity of one of my friends belonging to Virginia, which I intend to introduce in the sequel. But previously to my entering on this subject, I must observe, that all the Indians we saw used every means of shewing us particular kindness, on account of our being Frenchmen, whom, they told us, they love very much, knowing that their people have always been kindly treated by them, and particularly without any sort of contemptuous insolence. On this account they constantly called us their fathers.

Age is so much honoured by the Indians, that in their language age and wisdom are synonymous terms.

Notwithstanding this high estimation, in which old age is every where held, and the great respect enjoyed by their chieftains in time of peace, and by their leaders in time of war, health, dexterity, and courage alone obtain distinctions among the Indians. Although from disposition and habit they are independent of each other, in all the concerns of life, yet they are never wanting in obedience to their chiefs and leaders.

Hospitality is with them a duty, which it would be a crime not to observe, and which they never fail to practise. They consider revenge as a duty equally sacred. They conceal their vindictive views as long as they know they cannot be gratified. But neither the longest period of time, nor the greatest obstacles, ever stifle in them the imperious passion for revenge. Although theft is very common among them, and more so among the women than the men, yet the thief, caught in the fact, is compelled to restore the property he stole; and in case of a violent robbery, the conjurors are consulted, who condemn the robber to death.

Homicide is atoned for by a sum of money, the amount of which is  
paid

paid in a sort of shells, called *wampum*, by which the price of all commodities is measured and adjusted. An offender, who cannot raise this ransom, is delivered over to the family of the deceased, that they may take their revenge on him. Deliberate murder is seldom committed; manslaughter perpetrated in drunken quarrels is more frequent. Yet the same indulgence, in regard to homicide and theft, is not shewn by all the Indian nations. I have learnt from Colonel BRANT, chieftain of the Mohawks, that among the Six Nations, who still occupy lands near the lakes in the dominion of the United States, and in Canada, and to whom the Mohawks and Seneca Indians belong; every Indian, who has killed or robbed another, must inevitably suffer death. The murderer is generally put to death by the relations of the person murdered. But every Indian belonging to the nation has a right to kill him, as soon as the crime is known. It frequently happens, that the offender, far from making the least resistance, voluntarily surrenders himself up for execution.

Among some nations the wife takes revenge of an unfaithful husband, by a similar conduct on her own part; and the husband, in the same circumstances, has recourse to the same means of revenge. Among some the husband puts the wife to death, if he catch her in *flagranti delicto*. The greatest crime among the Indians is to touch a captive, even with her consent. This crime would be punished with instant death. I know from Colonel Brant, that among the Six Nations there has yet been no instance of such an offence. As soon as the captive is set at liberty, there exists no farther prohibition, in case she consents. As they can neither read nor write, and yet are desirous of transmitting the memory of their actions to posterity, especially the fortunate exploits of their tribes; they effect this purpose by cutting figures in the bark of trees, which, to those who are unacquainted with this sort of language, appear to have no form, but are very intelligible to them and their posterity, as long as they are spared by all-destroying time. It is in this manner they record their exploits in hunting and war, the number of the scalps they have torn from the skulls of their enemies, &c. The

wampum, which is their money, is also their ornament, and their pledge for the performance of every contract and oath. They are more or less skilled in casting up accounts, in proportion to the extent of their trade. They count their months and days by the moon and the night, and their years by summer and winter. The pole star, with which they are acquainted, guides them in their nocturnal journeys.

The customs of the Indians, with respect to marriage, are various. In some tribes the children are given in marriage by their parents; in others they make their own choice. Among some polygamy is permitted; with others it is not in use. In some tribes the infidelity of the wives causes not the least uneasiness to the husband; in others it afflicts them to such a degree, that they frequently poison themselves; an act of despair, which is also sometimes committed by women from the same motives. Marriage, however, is in general with them but a transitory union. Divorces are very frequent; and in this case the children remain with the wife, together with all the other property. Conversation seldom or never takes place between the husband and wife; the Indians in general speak little. The wife, when she returns home from hard labour, prepares food for her husband, twice or thrice a day, who is ever satisfied with what she gives him. If no meal be prepared, the husband goes away without complaining, and eats with one of his neighbours.

Their usual diseases are inflammatory and putrid fevers, and the small-pox. The last never attacks them, but when they are near the habitations of white people, to the care of whose physicians they commit themselves with a tolerable share of confidence. If there be no medical persons in the neighbourhood, they place equal confidence in their conjurors, who are often women. The remedies, which the conjurors apply, consist generally of the inspissated juices of herbs. They also often cause the patient to be put into a kind of oven, or vapour-bath, to bring on a violent perspiration, which is the most common cure. These vapour-baths are made by means of large stones, heated as much as possible, and arranged in the form of a circle, in the centre of which the patient

tient is placed. Over this small inclosure is spread a very low tent cover, made of wool, the red-hot stones are wetted with water, and when the patient, by means of this steam, is in a strong perspiration, he is suddenly immersed into the coldest brook. This remedy is repeated several times, and proves often salutary in pleurisy and colds. But never is any remedy applied without some concomitant mysterious ceremony; such as blowing upon the patient, dancing, howling, or beating the drum. Whenever they apply a remedy, or practise their art, they invoke the *Great Spirit*, to whom, they say, they are called in their sleep. Pains in the head, and in the muscles of the neck, are very common among the women. They are attributed to the manner in which they carry their burthens.

The bite of the rattle-snake is easily cured, the remedy being known to all the Indians, and usually applied. I have already mentioned, that it is the rattle-snake root (*polygala senega*, Linn.). The bruised leaves are applied to the wound, and the juice, extracted from the root, is taken with a little butter or fat. There are, however, several other remedies against this accident, which no Indian regards. The flesh of the snake is considered as a delicacy by the Indians, and the slough, which the snake casts off twice a year, beaten into powder, is used as a cleanser of the blood.

The language of the Indians, in their conferences, is always figurative. When, for instance, they wish to describe the restoration of peace between two nations, they express themselves as follows: "We are making a road five hundred miles in length through the forest; we are tearing up the roots and branches that obstruct the way; we are clearing it of stones, rocks, and trees; we are removing the hills; we cover it with sand, and make it so perfectly light, that all the nations can see each other without the least obstruction." Although they conduct themselves with great coolness, in all their dealings, yet they often grow warm in the delivery of their speeches, and then swell declamation into musical notes: the assembly listens in profound silence. The members of the council smoke their pipes all the while, and the orator,

when



when he has done, sits down with them, and does the same. Their speeches may be as long as they please; they are never interrupted; since to interrupt an Indian would be deemed the greatest offence. In their deputations, their reception of ambassadors, and their negotiation of treaties, they introduce much solemnity, and many ceremonies.

When one nation wages war against another, they resolve on so doing after due deliberation, but never declare war against their enemy. They come upon him in greater or smaller numbers, and kill and destroy every thing within their reach. Whenever they meet with single individuals, who belong to the hostile nation, they treat them in the same manner. There are, however, places of inviolability, where their hostilities are suspended. Such is a certain spot on the banks of the river Missouri, where a species of stone is found, of which they stand in particular need, for making pipes. Here the bitterest enemies work quietly near one another, in breaking these stones, which they all alike want. There are more such places, equally sacred; and no instance has ever happened of these places having become a scene of contention.

Peace cannot be concluded between two nations, but through the intervention of a neutral tribe; and until it be actually concluded, the contending parties continue to destroy each other. As soon as the words of peace are proclaimed by the neutral nation, the ambassadors of the tribes at war meet and agree upon the *cessation of hostilities*. No other conditions are ever made. The proposals are reported by the ambassadors to the different councils of their respective nations. All the chieftains now assemble, smoke the calumet of peace, present each other with belts of wampum, and peace is definitively concluded. They do not give up the prisoners they have made, who remain where they are in a state of slavery.

When the Indians are at war with the white people, in which generally several nations join, the negotiations for peace are usually opened by messengers, deputed by the latter, who are frequently murdered by the former. This happened in the last war with the Americans. General Wayne, at the beginning of the year 1794, sent three  
officers

officers, attended by three interpreters, to different nations, which had taken a position in front of his army; the six persons, who carried the American flag, were all killed. After the battle, which took place in August following, near Lake Erie, and in which the Indians were defeated, General Wayne, instead of putting the prisoners to the sword, ordered them to be well treated, and sent several of them back with propositions of peace. The Indians being dispirited by their defeat, as well as by the faintness of the assistance afforded them by the English, who had excited them to the war, were glad to get their prisoners back, yielded to the general wish as well as necessity of living at peace, and contented that negotiations should be opened. Eleven nations had been at war with the Americans; ambassadors for the eleven nations arrived; and the negotiations lasted three months.

As soon as the point has been agreed upon, that negotiations for peace shall be opened, the Indians consider peace as actually concluded, and for this reason they bring the calumet of peace into the first assembly, which is always very numerous; it is presented by one of the chieftains, and every one present smokes it. To wipe the end of the pipe would be a great affront to an Indian, and might even lead to the rupture of the negotiation. The subsequent assemblies are less numerous. They are composed of about three or four deputies of each nation, attended by interpreters; for all the nations speak different dialects. The speeches of the Indians are very long, and, at times, last three hours. They are listened to, as I have already observed, with the utmost attention. Their remarks and answers are often extremely pertinent and acute. The orators frequently mark down with wampum the leading points of their speeches, in a manner scarcely intelligible to any one but themselves. By a similar arrangement of their wampum, the young Indians, who assist at the principal deliberation, report to the council of their nation not only all the proposals which have been made, but, in general, every thing that has been said.

The negotiations being brought to a close, the articles agreed upon are written on a long piece of parchment, comprising every thing that relates to every different nation concerned in the peace. These parchments are signed by all the chieftains of the nations, who, for the most part, use as their signature a misshapen image of the animal, which forms the distinctive mark of the tribe. One of these parchments, thus signed, remains in the hands of the white nation, and the other is delivered to one of the Indian nations concerned, which is most numerous, and from which the rest receive copies of the treaty in wampum. Every thing being terminated, presents are made, and the calumet is smoked by way of conclusion.

General Wayne, from whom I learned these particulars, allows, that the Indians possess an excellent disposition, with much sound understanding and judgment. In the battle, which decided the issue of the war, they displayed the most obstinate valour, bordering on blood-thirsty ferocity. They even executed bold and tolerably skilful manœuvres, which, though they had undoubtedly been contrived and indicated to them by English officers, nevertheless did them infinite credit.

The Indians, giving a hospitable reception to travellers, make them smoke the tomahawk, as they ratify a peace by smoking the calumet with their former enemies. They generally smoke a very pleasant tobacco, which is rendered still milder by a mixture of the bruised leaves of fragrant plants, and especially of sumach.

Let it, however, be remembered, that these general remarks on the manners of the Indians admit of many modifications in regard to single tribes and individuals. I have collected them here, rather with a view of gratifying, as far as I am able, the eager curiosity of my European friends, than with an intention of presenting them with a complete delineation of Indian manners, such as could satisfy myself. Yet I can at least offer this picture as faithful, if imperfect, though it be not drawn from my own immediate observation.

Buffalo Town is about four miles distant from Lake Erie. The road, which leads thither, runs under the most beautiful beech trees and pines, and is for this reason even worse, than that by which we came this morning. All this country is full of stagnant waters, and large stinking swamps and morasses; and yet we did not observe any agues among the Indians, who seem less liable to such diseases than white people.

At length we reached Lake Erie, that is to say, a small settlement of four or five houses, standing about a quarter of a mile from the lake. A small creek separated them from our road. This creek is so muddy, that nobody ventures to ford it on horseback. The saddles are, therefore, taken off: the horsemen pass the creek, which is about twenty feet in breadth, in boats, and make the horses swim across, though these find great difficulty in gaining the opposite bank.

We met, on our journey, some troops of travelling Indians, and two or three caravans of white people; occurrences, which afford great pleasure. A fire, not yet extinguished, vestiges of a camp or resting-place, nay, a broken utensil, which has served for the use of a traveller, excites, in these wildernesses, the most pleasing sensations. The idea, "*I am not alone in this vast solitude,*" cannot but be still more important to him, who travels by himself in these forests, than it was to us. And yet we enjoyed these emotions, in every part of our journey, where the habitations lay at considerable distances asunder. The smallest portion of cleared ground, or a little wood cut down, is beheld with the utmost joy, and its aspect inspires the beholder with fresh courage to proceed.

We had hoped to find Mr. Guillemard at the inn, but learned from the Indian, who had conducted him hither, that he had arrived here two hours ago, and had already proceeded onward on his journey; he found it too tedious to wait for us; and besides, nothing could be had in the inn. He had very properly crossed over to the other side; we intended to do the same; but it was too late. We were, therefore, necessitated to content ourselves with a very poor supper, and to lie down on the floor, wrapped up in our cloaks. Not the least furniture

was to be seen in the house, nor was there any milk, rum, or candles. With considerable trouble we got some milk from the neighbours; but they were not equally obliging, in regard to rum and candles. At length we obtained these articles from the other side of the river; our appetite was keen; we spent a pleasant evening, and slept as well as in the woods.

At Lake Erie (this is the name of this cluster of houses) every thing is much dearer, than in any other place, through which we have hitherto passed; in our journey, from want of any direct communication with other countries, to facilitate the intercourse of trade and commerce. There is scarcely one house in this little hamlet, without a person indisposed with the ague. We found ourselves here surrounded by Indians; some of them had caught, with harpoons, several large sturgeons on the border of the lake, which they offered us for two shillings a piece. The banks are crowded, nay rendered noisome with places where the Indians dry the fish, which they catch in great numbers in Lake Erie.

From the smallness of the lakes we had seen in Genessee, we were much disposed to admire this lake. We were charmed with its vast extent. Were it not for the opposite bank, its aspect would resemble that of the sea; as no other land was to be seen, and the prospect of water was boundless. The banks of the lake are rather flat, and uninhabited throughout this whole extent. Father CHARLEVORX observes in his travels, that Lake Erie received its name from a tribe of Hurons, who inhabited its banks, but were exterminated by the Iroquois, and the word *erie* in their language signifies a *cat*. The immense number of wild cats, which are found on the banks of this lake, and the skins of which are much valued, have probably given rise to the name.

At break of day Mr. de Blacons and myself proceeded to the place, where we were to cross the river, three miles distant from the inn. Dupetitthouars had hired a boat to sail down the river, which issues from Lake Erie, is about three quarters of a mile in breadth, and is called the Niagara. We here embarked, and consequently left the territory of the United States.

## MINERALOGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

I shall here subjoin a few remarks on the mineralogy of the country, which we have traversed. I owe them to Mr. Guillemard, who on this subject possesses more ample and correct information, than I can boast.

In the vicinity of Philadelphia the rocks are all composed of granite or gneiss. The most common is a granite interspersed with mica, and you frequently meet with large strata of mica or talc. The strata of these rocks incline towards the horizon, forming an angle of about forty-five degrees. The layer of earth, spread over them, is generally a sort of sand of the same quality as the rock. Under this bed of sand, a hard sort of clay is frequently met with.

This large mass of granite is intersected by veins of hornstone, calcareous spars, and other lime-stones, with very good marble. On the banks of the Schuylkill, and especially near Norristown, a vein of fine marble shoots out of the surface; it is connected with the rock of granite, which, towards the north-west, borders upon the river.

The direction of all these veins generally forms a right angle with that of the stratum of granite, and they usually drop in a line perpendicular to the horizon.

In the whole neighbourhood, no petrifications are found of marine animals and plants, or of any thing similar; but in holes, dug in the ground, as well as in brooks, a stone is frequently met with of a loose and granulated texture, which is easily pulverised, and bears a close affinity to fluor.

Further northwards, the soil, which before was much covered with mica, begins to be less so, and the rocks contain less granite. Near the creek Perkioming, a reddish argillaceous slate is found, with which the country in general abounds, till you come within nine miles of Reading. Here begin strata of a stone of a light grey, and sometimes of a blueish colour, which breaks into large square pieces, and seems to be a species of fluor.

On the road to Reading, at a small distance from that place, are

found large masses of a kind of pudding-stone, consisting of fragments of gneiss and slate, imbedded in a dark grey basalt.

'Near this spot is found calcareous spar, but in small quantities; and in the vicinity of Reading is much lime-stone.

We were told, that pudding-stone, in this country, is never found in strata; it is commonly of a dark red colour, which is rather dull.

The country about Lancaster, also, abounds in lime-stone, but without any impression of marine animals. The adjacent strata consist of a greyish slate, and sink deep into the ground.

On the banks of the Susquehannah a stratum of sandy loam covers the perpendicular veins of gneiss and slate, which, at times, form considerable masses.

'Near Middle Town the rocks are of a reddish colour, and contain much clay. On passing the Peters' Mountains, you meet with much granite; yet slate predominates. The rocks, which form the bases of the mountains, or the steep banks of the river, on the road from Northumberland to Asylum, exhibit but little variety in a mineralogical point of view. In some places, the slate breaks readily into small plates, which are made use of to cover the roofs of houses. No granite appears any more; and both in brooks and rivers free-stone is found, with impressions of sea animals and plants. Quartz disappears by degrees. The soil consists of sand, except in plains, meadows, and low grounds, which are covered with either rotten plants or vegetable earth. The ground, in general, is so much covered with earth, that a traveller, who has no time to explore rocks and stone-quarries, will hardly be able to form a complete and discriminative idea of the minerals of this country.

Near Loyahock stones are to be found, which have the appearance of basaltes. Some contain mica, but in a very small proportion. Above Asylum the rocks are of an argillaceous composition. The soil in the neighbourhood is, for the most part, rich and fertile. The strata incline with a less acute angle, and frequently run parallel to the horizon. The stone, when broken, appears of a testaceous texture, and its grain resembles metallic particles, not yet perfectly formed. Free-stone is frequent, and so is basalt. Broad level plains, exposed to inundation, form  
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the greater part of the territory, which extends towards the district of Genessee. At Painted Post, the water rose in December, 1797, nineteen feet above the common level for the summer months. The depth of the layers of earth, and the swamps, greatly obstruct mineralogical researches.

The first strata, in which I found marine bodies in their native beds, are in the vicinity of the small lakes, between Lake Seneca and Crooked Lake. Near Friendsmill and Friendslanding, oyster-shells, with remains of other testaceous animals, are found in a soft argillaceous stone. Farther west the argillaceous stones disappear, and are succeeded by calcareous. The country grows more and more flat; but wherever the nature of the ground, or morasses, did not prevent us from examining into the nature and form of the strata, they ran nearly parallel to the horizon. They are, for the most part, of a calcareous composition, and contain numerous remains and impressions of sea animals. Of this description are most of the stones in Big Plain, on the Buffalo Creek, on the banks of Lake Erie, at least at its extremity, the only part which we traversed, and on the southern bank of the river, as far as Niagara.

As to the *species of TREES*, that compose the woods, through which we have passed since our departure from Philadelphia, they are without number. I possess too little information on this subject to discriminate and enumerate them all. Those which I distinguished were the red, or scarlet flowering, the ash-leaved, the mountain, and the sugar maple, the black, and the poplar-leaved birch, the curled maple, which, however, in Pennsylvania and Genessee, is but a middle sized shrub, the button tree, the persimon tree, the small-leaved chestnut tree, an ash with deeply indented leaves, the white<sup>nut</sup> tree, the hickory, the bermudian cedar, the benjamin tree, the magnolia with indented leaves, the white spruce and hemlock fir, the white and black oak, the white and black ash, the black and silver poplar, the plum tree, the cherry tree, the tulip tree, the common sumach and the vinegar plant, beside an immense number of shrubs, for the most part with beautiful, yet scentless flowers, and a vast variety of sylvan plants.



*The History of MR. JOHNSON, of Virginia, who, in 1790, was taken Prisoner by the Indians, written on board the Pigeon, in October, 1794.*

The following narrative contains the history of Mr. Johnson, an American gentleman, a native of Virginia, and of his release in the year 1790.

Although this history does not abound with remarkable events, and some of them are rather unimportant, yet it appears to me interesting, inasmuch as it enlarges our knowledge of Indian manners from facts, which Mr. Johnson, a gentleman of veracity, of an unassuming disposition, and of a calm, temperate imagination, related to me himself, and which I wrote down, in a manner, from his mouth.

Mr. Johnson, inhabitant and merchant of Richmond, in Virginia, found himself under the necessity of proceeding to Kentucky; there to receive certain sums of money, due to his father, who was recently dead; and to examine some witnesses before the supreme court of the state of Virginia. Having made the same tour the preceding year, he set out accordingly from Richmond, in the beginning of the month of March, 1790, and proceeded with his friend, Mr. MAY, a great landholder in Kentucky, and an inhabitant of Petersburg, to Kecklar's Station; in Virginia, on the banks of the Great Kanaway. They found there James Skuyl, a merchant, of Great Brayer-court-house, in Virginia, who was carrying a large quantity of merchandize to Kentucky. They jointly purchased one of the vessels, which, as they are intended merely to descend the Ohio, and are not built to remount it, have no more durability than is required for that purpose, and are, consequently, sold at a cheap rate. They are large flat bottomed vessels, without any deck; and are sold in Limestone for the value of their timber. That bought by Mr. Johnson and his fellow travellers cost thirty dollars.

I state these particulars, though they may appear trifling, as they will not,

not, perhaps, be found altogether unuseful; the emigration to Kentucky being at this time extremely frequent, and the way of proceeding thither by water being the most expeditious, the least expensive, and the most generally chosen of any.

Having embarked on board this vessel, with their merchandize and stores, they descended the river, working the vessel themselves. During the whole passage of two hundred and ninety-five miles thence to Limestone, nothing is required but to keep the vessel in the middle of the stream, which is sufficiently rapid to carry her down, without the least assistance from rowing. At the confluence of the Kanhaway with the Ohio, at Point Pleasant, they found three other travellers, who were waiting for an opportunity to proceed on the same journey; namely, WILLIAM PHLYN, of Point Pleasant, a petty tradesman, who was in the habit of travelling to Kentucky; and DOLLY and PEGGY FLEMING, likewise of Point Pleasant, who intended to proceed to Kentucky, under the protection of Phlyn, a relation of their's, and to settle in that place. They were all of them fully aware, that the navigation of the Ohio is not exempt from danger; but they also knew, that instances of the Indians attacking a vessel in the midst of the stream are very rare, and that an attack on a vessel, with six persons on board, was altogether unprecedented. They, therefore, made themselves perfectly easy. Having left Point Pleasant on Friday, the 20th of March, early in the morning, they proceeded, during a passage of twenty-two hours, with all the care, which the weather, when favourable, admits of in these sorts of vessels. They had sailed one hundred and six miles; it was five o'clock in the morning; they were near the confluence of the Sciota, and had a fair prospect of reaching Limestone the next morning, by day-break. Passing on with this expectation, they heard dreadful shrieks, proceeding from two men, who spoke English, and told them, in the most affecting tone of grief, that they had been taken prisoners by the Indians, and had made their escape, but feared to fall again into their hands. They had not eaten any thing for these four days past, and entreated, if they could not be taken on board, to be at least supplied with

with some provision, and thus saved from the unavoidable danger of perishing through hunger. The first and immediate sentiment of all the passengers impelled them to succour these unfortunate persons. But a little consideration excited strong apprehensions in some of them, lest the assistance, which they might afford these persons, should throw themselves into the hands of the Indians. Mr. Johnson, as well as Mr. May, entertained this fear, which, on the other hand, was combated as groundless by the other two men; and the two women, yielding to compassion (a feeling more prevalent in their sex than our's) declared it an act of barbarous cruelty, on the part of the above two gentlemen, to oppose the saving the lives of the above two persons, in danger of instant death. Johnson and May, though still impressed with the same apprehensions, felt extremely uneasy, when they considered, that in consequence of *their* prudence, the unfortunate men might, perhaps, perish. They would not appear less humane than the rest, who shared the same danger, and accordingly defended their opinion with less firmness, than when they first proposed it. The two unfortunate men followed the vessel along the shore, as she was carried onwards by the current. Their mournful lamentations, their screams, and expressions of agonizing anguish and despair still increasing, William Phlyn, who derived some kind of authority from his being accustomed to this passage, and in the habit of frequenting Kentucky, proposed that he would go alone, and carry bread to the unfortunate sufferers, if his companions would land him on shore. He contended, that he should discern the Indians from afar, if they made their appearance; that, in this case, the vessel might easily regain the middle of the stream; and that he would make the journey to Limestone on foot, without falling into the hands of the Indians. It would have been extremely hard to oppose this proposal, which was seconded by the two women, and by James Skuyl. Mr. Johnson and Mr. May, therefore, yielded, rather out of weakness, than from any hearty approbation of the measure. They steered towards the shore, where the two sufferers were dragging themselves along, as if tormented by the most excruciating pains. Why is it, that humanity and candour must so frequently

quently fall victims to artifice and fraud? The apprehension of the two gentlemen were but too well founded. The two men were two traitors, suborned by the Indians to decoy the vessel to the shore. The Indians followed them, at some distance, constantly concealing themselves behind trees. The moment the vessel reached the shore, they burst forth, about twenty-five or thirty in number, raised a dreadful howl, and fired on the passengers. Two of them were killed by the first firing, and the rest, in equal astonishment and terror, endeavoured to regain the middle of the stream. But being too near the shore, and their activity and dexterity being severely checked by the proximity of the impending danger, they made but little way. The two persons killed were Mr. May and Dolly Fleming. The Indians continued to fire. James Skuyl was wounded, and two horses, which were on board, were killed. All this increased the terror of the three travellers, who were yet able to work, and impaired their exertions. The fury of the Indians increased in proportion to their hope of success. Some threw themselves into the river, and swam towards the ship; those who remained on shore threatened to fire on the passengers, if they should make the least resistance, and kept their pieces constantly levelled against them. The swimmers brought the ship accordingly on shore; and the unfortunate Americans were obliged to land under the continued howl of the Indians, which, however, were no longer the accents of rage, but shouts of joy, on account of the seizure of their prey. The Indians offered them their hands, which they shook with more or less satisfaction, in proportion to the greater or less degree of fear they felt, which we may easily conceive not to have been small. This reception, however, in some measure allayed their apprehension. While some of the Indians were thus saluting the prisoners, and led them away from the shore, the rest were busied in landing all the merchandize and stores. Some cut wood, and made a fire. These arrangements were soon made. The articles found in the ship were carried to the fire, as well as the two unfortunate persons who had been shot. The latter were completely stripped of their clothes, scalped on the spot, and their corpses thrown into the river. Mr. May was an intimate friend of Mr. John-

son; and the latter is yet at a loss for adequate terms to express the horror he felt at this dreadful fight, which for some time overpowered all his apprehension concerning his own safety. The scalps were dried by the fire, to increase the trophies of the tribe.

While the male prisoners were stripped of what articles they had about them, with more or less rigour, according to the whims of those who took this task upon them, or happened to be the nearest, the clothes of Peggy Fleming were not touched. Mr. Johnson's coat and waistcoat were already pulled off, and half his shirt, when an Indian, who hitherto had not concerned himself with his dress, returned it to him, and spoke to him who was pulling off the shirt, in a tone not only implying censure, but also a right to offer it. The same Indian gave him a blanket, by way of indemnification for the loss of his coat and waistcoat. His shoes were taken from him, and instead of them they gave him *mockipons*, or Indian shoes, made of deer-skins. His breeches and stockings were yet left him; all the clothes were added to the rest of the booty. The Indians were now near seventy in number, among whom were about a dozen women. Their leader assembled them around the fire, and, holding the tomahawk in his hand, addressed them in a speech, which lasted about an hour, and which he delivered with great ease and fluency of expression, with gestures, and in a tone of enthusiasm, looking frequently up to heaven, or casting down his eyes on the ground, and pointing now to the prisoners, now to the river. Almost at every phrase the Indians, who listened to him with the utmost attention, expressed their approbation and applause with accents of deep, mournful exclamation. The booty was divided among the different tribes, which shared in this enterprize. The tribe of the Shawanese, being the most numerous, and that to which the leader belonged, received three prisoners; and William Phlyn fell to the share of the other tribe, the Cherokees. Every prisoner was given to the charge of an Indian, who was answerable for his person. Although thus distributed, the prisoners remained together, and neglected not to improve the liberty allowed them, conversing with each other without constraint.

The two men, who by their lamentations had decoyed them on shore, now rejoined the Indians. Their wretched victims poured forth against them severe reproaches, though they were somewhat softened by the fear of being overheard by the Indians. They pleaded necessity, and that they had been ordered on pain of death, to act as they did. By their accounts, they were inhabitants of Kentucky, surprized by the Indians, six months before, in their own habitations; and had already, several times, been employed in similar treachery. The stores found on board the vessel served the Indians for their meals, in which they generously allowed the prisoners to partake. Night coming on, every one lay down to rest under the trees. The prisoners were surrounded by the tribes to which they respectively belonged, and singly guarded by the Indian, who had the charge of them. Peggy Fleming, who was never left by her guards, was, this night in particular, surrounded by women. Mr. Johnson was tied by the elbows; and the ends of the ropes were fastened to trees, which stood far asunder, so that it was altogether impossible for him to lie down. Yet this was not deemed sufficient. Another rope, fastened to a tree, was tied around his neck, and from it a rattle was suspended, which, if he had made the least motion, would have awakened the whole troop. The rest were treated nearly in the same manner. The two white spies enjoyed the most perfect liberty. Some Indians were stationed, at certain distances, around the party, to observe what was passing in the surrounding country.

Early in the morning the prisoners were unbound, and suffered to enjoy the same liberty as on the preceding day. About ten o'clock the Indians, who were posted along the banks of the Ohio, reported, that a vessel was dropping down the river. The prisoners were ordered to join the other two, who yesterday beguiled their prey, and to exert their utmost efforts to decoy the passengers in the ship on shore. It is easy to conceive, that the horror which they felt, on receiving these orders, was strongly combated by the fear of instant death, with which they were threatened, in case of disobedience and refusal. They were, therefore, under the necessity of joining the other two white men. Mr. Johnson, however, though com-

pelled, for the preservation of his own life, to pretend to do like the others, firmly determined not to make himself guilty of occasioning the slavery, or probable death of the unfortunate passengers on board, by any voluntary action on his part; and, consequently, neither to make the smallest gesture, nor to speak a word. And well might he spare himself this trouble. His companions exerted themselves to the utmost, to excite the compassion of the passengers on board, who, without the least hesitation, stood in towards the shore, to succour and rescue from slavery, those whom they thought unfortunate captives. Scarcely had they approached within a small distance of the shore, when the Indians, who, as on the preceding day, had stolen along behind the bushes, hastened up, fired, and shot the six persons on board. Shouts of victory succeeded to the howls of barbarous rage. The vessel was hauled on shore; and two of the ill-fated passengers, who were not yet dead, were immediately dispatched with the tomahawk. The six scalps were torn off and dried, and the booty was divided, but with fewer formalities than on the preceding day. Soon after the scouts made signals, that three other vessels were in sight. The same stratagem was employed, but, for this time, in vain. The families on board, which were proceeding to Kentucky, did not appear to make any attempt to deviate from their course, but, on the contrary, pursued it with redoubled activity. The Indians fired at the vessels, but, from the breadth of the Ohio, which, in this place, is almost a mile, the balls took no effect. Yet the passengers were panic-struck. Of the three vessels, which they occupied with their cattle, they deserted two, and joined all in one; believing, that they might thus proceed faster, and more certainly make their escape. The other two vessels they abandoned to the stream. This measure inspired the Indians with a hope of seizing them, which they would never have attempted, if the passengers, without leaving these two vessels, had steadfastly pursued their course. The Indians, who, in all their enterprises, are rather animated by a thirst for plunder than by real courage, never venture upon an attack, without being convinced, that they are superior in strength; a conviction, which they do not readily admit. Inspired by their number, by

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the obvious panic of their enemies, and by the separation of their means of defence, they resolved on pursuing them. Having on the preceding day captured two vessels, they went on board, embarked their prisoners, and, with all possible speed, pursued the fleeing ship. The two vessels, which had been abandoned to the stream, soon fell into their hands; but, not satisfied with their capture, they were bent upon taking the third, which they pursued with redoubled exertion, raising dreadful howls, and discharging all their pieces; but their fire proved as ineffectual as their other exertions. The fugitive vessel having gained considerably the start of them, approached a spot, where the Indians feared to encounter new enemies. They were, accordingly, obliged to relinquish their design, and to content themselves with the rich booty, which had already fallen into their hands. It consisted of effects, stores, and other valuable articles, belonging to the four families, which had jointly emigrated from Virginia, to settle in Kentucky. They brought every thing on shore; and, without distributing the whole, fell eagerly on some casks of whisky. They drank so largely, that all of them were soon intoxicated. Six or seven, to whom was committed the charge of guarding the booty, and who had been ordered, at the beginning of these Bacchanalian revels, to drink with moderation, retained alone the use of their senses. All the rest lay buried in a profound sleep; and, among them, the leader of the party, and the guards of the prisoners. William Phlyn himself had drunk so much whisky, as to be in the same situation with his masters. Mr. Johnson's mind was too deeply affected by his dreadful situation, to share in this disgusting banquet. Totally absorbed in the contemplation of the dangers and miseries that awaited him, and eagerly desirous of warding them off, if possible, he conceived, that the profound sleep of all the Indians around him might afford the means of escape, and communicated his idea to James Schuyl, who was lying by his side. The vessels were fastened to stakes along the shore, at a small distance from them; the success of their enterprize depended merely on their stealing thither unobserved, throwing themselves into the first vessel they should find, the night being very dark, and abandon her to the stream. Success appeared



appeared as certain, if they could reach the vessels, as instant death, on the other hand, if they were apprehended. James Skuyt the more readily embraced this project, as, but half an hour before, he escaped death in a manner little short of a miracle. An Indian ran up to him, in the first fit of drunken madness, with the dreadful knife in his hand, to scalp him, and would certainly have accomplished his purpose, but for the interference of two other Indians, less inebriated than he was, who checked his fury. The last words of this conversation were uttered in a voice so very low, that it was impossible to conceive they should have been understood by an Indian, who lay at a considerable distance, though he were even possessed of a knowledge of the English tongue; yet he arose, and and tied them in the same manner as the preceding night, without shewing, however, the least passion, nay, without speaking a word.

Thus the pleasing hopes of the two prisoners were blasted on a sudden, and converted into renewed despair. Tied fast to trees, separated from each other, convinced, by experience, that they were closely watched, without the least intermission, even in moments when they might imagine themselves to be totally unguarded; they could not but suppose themselves doomed to a state of hopeless misery. The remembrance of all they had heard of the cruelty of the Indians towards their prisoners, oppressed their minds with constant horror. They were aware, that they would be yielded up to the grossest insults, and to lingering, cruel, and varied torments. They considered the Indians, who were lying around them in a state of senseless, brutish intoxication, as the instruments of their tortures. It was with these painful ideas, that the two unfortunate prisoners passed the remainder of the night. At break of day, the surrounding troop awoke; they were untied; and this day, the third of their captivity, was spent in continued revels, kept up with the whisky, which had been left the preceding day. The leader, probably from an opinion that his expedition had already proved sufficiently productive, proclaimed his will on the next following day, that it should be closed; and the different tribes, which had taken a share in it, set out on their way home. They all inhabited the neighbourhood of the lakes Ontario and Erie.

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The leader of the most numerous tribe was a Shawanese, the rest were Lower Creeks, Wyandats, Mingoes, Ojibwas, Delawares, Ottawas, Chepawas, and Cherokees.

Johnson, Jacob Skuy, and Peggy Fleming, as has already been observed, had fallen to the lot of the Shawanese, forty of which tribe were present in this expedition: They left the Ohio together; while William Phlyn departed with the Cherokees. On the first day's journey, Johnson was ordered to lead a cow, which formed a part of the booty, found on board the two deserted vessels. Jacob Skuy, being wounded, had nothing to do, but follow the troop. Peggy Fleming, who was surrounded by men and women by turns, could go wherever she pleased. They were all three at liberty to converse as they chose, without the Indians having hitherto conceived the smallest distrust. The vast booty, which had fallen to the share of this tribe, was, in part, transported on horses, ten or twelve in number, found in the vessels, and in part carried by Indians, who, at times, loaded Mr. Johnson with part of their burden. The first day's journey was but five miles. The Shawanese halted in a beautiful vale, where, under straggling trees, about forty horses were grazing, which, in the course of the expedition, had been taken from the different travellers, and sent to this spot. They had adopted this measure, because they were to return this way; and it, besides, supplied the horses with food in the utmost abundance. The cow was killed the first day, roasted, and devoured. What had not been eaten, was left behind the next morning, when they set out to renew their journey. The leader, with eight or ten Indians, had, by this time, left the troop, mounted the best horses, and rode off to reach their habitations, before the arrival of the rest. They took Peggy Fleming with them, who, for the preservation of her life, did all she could to please the leader, and the other Indians, on whom she depended. Her good and playful humour insured her success. She was carried off on one of the best horses, and the apprehensions of her future fate were lost in the pleasure of her journey. Her two companions in misfortune, unable to charm their masters, as she did, continued their journey in the same man-

ner, in which they had begun it ; except that they had nothing to carry, as the horses were more numerous ; the cow too had been killed. The troop breakfasted on some salt meat they had found on board the vessels, and on the remains of the meals of the preceding day, and then moved farther onward. About twelve o'clock they halted. The game killed by the hunters was dressed, and the time of their halting was frequently determined by the good or bad luck of the chase. They smoked their pipes before and after dinner, and then set out again to pursue their journey, until about an hour before night-fall. At this time they stopped to eat their evening meal, which was much like the dinner, usually smoked a pipe in profound silence, and then lay down to rest on hides. The prisoners were constantly tied at night, and the journey was pursued in the same unvaried manner. During the march, some Indians, generally the hunters, formed a kind of van-guard, and others brought up the rear, at some distance, to watch whether the troop were pursued ; for both the mistrust and the vigilance of the Indians are very great. The main body marched as they chose, without the least order. If game was espied, either by the main body or the rear-guard, they killed it. But the van-guard seemed in particular charged with this duty. No more game is killed, than what is required for the next meal ; and the woods are filled with it to such a degree, as to preclude all apprehension in regard to future subsistence. The game killed is cut into large pieces, and put on stakes driven into the ground. The cookery is performed by the women. The Indians, on lighting their fires, take peculiar care not to set fire to the neighbouring trees.

The prisoners, we may easily conceive, profited by the liberty they enjoyed of keeping constantly together. Their melancholy conversation breathed despair in consequence of their having missed the last favourable opportunity of escape, rather than hope of meeting with another. Yet this hope, chimerical as it might appear, was not entirely abandoned. The chief of the troop had conceived some mistrust from their being constantly together ; and his apprehension encreased at the sight of a knife, which Mr. Johnson inadvertently drew out of his pocket, and which

which he had carefully preserved for the purpose of cutting the ropes, with which he was tied at night, if any favourable opportunity should offer. On the prisoners being again searched, a few guineas were found in the pocket of James Skuyt, which had been overlooked at the first search, and which heightened the mistrust. The first means to which the Indians resorted for their security were, to strip both the unfortunate prisoners of their breechcs, instead of which they were furnished with a short apron, tied round their hips, and reaching half way down their thighs, which clothed them in the Indian fashion. Their shirts were exchanged for coarser ones. Yet all these precautions were not sufficient, to allay the fears of their keepers. On the next morning the Chief ordered the troop to separate into two divisions; and James Skuyt to proceed with one, while Johnson continued with the other; they were both to reach the same place of destination by different roads.

This new separation proved extremely painful to Mr. Johnson; the fellowship in misfortune had converted a four-days acquaintance into the most intimate friendship. Skuyt was his support, his hope, the only being with whom he could associate; yet him he lost, left alone in nature's vast domain, and given up entirely to his grief and apprehensions, considerably heightened by this loss. The separation from a dearly beloved wife, Mr. Johnson said, could hardly affect the heart with keener pangs, than he felt on being torn from this four-days friend. Yet how was he to oppose the iron-hand of necessity? A wise man, and this is his chief merit, resigns himself to calamities he cannot avert: thus did Mr. Johnson. He soon determined on concealing, as much as possible, his painful sensations, and, under the appearance of serenity, to beguile the mistrust of his masters. He was powerfully supported in the execution of this design by an innate firmness, calmness, and cheerfulness of temper. Though the hideous image of impending death would often press upon his mind, he found some consolation in the thought, that not every prisoner is irrevocably doomed by the Indians to suffer death; but, that, at times, they employ their captives to assist them in hunting; or adopt them as members of their tribes. He has repeatedly assured me, that

even in moments of the most imminent danger, during his captivity his spirits never failed him for any length of time. A ray of hope would constantly re-animate his courage, though, wanting probability, it quickly vanished; but, though less miserable than many others would have been in his situation, he was constantly wretched.

The fameness of the remaining journey was not chequered by any remarkable events. The marches were longer or shorter in proportion to the game they killed, to the duration of their sleep at noon, and to the delight they found in smoking their pipes. But their length especially depended on the will of the chief, and the advice of the conjurors. Their dreams frequently alter the direction of their journeys. They fell in with several wandering troops of Indians, which caused a longer or shorter delay, according to the hour at which they met. At times the two troops would dine together; but they never parted without having informed each other of their exploits, and exhibited their prisoners with pride and ostentation. At night Mr. Johnson was always tied looser or tighter according to the whim of the Indian, who undertook this charge, without always belonging to his guards, being sometimes deputed by one of them, who had perhaps some business in front or rear of the troop; and in this case the deputy would often endeavour to justify the confidence placed in him, by tying his prisoner as closely as he could. One night he was tied so tightly, that the ropes cut deep into his arms, and were covered by the swelling they occasioned. Yet he dared not to complain, for the whole party being interested in the preservation of prisoners, every measure tending to that purpose could not but obtain universal approbation. At another time he was beaten by the chief for no other reason than the ill humour of this brute, yet he dared not to murmur. Once he was severely beaten by an Indian from a mere brutish desire of using him thus; but this time his patience forsook him. He returned the blows with the approbation of the whole troop. They said he had proved himself a man; none but women submitted to such treatment without opposition. From that time he observed, or fancied, that they treated him with more respect. In the meanwhile the real commander

mander or chief of the troop rejoined them, after two days separation. Having altered his idea of reaching home sooner than the rest, he resolved on scouring the woods with his Indians, and it was by mere accident he fell in with the troop from which he had separated. Peggy Flemming was with them, apparently much habituated to their masters, as she preferred their protection to the company of Mr. Johnson. A few days after the troop met a negro laden with whisky. He was the slave of an Indian, who was hunting in the woods, and had commissioned him to sell this liquor. Within a short time the negro sold his whole stock, and followed the troop, waiting for his master. The Indians halted soon after to drink their whisky with more ease, and to prepare for their entrance into Sandusky, which was distant but a few days' journey. Their preparations consisted in the complete process of an Indian toilette, that is to say, they touched up and refreshed the colours with which the Indians are accustomed to paint both the face and body. Every one is at liberty to paint himself after his own fancy, except that they all wear one certain mark either on their breast or arms. A black paint, prepared of charcoal, and a red, composed of minium and cinnabar, are most frequently used. The whole body and face are plastered with these paints. They suffer their hair to grow only about the scalp; and cut off the rest, close to the head, either in irregular lines, proceeding from the eyes and the root of the nose, and branching out from this central point in various forms, or parallel lines extending near each other in the same direction. At times it is a sort of hair-dress, on which apparently no care is bestowed. But the fact is, that they attend to this sort of ornament with a peculiar care, and pass whole hours before their looking-glass, which they carry constantly about them to complete their dressing. This they value as highly as the handsomest European coquette can do; and are as much pleased, when it is finished to their satisfaction, as she may be. On such days they pluck off the hair from the eye-brows and beard, with more care, than they usually bestow on this operation. As to the common mark or sign which they wear painted on their breast or arms, it is generally the image of some animal. That of the Shawanese

Shawanese was a wolf. The women wear it in common with the men ; but they paint only the cheek-bones, for the most part, red. They suspend small silver or iron rings from the whole cartilaginous part of the ear. The men wear them in the nose. Either sex generally wears a silver collar, from which a cross is suspended. A short shirt, reaching down to the apron, which is tied round the hips, is the common dress of both sexes ; in cold weather they throw a short mantle round the shoulders. Such, at least, are the dress and fineries of the Shawanese. Nearly all the tribes vary in this respect, as well as in many others. After the company were thus arrayed, they proceeded on their journey. The negro spoke English ; and, as the Indians entertained no mistrust against him, he had it in his power, to impart to Mr. Johnson some interesting information, which, though not calculated to inspire the prisoners with hope, yet proved to him extremely valuable and important. The troop was soon joined by the master of the negro, and shortly after by two other Indians, who took Mr. Johnson by the hand, and conducted him to the chief, whom they seemed to address in a suppliant manner, and with an air of submission. At the close of an hour's conversation, the subject of which was the prisoner, and after the petitioners had delivered two gallons of whisky, mostly quaffed by the chief, Mr. Johnson was surrendered to them and carried off. All his ideas were absorbed by the prospect of certain destruction, which impressed his mind ; every ray of hope vanished for a moment ; every perception was lost ; he dared not to ask the negro, who, in conjunction with his master, had joined the two Indians ; ignorant as he was, whether he might not be connected with them ; whether the compassion, he seemed to shew, were not an artifice to betray him ; whether he were not, perhaps, his most cruel enemy, his executioner ! For some time he moved on in silence, and secret despair ; but, being no longer able to support the torturing idea of the uncertainty of his fate, he, at last, with great timidity, had recourse to the negro, and learned from him, that one of the two Indians, to whom he now belonged, having some time ago killed an Indian of the tribe of the Mingo, he was bound by the laws of the tribe, to furnish a person instead of the



the Indian slain, or, in default of this, to be himself surrendered up to the vengeance of his family ; that, being ~~to go~~ to buy a prisoner, he had prevailed upon the Shawanese by his ~~entreaties~~, and persuaded the chief, by means of the whisky, to make him a present of Johnson, so that he now pertained to the tribe of the Mingoes, but that previously to his being delivered up to them he would pass a few days at his master's, who was a neighbour of the two Indians. The prospect of slavery, was pleasing to Mr. Johnson ; he was happy even at this price to preserve his life, the loss of which had been constantly before his eyes. He deemed himself more fortunate, as he entertained a hope, that by some means or other he might be able to shorten the period of his captivity. He journeyed on about four days with his new masters, and lived with them in the same manner as with the former, except that he was not tied at night. His old masters had given him back his clothes, and, on comparing his present situation with his former, and especially with that which he expected in anxious suspense, he felt happy. But this happiness was not of long duration. His unlucky stars would have it so, that after four days marching he again fell in with the Shawanese. The chief, who had now become sober, was no longer so generous as before, and regretted his former generosity. He demanded Mr. Johnson from the two Indians, but was refused. The two Indians referred to the testimony of the negro and his master, which was in their favour ; but, the Shawanese being the stronger party, they proceeded from demands to menaces, and from menaces to acts of violence ; the two Indians, destitute of all means of defence, were easily conquered, and Mr. Johnson, torn from the Shawanese, was replunged into his former anxiety and misery. His situation appeared to him the more desperate, as a French merchant of Canada, who, being informed by the Indians, that the Shawanese had a white prisoner with them, came to redeem him, but had met with a refusal from the chief, who told him, that he meant to lead him with the other booty in triumph through his town. The merchant promised Mr. Johnson, to renew his application the next morning, but the latter had renounced all hope. The merchant actually came the next morning, according



according to his promise, at the time of the arrival of the prisoner, and made several trifling bargains with the Indians; but all his applications concerning Johnson were in vain. The unfortunate young man, therefore, had no hope left, but what the prospect of occurrences, incidental to a journey of one hundred and fifty miles, the actual distance of his place of destination, could afford. An event, with which his most sanguine hopes could not have flattered him, soon took place. The Shawanese, proceeding on their journey, met an Indian with a horse loaded with whisky; part of the booty was quickly exchanged for some barrels. The next morning the remainder of the booty went the same way, and on the following day they paid the Indian for what whisky he had left in horses, which they had brought with them from the bank of the Ohio. The Shawanese passed six days in a state of continual intoxication, and continued drinking until they had nothing left to drink. Ashamed to return to their tribe without any trophies, but one single prisoner, they determined on another expedition, in which Mr. Johnson was to co-operate. Yet, on mature deliberation, they found it still more advisable, to sell the prisoner, in order to be able, to drink whisky, and drink it largely, previously to their taking the field again. The expression of vehemence and savageness in their faces, which was heightened by the fumes of whisky, not yet altogether evaporated, greatly increased Mr. Johnson's uneasiness during these debates. It was in vain his woe-worn mind endeavoured to find out their object, when the following morning he was called to the two chiefs, who ordered him to mount a horse, and push on with them as fast as he could. He now imagined, that his last hour was come, but this time his fear was not of long duration. The place whither he was conducted was not above five miles distant; it was the habitation of Mr. DUCHOQUET, the merchant whom he had already seen. After some glasses of whisky had been drunk, the bargain was soon struck; six hundred small silver shirt buckles, such as the common people wear, constituted the ransom, amounting to twenty-five Louis d'or. Mr. Johnson's happiness may be easily conceived, but he did not yet feel it in its whole extent; which is generally the case in sudden transitions from

from extreme wretchedness to a state of felicity and peace. This rapid and complete delivery from death and bondage appeared to him like a dream, in which he dared not to indulge. Mr. Duchoquet endeavoured to convince him of the reality of his happy situation, and he began to believe in it, when the next morning the two Indians, who had conducted him thither, again made their appearance. Mr. Duchoquet was himself of opinion, that they came to rescind the agreement, and confirmed his new guest in the determination he had formed, to sell his life dear, when one of the Indians came up to him unarmed, and said smiling, that on the preceding day he had forgotten something, which belonged to him, which most certainly he must have missed, and which they came to return to him. It was a code of laws for Virginia, which his masters had left him during his journey. Mr. Johnson was less sensible of the delicacy of this conduct, which even among refined Europeans would have been considered as a proof of great attention, than happy on account of the perfect security, which this behaviour of his former masters guaranteed to him, and which continued undisturbed by any further accident.

Not being able to reach the settled parts of America without a guide, he was necessitated to wait the season, when Mr. Duchoquet usually went to Canada. Until that period he continued with him in his habitation, and assisted him in his trade with the Indians. This afforded him an opportunity of getting acquainted with several tribes, whose manners and customs differed but little from those of the Shawanese. Unacquainted with their language, he could not himself collect much information concerning them; and besides, he was too much occupied by his eager desire of being restored to his family and friends, to study the manners and habits of savages, whom he was anxious to quit. He learned, however, from his host, that all the tribes in that neighbourhood believe in a Supreme Being, and in the duration of the existence of the soul after the close of this mortal life. They hold, that the punishment of those, who have rendered themselves guilty of wicked deeds, and with them none are wicked deeds but inactivity and cowardice in hunting and warfare, and perfidy to their friends, consists, in their being removed after death

death into unhealthy woods, where there is no other game but small birds; while they, who have constantly observed an honest, gallant conduct, are transplanted into forests, abounding with the largest game, of which the numbers never diminish. He farther was informed by his host, that Indian women, called in their language squaws, are kept by their husbands in a sort of slavery, frequently beaten, and in case of adultery often maimed by them—a punishment which they are much inclined to inflict. Girls, or unmarried women, on the contrary enjoy full liberty, to gratify their desires as they please; and so far from their forfeiting by this gratification the esteem of the men, a woman is held in little estimation by the Indians, who, previous to her marriage, has not been engaged in some amorous intrigue: “for,” say they, “disdained as she has been by all men, she is unworthy of love.” According to his observation, the Shawanese are lazy, imprudent, melancholy, silent, and without thought for the coming day. As to the general character of the Indians, he knew, that, whatever acts of cruelty they may exercise against their prisoners, in particular against such, as they take in time of war, they are in their friendship true and faithful to a degree, which has long become obsolete among civilized nations.

At the beginning of June Mr. Duchoquet set out with his guest on his journey to Canada. Lake Erie was but fifty miles distant. They embarked there for Detroit, where Mr. Duchoquet resides. But, before they reached Lake Erie, they had to pass the small lake Sandusky. A violent gust of wind drove them to a small island in the middle of this lake, inhabited by two Indian tribes. Mr. Johnson was there invited with his friend to a grand feast, given by a family in celebration of the recovery of an Indian lady. The feast consisted of a grand meal, preceded by a great deal of dancing around a large fire. Almost all the inhabitants of the island were invited. A small painted stick supplies among the Indians the use of our cards of invitation; and these dances, these banquets, and large fires, are religious rites, deemed by the Indians extremely efficacious in curing their sick; in all probability they less obstruct their recovery at least, than the prescriptions of many physicians might do.

Mr.

Mr. Johnson reached Détroit on the 13th of June; and there separated from Mr. Duchoquet. The English Governor ordered him to be conveyed across Lake Erie in a king's yacht. Thence he went in another vessel to the celebrated cataract of Niagara, to conceive an adequate idea of which, is beyond the powers of human fancy. From this stupendous water-fall he proceeded in a boat along the banks of Lake Ontario, and thence on the river Oswego to Albany, New York, and Virginia, where, having been afflicted six weeks by fate, savages, and musquitoes, he rejoined his family, whom he had utterly despaired of ever seeing again; happy, that so many sufferings terminated in this fortunate, but unexpected event.

### *The History of PEGGY FLEMMING.*

Peggy Flemming continued with the Shawanese, when Mr. Johnson was, by their chief, delivered up to the two Indians of the tribe of the Mingoes. But he did not find her again, when he was surrendered back to his former masters. Two or three of them had carried her off; and after a journey of a few days, given her to three Cherokees, whom they met in the woods, and who carried her to Sandusky, where Duchoquet and Johnson saw her, without being able to obtain from her one single word, undoubtedly in consequence of a prohibition of her present masters, who used her more rudely than the former had done. Some days after, these Indians brought her into the neighbourhood of the lake Sandusky, where they pitched their tents, and being much pleased with the surrounding country, determined to pass some days in their camp. Mr. Mac-INROSE, partner of Mr. Duchoquet, proceeded thither, on the first intelligence that a white woman was in the hands of the Indians, with a view to redeem her. A young Virginian, who, some years before, had been taken prisoner by the Wyandots, and by them adopted as a member of their tribe, accompanied him thither. He happened to know the whole family of Peggy Flemming, and to be personally acquainted with her. Being much liked and respected by the chief of the tribe, he solicited of him the favour, to procure him this captive from the Indians,

asserting, that she was his sister. The aged chief, in compliance with his request, paid the three Cherokees a visit, and after the usual compliments expressed his wish, that they might either give or sell him this young woman, in whom he professed to take the most lively interest. The Indians gave him a denial in terms, which grew peremptory in proportion as his entreaties became more earnest. They threatened, that they would rather kill both him and her, than give her up. The old chief, being the weaker party, was obliged to yield. But the next morning he came before break of day, attended by twenty Indians of his tribe. Peggy Flemming was tied to a tree, around which the three Cherokees were lying in a profound sleep. The Wyandots seized her; the old chief cut himself the ropes, with which she was tied, and as soon as he got her into his power, gave the three Cherokees some hundred small silver buckles, with which they were obliged to content themselves. Peggy Flemming was delivered up by the old chief to his favourite WHITAKER (this was the name of the Virginian), who was become a Wyandot Indian, first from necessity, and afterwards from choice. She was provided with clothes, and carefully nursed by this tribe. Whitaker had married a young Indian woman, who took the greatest care of her. Soon after, she was conducted under an escort of men and women of this tribe through the midst of the woods to the banks of the Ohio, opposite to Point Pleasant, where Mr. Johnson learned from her the particulars of her adventures, and where she now lives, in the twenty-eighth year of her age.

### *The History of JAMES SKUYL.*

It will be recollected, that Mr. Johnson was separated from James Skuyl on the fourth or fifth day of their march. The latter, with part of the troops, proceeded by a different road to the habitations of the Shawanese, where he was insulted, beaten, and otherwise ill used. On his arrival, his wound was almost mortified, owing to the excessive fatigues of the journey, and the stings of the musquitoes. He was, nevertheless, kept to the hardest labour of the tribe, i. e. he was employed to cultivate

cultivate the ground. It is in general the employment of prisoners, if they have any, to relieve the women of a part of the toils, which have fallen to their lot. James Skuyl, though extremely uneasy on account of his situation and future fate, yet could not think of making any attempt to escape through forests, where at every step he ran the risk of falling in with Indians. The success of such an undertaking was so highly improbable, as to preclude every idea of it. Yet being one day informed by a woman, in whose company he used to work, and who seemed to sympathise in his sufferings, that he would be burnt within two days, he was irresistibly impelled, to try every means of escaping so terrible a death. Furnished with a musket, and some cakes of Indian corn, he ventured, one night, to elope from the habitation, in which he was guarded. He stole through the woods, and reached the bank of the river Miami. Here he was obliged to leave behind his musket, though it served, at once, for his defence and subsistence. Having fastened his cakes to his head, he swam across the river. He met great numbers of Indians, in spite of his anxious endeavours to avoid them; nay, he found himself under the necessity of passing by some of their habitations. The care he had taken in painting himself, some Indian words, which he had learned, during his captivity, and his firm deportment, gave him the appearance of an Indian, and from this supposition he was actually several times assisted in his flight. When he thought himself out of danger, he had nearly fallen by one which he least suspected. Having reached the bank of Lake Ohio, he intended to cross it in a vessel, which he happened to find, in order to reach the isthmus; the ferryman refused to take him on board, as he mistook him for a spy, who intended first to seduce him, and then to punish him, if he should yield to his intreaties. He also told him, that the preceding evening a troop of Shawanese had searched the banks of the river in quest of a prisoner, who had made his escape on the day before that of his intended execution. He could not but recognise himself in this description; celerity was therefore of the utmost importance, and yet he was compelled to repair to the master of the vessel, whose habitation was two miles distant. He informed him, that he was the pri-

soner, of whom the Shawanese were in search, and this man, fortunately more humane and less scrupulous than his servant, not only consented to his going on board, but would also carry him over himself, that he might see him safe beyond all danger. Having arrived at Détroit, he traversed Canada, and the Northern States, and at length reached Great Brayercourt-house, where he has settled. At least he has hitherto given up the trade to Kentucky.

### *The History of WILLIAM PHLYN.*

The distresses of William Phlyn, who was delivered up to that tribe of the Cherokees called Chikamages, inhabiting a district adjacent to the great river Miami, consisted in his having been tortured two days together, until the fire put a period to his wretched existence. He lost his life, a few days after his arrival at the habitations of the Indians. James Skuyl. on his journey to the town of the Shawanese, saw the spot, where he had been burnt the preceding evening, but was not able to collect any farther information concerning the fate of this unfortunate man.

Although the three last stories contain but few particulars, and are not inseparably connected with that of Mr. Johnson: yet they will not, I think, be found altogether uninteresting, as they, in some measure, serve to complete his history. An acquaintance with that gentleman cannot but considerably heighten the joy, which his fortunate deliverance must excite in every feeling mind, and stamp his reports with the authority of indubitable truth.

I have forgotten to mention, that the two whites, who by their lamentation decoyed Mr. Johnson and his companions, effected their escape the second night, when the Indians, after the capture of the two vessels, were almost all of them intoxicated with whisky. Mr. Johnson had strong grounds to suspect, that the Indians, from motives of friendship or of gratitude for their assistance in the capture of so rich a booty, forwarded their flight.

## TOUR THROUGH UPPER CANADA.

*Saturday, the 20th of June, 1795.*

**T**HE vessels, in which we crossed the river Niagara, belong to the English, and are, for this reason, in a better condition than the major part of the American vessels or ferries, which are entirely left to the will and pleasure of the owners, without any public officer taking the least notice of their condition, and providing for the safety of travellers. The ferry consisted in a vessel of considerable capacity, the sides of which were one foot and a half high; it was tolerably staunch, and sufficiently large, to contain five horses without any apparent danger. The master of the vessel is directed to write down the names of the passengers; ours were already known. General Simcoe, governor of Upper Canada, informed of our journey by Mr. HAMMOND, the English ambassador to the United States had long ago given notice by the post of our expected arrival. Mr. Guillemard, who had crossed over on the preceding evening, had announced our intended arrival on the next morning; and the Captain of an English frigate, which was receiving some repairs on the opposite bank, sent us his boat, as soon as he perceived us. Our guide, PONDRIE, had preceded us to the river to call the ferryman; and the ferry arriving sooner than the boat, of the destination of which we were ignorant, we stepped into the former. The passage from the American to the English side requires four or five minutes, and from the English to the American shore about a quarter of an hour. Fort Erie stands on the shore of the lake, about two miles above the ferry. The commandant had desired the captain of the frigate to supply his place, until he should be able to visit us himself. We thought it right to return this act of civility, by immediately setting out to present to him our passports. We did so, though we were not dressed to pay a visit of ceremony; but the rain having made our appearance still worse, we determined on drying our clothes at the inn, until the weather should clear up, and permit us to proceed to the fort. We were  
not



not yet dressed, when the commandant arrived at the inn, and invited us to dinner, acquainting us, at the same time, that he was directed to shew us every civility in his power. This invitation was very agreeable to us; a dinner at a Governor's, after three day's travelling through woods, is a real feast. We accordingly attended him to the fort.

Fort Erie, as it is called, though we know not why,\* consists of some houses roughly formed of wood, and surrounded with tottering palisades. It has neither a rampart, a covert-way, nor any other works. The buildings, which are all of them block-houses, are inhabited by the officers, soldiers, and a commissary of provision. Without the precincts of the fort, stand four similar houses, destined for the habitation of the workmen, and a large magazine, or store-house, belonging to the king. The upper story juts out beyond the ground floor, so that all who should attempt to approach the store-house, might be easily kept off with fire-locks, by means of openings made in the upper story.† This fort is to be considered merely as a point of defence against the Indians for the British trade on the lake, at the extremity of which it stands. The term FORT, in its usual import, cannot by any means be applied to this place, which is even now in a worse situation than formerly, since the impending surrender of the forts situated on the opposite shore to the Americans, leaves the English no alternative, but to have either no forts at all on this side of the lake, or to put those which they shall maintain in a respectable state of defence. Fort Erie is garrisoned by a company of the fifth regiment, the captain of which company is, at the same time, the commandant of the place. Captain PRATT holds this command at present; on account of his long service, he has been nominated major by brevet. The duty of the soldiers, who form this garrison, consists in standing sentries; but they are also obliged to serve on board the ships, which belong to the government. Almost all the provision, and all ammunition, without exception, come from England, and across the

\* Dr. Morse says, that Fort Erie is a *strong fortification*; an assertion, which it is impossible to reconcile with the description given by the Duke, but by supposing it to have undergone considerable improvement since 1795.—*Translator*.

† Buildings of this construction are very common in the United States, as well as in British America; they are called block-houses.—*Author*.

lakes. The navigation on the river Niagara ends seven miles above Lake Ontario, whence there is a land-conveyance <sup>as far</sup> as Chippeway, nine miles distant, where the navigation for boats and other small vessels recommences, extending as far as Fort Erie. Here the goods, destined for Fort Détroit, are laden in ships, navigated by soldiers from Fort Erie to Fort Chippaway. The return passage is extremely difficult; and for this laborious task, they are allowed only fifteen shillings, to be distributed among five men, who compose the crew.\*

The soldiers have a garden, where they cultivate the necessary vegetables, which by any other means they would not be able to procure. Their allowance of provision, which consists in a pound of flour, a pound of salt pork, four ounces of rice, and a little butter, a day, is, no doubt, paid for by the government at a very high rate; but to the soldiers it is delivered for two pence halfpenny a ration, which is deducted from their pay, amounting to six pence per day. All the troops, quartered in Canada, are treated in the same manner. Another company of the same regiment is at Fort Chippaway, and the remaining eight companies form the garrison of Fort Niagara.† Fort Détroit, and several other forts, which the English still hold in their possession, but which are to be given up to the Americans, are garrisoned by the twenty-fifth regiment. Fort Détroit stands at the end of Lake Erie, on the strait or river, which separates it from Lake St. Clair. It was erected about the year 1740. The inhabitants are mostly French, and consist of about three hundred families. It is said to be in a very flourishing condition. About one hundred artillerymen are distributed in Détroit, Fort Niagara, and some other places, which I shall have occasion to mention. The troops generally remain seven years in Canada, during which time the garrisons relieve each other every year. But the war in Europe, and the fear of a rupture with America, have occasioned various alterations in these ordinary arrangements. The regiments now remain three years in the same place; a change, with which they alone are pleased, to whose lot it falls to garrison the

\* This, no doubt, is in addition to their pay as soldiers.—*Translator.*

† Fort Niagara, as well as the other forts mentioned by the Author, were surrendered up to the Americans in July, 1796.—*Translator.*

small forts. For the same reasons, the regiments at present have but half their complements.

A store-house, belonging to a private gentleman, is also included within the fort on Lake Erie, but stands apart from the buildings, which appertain to government. In this magazine are warehoused all the goods, which come upwards, and are destined for Détroit, as well as those which go down the river to Niagara, Kingston, Montreal, Quebec, &c. They are forwarded to their places of destination, either in boats, when they go down the river, or in large vessels, when they are destined for Détroit. The trade on Lake Erie is carried on in four or five merchantmen, besides three or four armed yachts belonging to the king.

Peltry is the chief commodity exported from Détroit; but we also saw several casks of very fine maple sugar, made by the Indians. We were informed, that the quantity of this article, which passes yearly through this place, is very considerable; but were not able to learn its exact value in money. The owner of the store-house hires, at times, about twenty Canadians, for the shipping and unshipping of the goods, for carrying them into the magazine, and transporting the boats by land to the lower country. The Canadians no sooner learned, that we were Frenchmen, than they expressed to us a satisfaction, attachment, and respect, repeated demonstrations of which our peculiar situation obliged us to avoid.

The Chippaway, a king's yacht, commanded by Captain HARRIS, arrived here during our residence in the fort. He had been seven days passing the strait, which ships frequently clear in two days.

Hard cash or specie is extremely scarce in this corner of the world. It can come only from Lower Canada, but they like to keep it in Quebec and Montreal. Nay, the pay-master of the troops, on pretence that the conveyance is dangerous, sends no specie for the troops, though he receives their pay in hard cash. He could most certainly not refuse it to the paymasters of the regiments, if, for that purpose, they proceeded to Montreal or Quebec, where he resides. But to undertake this journey at the expence of the corps, would occasion too considerable a deduction from their money, which should reach its destination without the least diminution.

diminution. He accordingly remits it in bills of exchange, which are paid in paper-money, that every one makes to any amount he chooses, and which nevertheless is universally received with a degree of confidence equal to that which obtained in France in the second year of the revolution. There are notes of this kind of only two pence in value. They are small slips of paper, either written or printed, frequently without any signature, and mostly effaced and torn.

During our dinner several Indians arrived in boats. They formed a small camp on the bank of the river, which we visited on our return. We experienced from them the most cordial reception, to which, perhaps, the state of one of our companions, not dissimilar to that in which most of these drinkers of rum found themselves, contributed not a little.

*Sunday, the 21<sup>st</sup> of June.*

After a hearty breakfast on board the Chippaway frigate, where we learned, that this vessel, which is about four hundred tons burthen, and pierced for sixteen guns, costs five thousand pounds sterling!—a proof of the enormous price of labour in this country—we embarked for Chippaway. Major Pratt insisted on our taking our passage in a vessel belonging to government, as he had particular orders to that effect. He manned it with six soldiers, who were excellent hands at rowing; and also directed Lieutenant FAULKNER to attend us as far as Niagara. No denial, on our part, could prevail with him to withhold this act of civility, which, even during my prosperity, would have embarrassed me, and which now bore the appearance of scorn rather than politeness. We were, therefore, obliged to submit, and to assume the air of persons, whose rank demanded this distinction. We were now approaching the prospect of the Grand Cataract of Niagara, one of the principal objects of our journey, and which I had long desired to see. We formed, every one of us, different ideas of this waterfall, according to our different powers of fancy; each stroke of the oars brought us nearer to it, and our attention being entirely turned to discover the foam, and hear the noise, we took but little notice of the banks of the river, which, on the side of Canada, are tolerably settled, of the uncommon width of its channel, or

the majestic course of its stream. At last we heard the noise, and perceived the spray. The weather was rather unfavourable, so that we could not, at any considerable distance, enjoy this grand spectacle. The rapidity of the stream, which is perceptible several miles from the falls, soon carried us to Chippaway. A whole mile before you reach that place, you must keep close under the shore, without which precaution the stream would soon involve the boat, and irresistibly hurl it to destruction. You must even make the utmost exertion in rowing to remount the Chippaway Creek, from which the fort takes its name.

We had no sooner landed, than, with the utmost impatience, we hastened to the falls, scarcely returning with due attention the civilities we experienced from Captain HAMILTON, commandant of the fort. We accepted, however, his invitation to dinner, which on our account he kindly deferred until four o'clock, mounted our horses, and, with Lieutenant Faulkner, proceeded to the falls. The distance of Chippaway from the falls, in a straight line, is but a mile and a half; but the banks of the river form so many flexures, that the road, which winds along them, is three miles long.

At Chippaway the grand spectacle begins. The river, which has been constantly expanding from Fort Erie to this place, is here upwards of three miles wide; but on a sudden it is narrowed, and the rapidity of the stream redoubled by the declivity of the ground on which it flows, as well as the sudden contraction of its bed. The channel is rocky; and the interspersed fragments of rocks encrease the violence of the stream. The country is flat and even to this point; but here a range of white rocks arises on each side of the river, which is contracted to half a mile's breadth. This range is a branch of the Alleghany mountains, which, proceeding from Florida, previously to their reaching this point, intersect the whole continent of America. The river, more closely hemmed in by the rocks on the right, incroaching upon its channel, branches into two arms, one of which flows along the bank, formed by

\* This point, at the base of the Alleghany mountains, which extend north-east and south-east, nearly parallel to the sea coast, about nine hundred miles in length, and from sixty to one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles in breadth, is descriptively named *the backbone of the United States*. — *Encyclop.*

the rocks on the right; and the other, far more considerable, being separated by a small island, makes straight on to the left, and sweeps through a basin of stone, which it fills with much foam and noise. At length, being again obstructed by other rocks, which it meets on its right, it alters its course with redoubled violence, and along with the right arm, rushes down a perpendicular ledge of rocks one hundred and sixty feet high\*, nearly half concave, and probably worn out by the incessant impetuosity of the waters. Its width is nearly equal to that of its bed, the uniformity of which is only interrupted by an island, which separates the two arms, rests unshaken on its rocky basis, and seems, as it were, to swim between the two streams, which rush down at once into this stupendous chasm. The waters of the lakes Erie, Michigan, St. Clair, Huron, and Lake Superiour, and of the numerous rivers, emptying themselves into these lakes, incessantly replace the water that thus dashes down. The water of the falls tumbles perpendicularly on the rocks. Its colour is, at times, a dark green, at others a foaming white, brilliant throughout, and displaying a thousand variegations, as it is struck by the rays of the sun, or, according to the time of the day, the state of the atmosphere, the force of the wind, &c. The water, which rushes down the rocks, rises in part in a thick column of mist, often towering above the height of the falls, and mixing with the clouds. The remainder, broken in its perpendicular descent by fragments of rocks, is in continual agitation; spouts and foams, and casts on shore logs of wood, whole trees, boats, and wrecks, which the stream has swept along in its course. The bed of the river, formed by the two ridges of rocks which extend a great way farther, is still more narrowed, as if part of this mighty stream had vanished during the fall, or were swallowed up by the earth. The noise, agitation, irregularity, and rapid descent of the stream, continue seven or eight miles farther on, and the river does not become sufficiently placid for a safe passage till it reaches Queens-town†, nine miles from the falls.

\* Other accounts say, that the perpendicular height at the cataract is only one hundred and thirty seven or one hundred and fifty feet — *Transl.*

† In Upper Canada, on the west side of the straits of Niagara — *Transl.*

I crept down to the cataract; the descent is very difficult; perpendicular steps, hewn out of trees, caverns, and projecting rocks, the scattered fragments of which warn the traveller of the danger from the descent, without offering any hold, except some decayed bushes, which the imprudent adventurer, who should place any dependence on them, would carry with him into the unfathomed abyss. Every thing seems calculated to strike with terror; but curiosity is as heedless as any other passion. The certain prospect of a splendid fortune would hardly induce me to attempt, what I at this moment did from the mere impulse of curiosity. I frequently crawled along on both hands; the zeal with which I pursued my object gave me a dextrous activity, which I was not conscious of possessing. I several times abandoned myself entirely to chance, and thus I toiled a mile and half to reach the foot of this stupendous cataract. The pleasing consciousness of having attained our end is the only reward of the exertions, by which we have obtained success. In the course of our life we frequently meet with similar instances.

Near this spot is a whirlpool, the spray of which drenches your clothes even at a distance. The columns of foam, arising from the falls, mix again with the descending stream. The basin itself is hidden by this thick cloud, and the tremendous noise, which is more violent here than any where else, is the only enjoyment to be attained. You may proceed a few paces on pieces of rock, lying between the column of water and the rocks from which it rushes down; but here you are completely sequestered from the world, you are even deprived of the prospect of the falls by the column of water, which, by its density and motion, intercepts the free access of air to such a degree, that suffocation must unavoidably be the result of a long continuance in this place.

It is impossible to describe the impression, which this cataract made upon our minds. Fancy, which had long cherished the hope of viewing it, now offered pictures, which might seem exaggerated, yet were much inferior to the reality. To attempt a description of the impression we felt, would be equivalent to a description of the falls; an attempt far exceeding our powers. The enthusiasm, which seized my soul at the aspect of this magnificent spectacle, was too powerful to be weakened by  
our

our unpleasant journey back to the Fort; and it was not until I arrived at Captain Hamilton's, that I found leisure to notice my weariness, my hunger, my bruises, the miserable condition of my clothes, and the time of the day.—It was two o'clock.

Poor Lieutenant Faulkner, who thought himself obliged to attend my *Highness*, unfortunately partook not of my enthusiasm, but merely associated in my struggles with various obstacles, and bore his share of contusions and fatigue. In spite of his excessive politeness, he seemed extremely sad and dull, until some glasses of wine had cheered up his spirits.

Captain Hamilton, commandant of Fort Chippaway, which is even inferior in strength to Fort Erie, was so kind as to detain us to dinner. The *ennui* naturally resulting from this dreary post, the most dull of any, is beguiled by the society of a handsome, sweet, and lovely wife, and six children, who constantly surround him. They both received us in that plain, cordial, and easy manner, which characterises persons who have constantly frequented the best society.

Chippaway was formerly the chief place of an Indian tribe, which now inhabits the borders of Virginia. The carriage rendered necessary by the water-fall and its continued effects ends here. Previous to the treaty of peace of 1783, vessels were laden and discharged on the other side of the river near fort Slusher\*, opposite Chippaway.

Besides the barracks, here as at Fort Erie, are store-houses, which belong to government, and others, appertaining to merchants. The whole village consists of a tolerable inn, and a small number of other houses; the stagnant water of the creek renders it very unhealthy, and to this circumstance are imputed the endemic fevers, which every year afflict the inhabitants of this place.

*Monday, the 22d of June.*

We left Chippaway early in the morning, with an intention of once more visiting the falls. The rain, which fell in torrents, could not deter us from our design. I saw it now from a spot, from which Mr. de Blacons had viewed it the preceding evening, and to which he desired to

\* The author misnames the fort, which he calls fort Skuylet.—*Transl.*



conduct us. This place is known in the country by the name of Table-Rock, and forms a part of the rock over which the river precipitates itself. You here stand in the midst of its bed, and almost in the water, so that you can, with perfect safety, see the river rushing down at your feet; but, advancing only two paces, you would be hurried to destruction. On this spot you also enjoy the beautiful prospect of the foaming water dashing along over the rapids of the awful fall, from which you are not separated by any intervening object, and of the tremendous whirlpool, which engulfs it. It is *from this spot*, that this wonder of nature should be viewed, if you would see it but *from one spot*. But it ought to be contemplated from all sides; your astonishment will constantly rise, and you will behold and admire in awful silence.

The descent is more easy to the Table-rock than to any other spot. It is much to be regretted, that the government of a people, which surpasses all other nations for fondness in travelling and curiosity, should not have provided convenient places for observing this celebrated phenomenon, at all possible points of view. It is pleaded in excuse, that the number of travellers, whom curiosity leads to this spot, is inconsiderable; that even they, who travel this way on account of business, and stop here to view the falls, are few in number; that only hunting Indians and idle children form the idea of creeping down to the falls; and that consequently nobody would be benefited by the money expended in providing an easy access. Yet all these pleas cannot justify a saving of thirty dollars, for which expence the greatest curiosity in the known world would be rendered accessible.

It is superfluous to mention, that, notwithstanding the severity of the winter in this country, the *cataract*, as well as the river above it, are never frozen. But this is not the case with the lakes, and smaller rivers, which supply it with water. Enormous flakes of ice rush constantly down this cataract, when the thaw sets in, without being entirely dashed to pieces on the rocks; and thus are frequently piled in huge masses, up to half its height. With the noise, occasioned by the falls, we were less struck than we expected; and Mr. Guillemaud, as well as myself, who had both seen the Rhine-fall near Schaffhausen, could not but acknowledge,

ledge, that the noise it produces is far more striking. Yet, I must repeat it again and again, that nothing can stand the test of comparison with the Falls of Niagara. Let no one expect to find here something pleasing, wildly beautiful or romantic; all is wonderfully grand, awful, sublime; every power of the soul is arrested; the impression strikes deeper, the longer you contemplate, and you feel more strongly the impossibility of any expressions doing justice to your perceptions and feelings.

About a mile above the falls, two corn-mills and two saw-mills have been constructed in the large basin, formed by the river on the left. We examined, with peculiar attention, the most distant of them. It is the most remarkable chiefly on this account, that the logs are cut here into boards, thrown into the Chippaway creek near its mouth, and by means of a small lock conveyed into a canal, formed within the bed of the river by a double row of logs of timber, fastened together and floating on the water. The breaking of these is prevented by other large barks floating at a certain distance from each other, which form, as it were the basis of this artificial canal. The water retains in this canal the rapidity of the current, and conveys the logs into the lower part of the mill, where, by the same machinery which moves the saws, the logs are lifted upon the jack and cut into boards. Only two saws at a time are employed in this mill. The power of the water is almost boundless, but the present wants of the country do not require a greater number of saws. The very intelligent owner of the mill has constructed it on a plan, which admits of the addition of a greater number of courses, according as these shall be required by an increased consumption. On the same principle he has built his corn-mill, which has at present only four courses. The miller's dues for grinding, as fixed by the legislative power amounts to a twelfth throughout all Upper Canada, and for sawing logs to a moiety of the wood sawed.

In the course of last year a sulphureous spring was discovered at a few yards distance from the bank of the river, which was the river, filled up by the fall of earth crumbling from its verge. The spring has again of late shown itself in the canal, which conveys the blocks to the mill. A stone.

laid over the spring, prevents its water from being mixed with that of the river. On the approach of a fire-brand the vapour or steam kindles, assumes the colour of burning spirit of wine, and burns down to the bottom. Much time will probably elapse, before an enquiry shall be instituted, whether this spring be endowed with any medicinal powers.

An iron-mine, too, has lately been discovered near Chippaway creek. A company has associated for the working of this mine, and resolved on erecting an iron-forge in the vicinity of the falls. But this they dare not establish without the governor's permission; for the mother country still persists in supplying all its colonies with its own manufactures; and refuses to relinquish a monopoly, that has already cost it that part of America, which composes the United States\*. But the company hope to obtain the desired permission.

The land all along the road from Chippaway to New York is seemingly good, though not of the best quality, and exhibits a considerable number of dwelling-houses. The grants of land, made by government in this country, are some of them of a recent, others of a more ancient date; the first settlements are hardly ten years old, and the major part only three or four. The houses, entirely built with logs, are better constructed, and more cleanly than in most other parts of the United States. The mode of agriculture appears to be much the same, as in other parts of the Union. The common price of land in this neighbourhood is one pound, New York currency, or two dollars and half an acre, if the proportion of the cleared ground to the wooded be as forty to two hundred, or nearly so. Peculiar circumstances, a favourable situation, more extensive buildings, &c. enhance the price. Throughout this whole tract of country, labourers are not easily procured; and they receive, besides their board, from five to six shillings per day. The winter continues only from the middle of December to the beginning of April.

The roads from fort Erie to Newark are tolerably open, and lie for the most part over a sandy ground, which renders it more easy to keep them in repair. The frequent passage to and fro, in this part of the country,

\* Impolitic disputes, chiefly relative to the right of taxation, not this monopoly, occasioned the dismemberment of the British Empire in America.—*Travels*.

does not destroy them. Such commodities, as are destined for the upper country, are unshipped in Queen's Town, and ~~goods~~, expedited from it, are embarked in this place. The different buildings, constructed ~~there~~ years ago, consist of a tolerable inn, two or three good store-houses, ~~some~~ small houses, a block-house of stone, covered with iron, and barracks, which should be occupied by the regiment of General Simcoe, but which are now unoccupied, the regiment being quartered in another part of the province. Mr. Hamilton, an opulent merchant, who is concerned in the whole inland trade of this part of America, possesses, in Queen's Town, a very fine house, built in the English style; he has also a ~~farm~~, a distillery, and tan-yard. This merchant bears an excellent character; he is a member of the Legislature of Upper Canada, but at present in England.

The portage was formerly on the other side of the river; but as this, by virtue of the treaty, falls under the American dominion; government has removed it hither. The whole country, though extremely sandy, is covered with oak, chestnuts, and fine hickory trees, and, such parts, as are better watered, bear, in common with all other parts of America, ash and maple-trees.

It was on this spot, that Mr. de la JONQUIERE, commissioned by the French Court to secure the free navigation of the lakes to French traders, formed his first settlements, which by permission, and under the protection of the Indian tribe of the Yonnowhouans, (who, with many other tribes, have vanished from this part of the globe), were afterwards transferred to Niagara.

From the civil treatment we experienced, as soon as ~~we reached~~ the boundaries of the government of General Simcoe, we ~~could not but~~ expect a kind reception on his part; and yet the event exceeded expectation. No sooner was he informed of our arrival, than he instantly-general to invite us to dinner. Having just alighted from he could not come himself. We accepted his invitation, and shortly after dinner, he entreated us to remain with him, to sleep in his house, and consider ourselves as at home. To refuse this invitation would have ill corresponded with the politeness of his conduct, of the sincerity of which

we were convinced. By accepting it, we greatly promoted our own convenience, as we had no visits to pay in the town, which is full half a mile distant from the Governor's house, and could not but expect to be most agreeably entertained in his society, and to obtain from him the most satisfactory information respecting the country, which so forcibly engaged our curiosity and attention.

We soon understood, that we should be obliged to continue longer in Niagara than we originally designed. On my acquainting General Simcoe with my intention to proceed to Quebec, he informed me, that, without the express permission of Lord DORCHESTER, it was not in his power to allow any foreigner to enter Lower Canada; he even shewed us the Governor-general's positive orders to that effect, issued in the month of October, and occasioned by the conduct of some Frenchmen. Although the wise measures of prevention, adopted by the Governor-general, as well as all other steps tending to avert a revolution, met with my fullest approbation; yet I could not but find it extremely unpleasant, that Mr. Hammond in so positive a manner should have assured me of Lord Dorchester's perfect concurrence with him on the score of my intended journey. On his asserting, that a passport, granted by him, was the only sufficient mean to enable a foreigner to proceed from the United States into Lower Canada, I entreated him, in addition to this passport, to write a letter to Lord Dorchester, who, by ordering the subordinate commander to let us pass, would have saved us a tedious delay in our journey, and the uneasiness naturally arising from our incommoding Governor Simcoe for such a length of time. Yet, we were necessitated to conceal our dissatisfaction, and wait until Lord Dorchester could send his answer to Kingston, to which I requested him to direct it.

My long residence in Niagara, to acquire some knowledge of the country, the attainment of which was greatly facilitated by the generous openness of Governor Simcoe.

\* So late as in the year 1791, the administration of Upper Canada was separated from that of Lower Canada. It formerly constituted a part of the province of Quebec. The administration of it was much the same

as that of the English colonies, and depended entirely on the will and pleasure of the Governor; yet was undoubtedly ~~here~~ conducted with still more precaution, not only because Lord Dorchester, by all accounts, is a man of a mild and just disposition, but also because the lesson, given by the United States, will not prove altogether fruitless. The British Parliament, at the same time when it divided these two tracts of the province of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada, gave them a representative form of government, which, though all the springs of this political machine are yet in the hands of the Governor-general, is framed in such a manner, that if this country should grow more populous, more opulent and enlightened, it will not prove an arduous task, to rescue the management of public affairs from this influence, which at present is very great, and, in the actual state of things, perhaps absolutely necessary.

• Lord Dorchester is Governor-general of the British possessions in North America; the governors of the different provinces are only lieutenant-governors; who, whenever he appears, yield to his superior authority; and are also responsible to him in all military affairs, if they be gentlemen of the army, which is by no means an indispensable qualification for the place of a lieutenant-governor. In regard to state-affairs of whatever nature and complexion, the lieutenant-governor corresponds immediately with the English ministry. It is from them he receives his orders and instructions, without being obliged to communicate them to the governor-general, who is not even possessed of the right, on leaving the different districts of his government, to give the smallest directions for what is to be done during his absence. For this reason the Governor-general, except when pressing military arrangements call him from the chief town of his government, constantly resides there, while the lieutenant-governor, who has no business in that place, keeps as much as possible at a distance from it. But as no accounts of any public expenditure pass, without being signed by the Governor-general, he possesses a powerful influence over all sorts of operations and projects, which at least require his approbation; an influence that extends through all the different branches of his government.

The British possessions in North America are divided into Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. Only the first two of these provinces are governed by the new constitution. The others are governed as in former times.

The boundary between Upper and Lower Canada lies about one hundred miles above Montreal\*. The extent of Upper Canada far exceeds that of Lower Canada, as, the western boundary being undefined, it comprises all the known and unknown countries, extending as far as the Pacific or Great Sea, and is bounded northwards also by unknown countries. The population of Lower Canada is estimated at about one hundred and forty thousand souls, and that of Upper Canada at thirty thousand, but this estimate seems rather high†.

The leading articles of the new constitution of Canada are as follows :

That the Province of Quebec be divided into two provinces ; Upper and Lower Canada.

That it have two houses of legislature ; one hereditary ; one elective.

That Upper Canada be destined for the reception chiefly of British settlers.

That the allotment of lands in Upper Canada be, under certain restrictions, left to the authority of the local legislature.

That the representative house of legislature be septennially elected.

That the clergy be provided for by an ample allotment of lands, amounting to one-seventh.

That certain titles of honour be connected with the right to a seat in the hereditary house of legislature.

The boundary between Upper and Lower Canada commences at a stone boundary on the N. bank of Lake St. Francis, in St. Lawrence River, in the cove W. of Point au Boudet, thence northerly to Ottawa River and to its source in Lake Temiscaming, thence due N. till it strikes the boundary of Hudson's Bay or New Britain.—*Transf.*

† Dr. MORSE estimates the population of both these provinces at one hundred and fifty thousand souls. Lower Canada, in 1794, contained one hundred and thirteen thousand and twelve inhabitants.—*Transf.*

That

That the liberty of introducing more or less of the municipal law of England be left to the discretion of the Provincial Assembly.

Upper Canada is a new country, or rather a country yet to be formed. It was probably for this reason General Simcoe accepted the government of it. He was fully aware of the advantages, which his native land might derive from such a colony, if it attained perfection; and imagined, that means might be found adequate to this purpose. This hope was the only incitement, which could impel a man of independent fortune, and, as he says, of confined wishes, to leave the large and beautiful estates he possesses in England, and to bury himself in a wilderness among bears and savages. Ambition at least appears not to have been his motive, as a man in General Simcoe's situation is furnished with abundant means of distinguishing himself by useful activity, without removing to a great distance from his native country, where, in such a case, he is almost sure of being forgotten. But, whatever have been his motives, his design has been attended with consequences highly beneficial.

The plan conceived by General Simcoe for peopling and improving Upper Canada seems, as far as he has communicated it to us, extremely wise and well arranged. The central point of all his settlements, and of the population of this country, he means to place between Détroit River and the plantations already established in Lower Canada, within a square formed by Lake Ontario, Lake Erie, Détroit River, and Lake Huron. From a supposition that the Fort of Niagara would certainly remain\* in the possession of the English, he at first intended to make Newark the chief town of his government. But, since it has been decided†, that this fort is to be given up, he has been obliged to alter his plan. A chief town or capital must not be seated on the frontiers, and much less under the guns of the enemy's fort. He has since thought of York, situated on the northern bank of Lake Ontario, nearly opposite to Niagara†; it is in this place he has quartered his regiment, and he in-

\* By the Treaty of 1794.—*Transl.*

† York, designed to be the seat of the government of Upper Canada, is situated on the north-west side of Lake Ontario, forty miles north by west from Niagara-Fort, and one hundred and twenty west south-west from Kingston.—*Transl.*



tends to remove thither himself when he shall withdraw from the frontiers.

York, from its extent, security, and situation, offers an excellent road. The communication between Lake Ontario and Lake Huron is facilitated by several rivers and small lakes. The surrounding territory possesses a good soil, and affords all possible means to improve the trade on the lake. Even in a military point of view its situation is very advantageous. The banks of Lake Ontario are likely to be first peopled by the Americans, and to become most populous; and Lower Canada will always prove to them an object of jealousy and envy rather than Upper Canada. On this ground it is extremely important, to choose a situation, which renders it more easy to succour such points as are most exposed to an attack. Yet Governor Simcoe seems to have relinquished the idea of establishing his residence, and the seat of government, at York. He intends to remove them to the banks of a river, which is to be found in all maps under the name of De la Franche, and which he has named the Thames. This river, which rises between Lake Huron and Lake Ontario, but is not yet sufficiently explored, is supposed not to be far distant from the Miami or Great River. It flows four or five miles in a south-west direction, and empties itself into Lake St. Clair. It is the Governor's intention, to build his chief town, to which he has already given the name of London, about two hundred miles distant from this lake. A communication between this river and another, which falls into Lake Huron, may be easily established, in the vicinity of Gloucester, and by land-carriage a communication may also be opened with Lake Ontario. The Governor is at the same time master of these two lakes, as well as of Lake Erie, which, though fifteen miles distant, he can reach without any intervening portage, but one of three miles. Moreover, that part of Lake Erie, which lies nearest to the projected capital (Long Point), is exactly the most important point for the defence of the lake, and on this point, which lies opposite to the American settlement on the peninsula, the Governor means to form a harbour, and erect considerable works for its protection. If the capital be situated on this spot, it will of consequence enjoy several advantages, besides those which York would afford. It stands

stands nearer to the centre of the expected population ; is more remote from the parts belonging to the Indians ; and the Governor intends to station the troops, which yet occupy the forts to be delivered up to the Americans, in the posts of Gloucester on Lake Huron, of Long Point on Lake Erie, of Michigan, in two or three towns, which are to be built on the banks of the Thames, and lastly in York. This intended capital is surrounded by all possible means of defence, and is so situated, that it may speedily give succour, wherever it may be wanted.

From the readiness which government displays in granting lands gratis, the Governor entertains not the least doubt of soon obtaining a numerous population. Many families, who at the beginning of the American war embraced the royal cause, have since the conclusion of peace settled on lands, which were bestowed on them gratis. The American soldiers, who fought under the same unfortunate banners, obtained also an indemnification in lands, on which most of them have settled. All officers, who served in that war, are likewise entitled to some hundred acres, a certain number of which are already cultivated by them. The Governor is also sanguine in his hopes of procuring many colonists from the United States ; he relies on the natural fondness of these people for emigrating, and on their attachment to the English government. There arrive indeed every year a considerable number of families from different parts of the Union ; they do not all settle, it is true, but some remain in the country. He also reckons upon drawing numerous settlers from New Brunswick, who cannot endure the climate of that country. And lastly, the considerable emigration from Europe, which he fancies he foresees, affords him certain hopes of obtaining thence a very numerous population. Yet, by his account, the prevailing sentiments of the people render the admission of new inhabitants, who present themselves, rather difficult ; especially of those, who come from the United States. For this reason, he sends such colonists, as cannot give a satisfactory account of themselves, into the back country, and stations soldiers on the banks of the lakes, which are in front of them. He would admit every superannuated

annuated soldier of the English army, and all officers of long service, who are on half pay, to share in the distribution of such lands as the King had a right to dispose of. He would dismiss every soldier, now quartered in Canada, and give him one hundred acres of land, as soon as he should procure a young man to serve as his substitute. With his views to encrease the population of the country, he blends the design of drawing young Americans into the English service, by which he will augment the number of American families, attached to the King of Great Britain. In the midst of these families of soldiers, which he intends to settle on the lakes, and on all the frontiers towards the United States, he means to place all the officers, who, as has already been observed, have any claim on the lands. He proposes thus to form a militia, attached to the King from habit and gratitude; and this he considers as one of the most certain means for suppressing the disturbances, which might be excited by some disaffected new settlers, who inhabit the midland counties, and at the same time as one of the best measures of defence in case of an attack. By this plan of settling amidst the soldiers officers and gentlemen of respectable families, whom he hopes to attract from England, he wishes to form a class of gentry, and to promote more or less the execution of the project, clearly discernible in the new constitution, to introduce into the two Canadas an hereditary nobility.

It is asserted, that all Canada, vast as is its extent, produces not the necessary corn for the consumption of its inhabitants; the troops are supplied with flour from London, and with salt meat from Ireland. In General Simcoe's opinion Upper Canada is not only capable of satisfying the wants of all its inhabitants, but also of becoming a granary for England, and of creating a considerable trade by the exchange of this necessary of life for other commodities; nor does he entertain the least doubt, but that the activity, in agricultural pursuits, which he endeavours to excite in Upper Canada, will operate as a powerful example in regard to Lower Canada, and rouse it from its present supineness and indolence. He conceives, that the vast quantities of fish, with which the lakes abound, and especially

especially of sturgeons in Lake Ontario, afford the means of a successful competition with Russia, which supplies England with this article to a very considerable amount.

The corn-trade is, in his judgment, far preferable to the fur-trade, which appears to him at once unprofitable for Great Britain, and a means of oppression to Canada, in as much as it throws the whole trade into the hands of a few companies, and at the same time renders them masters of the commodities, which are imported from England in return. It is his wish, that merchants may settle on Lake Ontario, in Montreal, and in Quebec; and, by the establishment of a corn-trade, destroy that monopoly which very justly excites his indignation; and he entertains hopes, that this will actually take place.

The maxims of government, professed by General Simcoe, are very liberal and fair; he detests all arbitrary and military government without the walls of the forts; and desires liberty in its utmost latitude, so far as is consistent with the constitution and law of the land. He is, therefore, by no means ambitious of investing all power and authority in his own hands, but commits to the lieutenants, whom he nominates for each county, the right of appointing the justices of the peace and officers of the militia. By this measure, he thinks, he shall be able to attach men of weight and influence to government, and subordinate officers to their superiors, and thus secure additional resources for preserving the good opinion and affection of the Canadians towards the British Government. All the justices of the peace, whose number is very great indeed, possess the right within their respective districts of assigning, in the King's name, to every settler, with whose conduct and principles they are acquainted, a lot of two hundred acres of land. The surveyor of the district is informed by the justice of the peace of the grant, made in favour of the new colonist, and of the oath of allegiance, he has taken; on receiving which information he gives the new settler a certificate, pointing out that part of the district, where he is to find the land, allotted to him by the magistrate. If he should wish for a greater quantity of land, he must apply to the Executive Council.

From the present smallness of the number of the inhabitants of Upper Canada; which, however considerable the migration may be, for a great length of time will bear no proportion to the extent of country to be peopled; General Simcoe entertains not the smallest wish to enlarge his territory at the expence of the Indians; on the contrary, he receives with the utmost kindness those whom the Americans drive from their habitations; and this conduct is extremely wise. If, on the one hand, the policy of the united States require that, in the intermediate space between them and the English, there should not reside a people, who may prove dangerous from their extreme susceptibility of seduction, who cannot be useful on account of their small number, and who, being a nation that lives by hunting, demand a large tract of country for their subsistence; Governor Simcoe may, on the other hand, tolerate them, without the least danger, on the frontier of the English possessions, connect them by this measure more closely with England, and exasperate them against the Americans, in order to take advantage of their hatred in case of need; especially as he finds they will, at any time, cede to him whatever lands he may desire.

Although the fur-trade, in General Simcoe's opinion, is not so profitable to England, as many Englishmen imagine: yet he will not divide its profits with the Americans; who, by the surrender of the forts, acquire a share in the navigation of the lakes, and excellent harbours on their coast; and of consequence, are possessed of every means to participate in this branch of commerce. A communication, he thinks, may easily be opened between Lake Huron and Lake Ontario, by means of St. Joseph's River, which by relieving the fur-traders from the trouble and expence of the circuitous navigation of the Détroit River, of Lake Erie, of the Niagara river, and of a great part of Lake Ontario, would disappoint the United States in their hope of receiving in future, as they have hitherto done, any articles across the lakes from the forests, situate above Lake Huron, and would at the same time free English ships from the necessity of passing by the forts of Détroit and Niagara, which are henceforth to belong to the Americans. Nay, he is of opinion, that a direct

direct communication might be established between Lake Huron and St. Lawrence river, which would however require several portages, on account of the numerous rapids which interrupt the navigation of that river, as well as of the small lakes through which it flows.

The plan of military operation conceived by the Governor, in case of a war with the Americans, consists in chiefly drawing them into the English dominions, where, under the protection of his forts, he can fight them to greater advantage. He further intends to establish a respectable navy, composed of small vessels, mounting heavy guns, which no American yacht can dare to engage, and which, if a descent were openly attempted on the territory of the United States, would be well qualified to cover the landing. He also promises himself much from the assistance of his militia, with whom he would make considerable inroads into the heart of the enemy's country. The communication between Lake Huron and Lake Ontario appears to him still more necessary in time of war, as by means of this communication he intends to convey into the latter lake the galleys, bomb-ketches and gun-boats, which he purposes to build at another town, lying on the Thames, to which he has given the name of Chatham.

The views of Governor Simcoe, I mean those, which concern the civil government, are undoubtedly extensive, and well planned. They are, in my judgment, the best which can be conceived, in his situation, as an English governor; and the possibility of their being carried into effect cannot be questioned, if he possesses the confidence of government, and has plenty of money to expend. He may also, in the execution of his plans, derive considerable aid from the soldiers, quartered in his province. He is aware of the indispensable necessity of habituating the troops to labour in a country, where he cannot hope to make them masters of a complete system of tactics, and where laborious habits peculiarly fit them for that sort of warfare, which is best adapted to the smallness of their number, to the enemy they have to combat, and to the difficulties they have to encounter.

But the execution of his projects is nevertheless, upon the whole, ob-

frustrated by numerous obstacles; the greatest of which consists in the Governor's determination to return to England at the expiration of five years. A plan of such vast magnitude, and which comprises so great a variety of designs, can be carried into execution by him only, who was able to conceive it. From the very nature of the principles on which it is built, and the intimate connection of its various parts, the successful execution of such a project supposes, on the part of the executor, besides a thorough knowledge of its structure and complexion, courage, order, and a laudable ambition of achieving arduous and useful undertakings; requisites, hardly to be met with in any person who may be sent to succeed this governor. If such a one be a man of moderate capacity, he will neither be able to pursue nor to execute a plan, which is not of a nature to be committed to subaltern officers; and if he be possessed of some parts, as is generally the case, self-love will dissuade him from pursuing a plan, laid down by another; and however positive and peremptory his instructions may be, at two thousand miles distance they will be easily evaded. Add to this, that fondness for military power, and the love of arbitrary authority are in every region of the globe the usual attributes of men in power. If, therefore, General Simcoe should execute his design of leaving Upper Canada, two years hence, he will hardly find sufficient time to lay the foundations of a plan, which appears to him, and I think very justly, extremely well adapted to promote the prosperity of Upper Canada, and greatly enlarge the interests of Great Britain. The various branches of this plan, are so extensive and so numerous, that a long series of years, spent in the same spirit and unwearied exertion, will be requisite to execute it in its whole extent.

But he himself, I believe, would meet with impediments in the execution of his plan. Although General Simcoe is entirely independent on Lord Dorchester in all civil concerns, yet he is not so in regard to the military department, of which the quartering of the troops forms a part. He told me himself, that, in this respect, he feared to meet with opposition; and I incline to think, that on this subject he did not express all he knows. Unless the troops be stationed in such posts, as to cover and defend

send the projected capital, and the various settlements which he has in contemplation; unless they be kept to labour rather than military exercises, and unless those, who can find substitutes, be dismissed from service, his project fails in three very material points, which can hardly be accomplished by any other means.

Lord Dorchester is advanced in years, and, like all aged people, no friend of new ideas. Beside that he is fond of boundless power, the prevailing disposition of the inhabitants of Lower Canada may excite in him a wish of drawing more troops into that province; and several hints, thrown out by General Simcoe, incline me to believe, that he thinks his Lordship has some such intention. The Governor may also, perhaps, be too sanguine in some of his expectations, or indulge delusive hopes.

As to the emigration from the United States to Upper Canada, I mean a considerable emigration, it appears not to me altogether so probable as to him. The free grant of lands seems at first sight a much greater inducement, than it actually is. The lands are indeed given away gratis; a certificate of the surveyor, granted by command of the Executive Council, gives the new settlers a right to the usufruct of these lands; but the property thereof is sooner or later transferred, according to the will and pleasure of the Council. To the best of my knowledge, none of these free grants include a transfer of the right of property. If an occupier of this description dies without issue, previously to his having acquired that right, his estate escheats to the King; no collateral friends or relations succeed in the possession of the estate; and, of consequence, the money and labour expended in its improvement and cultivation have been spent for the benefit of the Crown. In the United States, a new settler, on purchasing a certain quantity of land, the price of which is to be paid by distant instalments, has a prospect of discharging them by selling again a small portion of his estate, the value of which he has doubled by cultivation; while the Canadian planter has to look for the permanency of his possession merely to the will and pleasure of the Governor; and, if he understand his interest, he will not place on him an implicit dependance. Interest and an acquaintance with substantial and respectable settlers may, no doubt,



doubt, procure him, sooner, the right of property, and thus facilitate a second sale. But favours of this kind are always confined to a part of the estate, and depend on the arbitrary will of the Council. As long, therefore, as there shall exist no law, determining the period and terms of the investiture with these rights; the possessors will remain uneasy and insecure; and consequently the progress of improvement will be greatly retarded. Mines of every description, from gold down to pit-coal, which may be discovered in the lands, thus ceded, as well as all timber, which, in the judgment of the Surveyor-general, is fit for ship-building, are in all these grants reserved in favour of the King. All these restrictions cannot but render a good settler very uneasy, and may, in the estimation of many people prone to emigration, far outweigh the advantages of a free grant.

The attachment to the King of Great Britain, which is frequently alleged as a ground for emigration, seems an empty dream. It is common with all Englishmen, who hold here places under government, to boast of this attachment of many inhabitants of the United States of every rank and description. On what grounds this opinion rests, I know not; but it is certainly not warranted by what I learned in the United States. They there profess so loudly and uniformly principles, which indicate the exact reverse; that these professions ought doubtless to be considered as better pledges of the true sentiments of the Americans, than the assertions of a few Englishmen in place.

The families, who arrive here from the United States, emigrate most of them, it is asserted, from their being subject there to a tax, with which, however trifling it may be, they are yet displeased. If this be really the case, such a disposition cannot in future times prove favourable to Great Britain. We were also told, that General Simcoe, from his eager desire to people Upper Canada, is by no means difficult in regard to the qualifications of the new settlers, who present themselves; and that, notwithstanding his aversion to speculations in land, and his personal disinterestedness; frequently a whole township, nay at times two or three together, are assigned to one and the same person.

The Governor is of opinion, that the trade of Upper Canada may be encreased by the commodities of the Genessee district, for which he sees no other outlet, but by the river of St. Lawrence. This opinion, however, seems to have no foundation; when it is considered, that Lake Oneida, the Wood-creek and Mohawk-river offer ready means for a water-communication with Lake Ontario and the North River; which is at present interrupted only at three places, where the boats are to be carried; and that the Americans, in every part of the Union, display the utmost zeal, activity and industry, in every thing which tends to facilitate communication by water. But upon the whole the Governor's miscalculations, originating from national prejudices, are of too little importance to impede the execution of his project; they may perhaps protract its completion, but cannot occasion its failure. The true impediments are those, which I have before mentioned, and the chief obstacle is the Governor's return to England.

The present population amounts, as I have already stated, to thirty thousand souls. The principal settlement is that of Détroit; which consists, entirely, of French families, and is mostly situated on a tract of land that, according to treaty, is to be given up to America. The English flatter themselves, that the families, who have settled there, will remove from the American to the British side. But, if the conduct of the American government towards these families should be such, as the interest of America dictates; there remains but little probability, that they will leave their long cultivated estates, merely from a desire of living under the English dominion. The other settlements in Upper Canada consist in a very considerable colony, which stretches along the river from Fort Erie to Newark, is not fully occupied, and does not comprise a large extent of ground; in a few plantations on the creeks, which run into Lake Ontario from Newark up to its northern point; in an insignificant beginning of a settlement in York; and lastly in Kingston, extending along the banks of the river St. Lawrence to the boundaries of Lower Canada, which is the most populous of all.

As to the Governor's military plans, his measures of defence only are settled

settled and determined ; his plans of offensive operation are so undefined and uncertain as not to deserve any mention.

The hatred of the Governor against the United States occasions him, on the slightest occasion, to overleap all the bounds of prudence and decency, which he carefully observes in all other matters. He was a zealous promoter of the American war, in which he took a very active, yet very unfortunate, part. The calamitous issue of the war has still more exasperated his hostility ; and it was with the sincerest grief I listened to his boasting of the numerous houses he had fired during that unfortunate conflict, and of his intention to burn a still greater number in case of a rupture. In short, the whole of his intentions on this subject was such as the most violent party-rage alone can inspire. He told us, that, in case of another war with America, by expending vast sums of money, he would force them to expences equally great, which they would not be able to meet, and much less to support for any length of time ; in short, wage against them a money-war. Yet he affirms incessantly, that it is his anxious wish to preserve peace with the United States. This he very justly considers as a powerful mean of promoting the prosperity of his new colony. But his hatred against the rebels is so violent ; and his displeasure, occasioned by the surrender of the forts, is so strong ; that the charge, preferred against him by the government of the United States, of his having last year assisted the Indians as much as he could, without making himself openly a party in the dispute, seems not devoid of foundation. By exciting this war, the successful issue of which he considered as certain, he attained the twofold purpose of satisfying at once his ambition and his revenge. He does not himself deny, that he had adopted the necessary measures for conducting to the district of Genessee all the Indians, who were at his disposal, and who, by his account, amounted to five thousand men—measures which would naturally have been attended with the firing of all the habitations, and the slaughter of all the inhabitants. A war, thus barbarous and destructive, would have been waged by England at the end of the eighteenth century ; and the founder of a colony, in every other respect a man of generous and noble feelings,

feelings, would have projected and prepared it. I should not have credited these projects, had I heard them stated by any individual but the Governor himself; or should I have ventured to introduce them here, but that, within my knowledge, he has repeatedly communicated them to several other persons.

But for this inveterate hatred against the United States, which he too loudly professes, and which carries him too far, General Simcoe appears in the most advantageous light. He is just, active, enlightened, brave, frank, and possesses the confidence of the country, of the troops, and of all those who join him in the administration of public affairs. To these he attends with the closest application; he preserves all the old friends of his King, and neglects no means to procure him new ones. He unites, in my judgment, all the qualities which his station requires, to maintain the important possession of Canada, if it be possible that England can long retain it.

In his private life, Governor Simcoe is simple, plain, and obliging. He inhabits a small miserable wooden house, which formerly was occupied by the commissaries, who resided here on account of the navigation of the lake. His guard consists of four soldiers, who every morning come from the fort, and return thither in the evening. He lives in a noble and hospitable manner, without pride; his mind is enlightened; his character mild and obliging; he discourses with much good sense on all subjects, but his favourite topics are his projects and war, which seem to be the objects of his leading passions. He is acquainted with the military history of all countries; no hillock catches his eye without exciting in his mind the idea of a fort, which might be constructed on the spot; and with the construction of this fort he associates the plan of operations for a campaign, especially of that which is to lead him to Philadelphia. On hearing his professions of an earnest desire of peace, you cannot but suppose, either that his reason must hold an absolute sway over his passion, or that he deceives himself.

Mrs. SIMCOE is a lady of thirty-six years of age. She is timid, and speaks little; but she is a woman of sense, handsome and amiable, and

fulfils all the duties of the mother and wife with the most scrupulous exactness. The performance of the latter she carries so far as to be of great assistance to her husband by her talents for drawing, the practice of which, confined to maps and plans, enables her to be extremely useful to the Governor.

Upper Canada pays no taxes, except a duty on wine, amounting to four-pence per gallon on Madeira, and two-pence on other sorts of wine, and another of thirty-six shillings sterling a year for a tavern-licence, which, during the session of 1793, was encreased by twenty shillings Canada currency [four dollars]\*. The sum total of the public revenue amounts to nine hundred pounds sterling, out of which are paid the salaries of the Speaker of the House of Representatives and of the secretaries; the remainder is destined to meet the expence which local circumstances may require for the service and maintenance of society.

The justices of the peace determine in the quarter-sessions, as they do in England, the amount of the county-rates for the construction of public buildings, for the repair of the roads, and the maintenance of the army. (The last item is not yet known in Canada.) These rates are raised by means of a capitation or poll-tax, assessed in proportion to the probable amount of the property of the whole who are in the district, liable to contribute; the largest assessment on any individual exceeds not four dollars.

On the same principle is raised the pay of the members of the Assembly, who, on their return at the end of the session, deliver to the justice of the peace of their district a certificate of the Speaker, proving the number of days they have been present, and receive two dollars per day out of the money raised for that purpose, including the days they have been upon their journey.

\* The value of money in Canada should, according to law, be equal to that which it bears in Halifax, and consequently a dollar be worth five shillings. This standard is strictly adhered to in all government accounts, but not so scrupulously observed in the course of private business. The currency, which circulates in New York, passes also, especially in that part of Canada which borders on New York.—*Author.*

The quarter-sessions are held in every district; and the division into districts is connected with the administration of justice. The justices of the High Court of Judicature for civil and criminal causes, who are three in number, including the chief justice, hold four sessions annually in the town in which the Governor resides. They also go on circuits in the different districts of the province once a year; judges for the different districts sit at shorter intervals to settle matters of little importance, and the justices of the peace exercise the same jurisdiction as in England.

A tribunal, composed of the Governor and two members of the Executive Council, form the Court of Appeal in such causes as have been decided by the High Court of Judicature. The Governor forms also, with the concurrence of an assistant, the choice of whom depends entirely on his option, a Court of Chancery for the decision of causes, concerning testament, intestate heirs, orphans, &c.

Respecting the frequency and punishments of crimes, Mr. WHITE, Attorney-general of the province, informed me, that there is no district, in which one or two persons have not already been tried for murder; that they were all acquitted by the jury, though the evidence was strongly against them; that, from want of prisons, which are not yet built, petty offences, which in England would be punished with imprisonment, are here mulcted, but that the fines are seldom paid for want of means of execution; and that the major part of law-suits have for their object the recovery of debts; but sometimes originate also from quarrels and assaults; drunkenness being a very common vice in this country.

The province of Upper Canada is divided into the four districts of Detroit, Niagara, Kingston, and St. John's. The justices of the peace are selected from among those persons, who are best qualified for such an office; but, in a country so recently settled men worthy of this trust cannot be numerous.

The division of Upper Canada into counties is purely military, and relates merely to the enlisting, completing, and assembling of the militia. The counties are about twelve in number. Their names, with which I

am unacquainted, are not of sufficient importance to deserve to be here mentioned. The militia of each county are assembled and commanded by a lieutenant and second-lieutenant; they must be divided into regiments and companies. They assemble once a year in each county, and are inspected by the captains of the different companies at least twice a year. Every male inhabitant is considered as a militia-man from the age of sixteen to fifty. He is fined four dollars if he do not enlist at the proper time; and officers, both commissioned and non-commissioned, who do not join their regiments at the time the militia are assembled, pay a fine; the former of eight dollars, and the latter of two. An officer, who, in case of an attack or insurrection, should not repair to his assigned post, would be punished with a pecuniary penalty of fifty pounds sterling, and a petty officer with a fine of twenty pounds sterling. A militia-man, who sells either the whole or part of his arms, ammunition, or accoutrements, is fined five pounds sterling; and, in default of payment, imprisoned for two months. The Quakers, Baptists, and Dunkers pay, in time of peace, twenty shillings a year; and, during a war or insurrection, five pounds sterling, for their exemption from military service. Out of these fines and ransoms the adjutant-general of the militia receives his pay, and the remainder is at the Governor's disposal.

This is nearly the substance of the first act of the legislative body of Upper Canada, passed in 1793. In the following year, 1794, an additional act passed relative to the militia, the chief regulations of which tended to improve and define more accurately the internal form of the regiments, battalions, and companies, and to render the assembling of detachments more easy and expeditious. This act determines, that, in time of war, the obligation to carry arms in defence of the country shall not cease before the age of sixty; and that, of consequence, Quakers and others, who enjoy an exemption from military service, shall pay for their immunity up to that age. It also obliges the militia to serve on board of ships and vessels, to act as cavalry, and to extend their service beyond the province, on condition however, that the same men be not bound to serve more than six months successively.

The exemptions from military service are confined to the officers of justice, and other public functionaries, whose number is very small. The whole militia is estimated at nine thousand men, for a tract of country of considerable extent, in which, however, the communication and assembling of the troops are much facilitated by the lakes.

All the expences of the civil and military administration of Upper and Lower Canada are defrayed by England. The sum total, including the political expences, or the money paid to the Indians, though this forms an item of the military expenditure, amounts for Upper Canada to one hundred thousand pounds sterling. Nearly two-thirds of this sum, or sixty thousand pounds, are paid to the Indians; including the pay of the principal agents, under agents, interpreters, &c. This pay deducted, all the other charges, occasioned by the Indians, consist in presents, tomahawks, muskets, powder and ball, knives, blankets, rings, buckles, hats, looking-glasses, and, above all, in rum. The agents are charged with the distribution of these articles, which by some are distributed every year, by others at various times, according to circumstances. It is by these means the Indians are supposed to be gained over. Such of their chieftains, as are believed to possess considerable influence, obtain a larger share of presents; by which, and especially by a profuse distribution of rum, their friendship is gained and preserved. The Americans are depicted to them as their inveterate enemies; they are made to swear, that they will burn and scalp these foes at the first signal. It was in this manner the Governor imagined last year, from the reports he had received, that he should be able to dispose of fifty thousand men, who had all taken an oath, not to leave a scalp on the skull of any American they should fall in with. A relation of these atrocities has all the appearance of an exaggerated account of some nation of cannibals, and yet it is literally true\*. The English assert, that the Americans, on their part, proceed exactly in the same manner.

\* With all candid readers it will undoubtedly be a matter of regret, that the author should have preferred a charge of such a serious and heinous complexion, without giving himself the least trouble to substantiate its truth.—*Translator.*

It



It must be confessed, that the colonists, by their mean and barbarous policy, teach the Indians to despise them. But we may indulge a hope, that the time is not far distant, when the latter shall possess sufficient sense, to take the presents of England and the money of the United States, and to laugh at both these great nations; scorning to be any longer the tools of their ambition and revenge.

We have here been told, that England's annual expenditure for Upper and Lower Canada amounts to four or five hundred thousand pounds sterling; whether the pensions and donations which England bestows on some inhabitants of the United States, be comprised in this estimate, I know not; but this I know, from a very respectable source, that they amount to a pretty large sum. Is it this circumstance, to which Messrs. Hammond and Simcoe allude, when they speak of the numerous friends of the King of Great Britain in the United States?

I have not yet mentioned, that the Governor is also President of an Executive Council, composed of five members. In regard to the bills, which have passed both houses, his assent or dissent is determined by the majority of votes. But, as he appoints this council, and has also the power of dissolving it, we may easily conceive, that it consists of members entirely dependant on him. The major part hold seats in the Legislative Council.

An office, which was exclusively charged with preparing for the discussion and decision of the council such matters as concern grants of land, has lately been abolished. The Executive Council has reserved to itself the introductory disquisition, as well as the definitive determination, of all business of this description. The number of those, who apply for lands, is uncommonly great. The claims of the petitioners are generally grounded on their attachment to the British Monarch, and their disgust or hatred against the government of the United States. But, under allegations of this kind, frequently lurks a spirit of speculation. Notwithstanding the solicitude said to be displayed by the council to discover the truth, many grants of land are made on no other grounds than favour. By the letter of the law, which, however, is often eluded, one individual

cannot

cannot obtain more than one thousand two hundred acres. Yet, as the grants contain no clause fixing the period within which the ground is to be cleared, speculations frequently occur, and not the least security is obtained, that the land will be a moment sooner inhabited for being thus bestowed.

I have already observed, that officers, who served in the American war, have a right to a share in these lands, which amounts, for a lieutenant to twelve hundred acres, and for a colonel to five thousand. But officers, who never acted in the American war, nor ever held a colonel's commission, have obtained shares as great as the largest allotted to those who have. These lands, though most favourably situated, are not yet cleared; nor is there the least appearance of their being speedily cultivated.

Every thing is excessively dear at Newark. The shops are few, and the shopkeepers, combining against the public, fix what price they choose upon their goods. The high duty laid by England upon all the commodities exported from her islands proves a powerful encouragement to a contraband trade with the United States, where, in many articles, the difference of price amounts to two-thirds. The government of Canada is very vigilant to prevent this contraband trade; but a certain prospect of gain excites to exertion, which will frequently succeed in eluding the law, as well as the vigilance of the executive power. The shopkeepers know perfectly well how to favour this contraband trade, the only means for destroying which would be to lower the duties, and, of consequence, the price of the commodities. The Governor has it in contemplation, to encourage such manufactures as produce these articles, which are in large quantities into this province from the United States, such as hats. But all his exertions to this effect will fail in regard to sugar, coffee, tea; in short, with respect to all commodities, which are directly imported from the United States, without being there subjected to as high a duty as in Canada.

During our long residence at Naryhall, all the inhabitants of an Indian village, of the Toscarora nation, came to congratulate the Governor on his late arrival at Naryhall. All these visits and congratulatory compliments have

have no other object, but to obtain some drink, money, and presents. These Indians generally arrive in the morning, in vessels, from the opposite banks of the river, which they inhabit. They were decked out with uncommon care, covered with rags of every description, and adorned with horse-hair, and feathers of all possible species of birds. In their ears and noses they wore rings of the most varied forms and colours. Some were dressed in European clothes, others wore laced hats, and some were naked, excepting the double apron, and painted from head to foot. It is in the manner of painting themselves, that their genius is especially displayed. In general they prefer the harshest colours, paint one leg white, and the other black or green, the body brown or yellow, the face full of red or black spots, and their eyes different colours. In a word, they unite in their decorations the utmost absurdity and harshness. They are, every one of them, painted in a different style, and furnished with a small looking-glass, which they every moment consult with as much attention as the most finished coquette. They comb themselves again and again, and touch up the colours, which may have faded from perspiration or exercise. Many of them wear silver bracelets and chains round their necks and arms. Some have a white shirt with long sleeves over their clothes, and this forms their most elegant garment; the major part wear as many silver buckles as they can afford. In short, their appearance calls to recollection the whimsical masks, which throng the streets at Paris during the carnival. It must, however, be confessed, that their painted finery, in a great measure, consists of things, which they make themselves, of horses', buffaloes', or other hair, or of the bristles of the hedge-hog. They twist ropes of the bark of trees, and make many of a species of herbs. Many of these articles, which they use in their dress, their tobacco-bags, their scalping-knives, garters, and mockinsons, (a sort of shoes) are made by the women, with a regularity, a skill, nay, I may say, with a taste, seldom to be found in Europe. Their chief excellency consists in the great variety and richness of the colours, which they generally extract from leaves, and from the roots of certain herbs; but they possess also the art of extracting them

them from all dyed linens and silks, of which they can obtain a piece. They boil these rags in the juice of a plant, with the species and name of which I am unacquainted, and thus obtain a very durable colour for dying hair or bark.

On their arrival this morning the Indian visitors were about eighty in number. The Governor, being particularly engaged, deferred receiving their visit until the afternoon; at which time only thirty made their appearance, the rest being all drunk, and unable to move. The visit was received on a large plot of grass, without the smallest compliment on either part. The Governor was present, but kept at some distance. The Indians danced and played among themselves. Some of their dances are very expressive, and even graceful. A mournful and monotonous ditty, sung by one, and accompanied with a small drum, six inches high, and three in diameter, forms all their music, except that frequently a stick is added, with which a child beats the time. They dance around the music, which they frequently interrupt by loud shrieks. The hunting and war dances are the most expressive, especially the latter. It represents the surprise of an enemy, who is killed and scalped, and is performed by one person. The rest are hopping about, like monkeys, in a semicircular figure, and watch, with the utmost attention, every movement of the dancer. The moment when the enemy is supposed to have breathed his last, a strong expression of joy brightens every face; the dancer raises a horrid howl, resumes his pantomime, and is rewarded by universal shouts of applause. When he has thus finished his dance, another enters the stage, who is, in his turn, relieved by others; and in this manner the dance is continued, until they become tired of it. When the dance was over, they played at ball; a game in which they displayed their skill to the greatest advantage. Every one had a racket, the handle of which was three or four feet in length, and bent at the end, so that the racket was the form of a bow. The packthread is made of bark; they grasp the racket with both hands, and run after the ball, wherever they see it, with the view of catching it, one before another. This ball is frequently

thrown to a considerable distance, in which case they run after it all together, to catch it, either in the air, or on the ground. No bush, no ditches, no barriers check their ardour. They clear every thing, leap over every thing, and display, in this game, a versatility, swiftness, and dexterity, which are truly striking. During these games the agent came up to the general, with one of the chieftains, and told him, that the Tuscarora nation wished to learn whether they might assist at a meeting, to be held in Onondago by the Oneida Indians, for the purpose of selling a part of the Oneida reservation, which the state of New York had manifested a disposition to purchase\*. The Governor's answer was conceived in terms extremely vague; the agent translated this answer as he pleased, and in reply assured the Governor, in the name of the Indians, that they would not go to Onondago, from the hope that this would prove more agreeable to the British Monarch. Whether this political farce was acted only by the agent, or whether the chieftain took a part, I know not; but this I know, that this chieftain, a moment before, begged of me two shillings, for which he would have promised me, had I desired it, to visit or not to visit all the meetings throughout the universe. Without entering further on this subject, I shall merely observe, that the whole policy of England, relative to the Indians, is in the hands of the agents, who alone understand their language, and have the sole management of the presents. It rests entirely with these agents to persuade all or any of these nations to engage in war, and to excite their enmity either against the United States or against each other. The Governor is altogether incapable of judging of their disobedience and opposition to the orders of his cabinet but by the results. The same is undoubtedly the case as to the American States.

The English agent, here referred to, is Colonel BUTLER, celebrated

\*The Oneida Nation receives an annuity from the State of New York of three thousand five hundred and fifty-two dollars for lands purchased of them in 1795, and an annuity of about six hundred and twenty-eight dollars from the United States —

*Translator*

for

for his \*...\* \* \* \* \*  
 He is a native of America of the neighbourhood of Wilkesbarre. His  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* \* \* England has rewarded his loyalty  
 with five thousand acres of land for himself; the same quantity for  
 his children; a pension of two or three hundred pounds sterling; an  
 agency, worth five hundred pounds sterling a year; and the privilege of  
 taking from the store-houses, which contain the presents, whatever he  
 chooses. He is treated with every mark of respect by the Governor. . "

The Tuscarora Nation is an Indian tribe, the men of which share the  
 toils of their women in a greater degree than any other. The Governor  
 mentioned a project, he has conceived, of giving a half civilization to all  
 the Indian nations in the interest of England. Whether or no civili-  
 zation be likely to promote the happiness of the Indians, is a question, a full  
 discussion of which might, perhaps, exceed my powers, or at least seem  
 irrelevant. But, were I obliged to decide it at once, I should answer in  
 the negative, as long as they are not hemmed in too closely by the  
 colonists, possess a sufficient tract of ground for hunting, and have plenty  
 of game. But, I repeat it once more, to do justice to this question would  
 require a more profound discussion, than I can enter upon in this place.  
 Besides it can hardly be satisfactorily decided, since the state of savage na-  
 tions, left entirely to their primitive life, is widely different from the con-  
 dition of those, who reside in the vicinity of these colonists, and hold in-  
 tercourse with them. If, on mature deliberation, we were obliged to  
 allow, that the creation of wants, the necessity of providing for them, the  
 exercise of our mutual powers, the unfolding of our faculties, and the re-  
 finement of our feelings, prove more frequently sources of misfortune than  
 of happiness; every degree of civilization, pregnant with all these, should  
 carefully be kept, for their own sake, from all savage tribes. But the  
 same conclusion will not hold good in regard to a barbarous people, who,  
 from their intercourse with civilized nations, possess already some de-  
 gree of civility; but a civility which acquaints them with vices only, and  
 consequently introduces them to sources of misfortune, and who, there-

fore, from a higher degree of culture, may derive an alleviation of their fate and an increase of happiness. As to the advantages likely to accrue to the civilized world from the civilization of the savages, the question seems likely to demand a decision in the affirmative.

However this may be, the Governor, in conceiving this project, had not only the happiness of the Indians in view, but also his own advantage. He intends to have them civilized by priests, and would give the preference to missionaries of the Roman Catholic persuasion. The policy of General S—— inclines him to encourage a religion, the ministers of which are interested in a connection with the authority of thrones, and who, therefore, never lose sight of the principle, to preserve and propagate arbitrary power.

I learn here, that rum enervates the Indians, shortens their lives, renders their marriages daily more barren, and, when fruitful, productive only of poor unhealthy children ; and that, from the use of this poison, which now cannot either be wrested from them, or rendered harmless in its consequences, the different tribes are daily decreasing in number.

Eighty miles from Naryhall, on the Miami, or Great River, is the settlement of Colonel BRANT, with a view of which I should have been much pleased ; but he is not there at present, and they assure me that, in his absence, I should see nothing but what I have already seen in those I have hitherto visited.

Colonel Brant is an Indian by birth. In the American war he fought under the English banner, and he has since been in England, where he was most graciously received by the King, and met with a kind reception from all classes of people. His manners are semi-European. He is attended by two negroes ; has established himself in the English way ; has a garden and a farm ; dresses after the European fashion ; and nevertheless possesses much influence over the Indians. He assists, at present, at the Miami-treaty \*, which the United States are concluding with the western

\* The treaty, alluded to by the author, is the Greenville treaty, concluded on the third of August 1795, at Greenville, a fort and settlement on the south side of a north-western branch of the Great Miami, between Major-general A. Wayne and the chiefs of the

western Indians. He is also much respected by the Americans, and, in general, bears so excellent a character, that I sincerely regret I could not see and become acquainted with him.

The Indians, who inhabit the village, which we passed on leaving Canawaga, paid also a visit to the Governor during the time we stayed with him. The weather being too hot for receiving the visit on the grass, he ordered them to be ushered into a room, where he was attended by some officers of the garrison. The chiefs of the Indians said a few words, which the agent interpreted to the Governor, as containing an assurance, that they would employ their tomahawks against any one he should point out, and expressions of regret, that they could not use them last year against the Americans. The Governor thanked them for these sentiments, endeavoured to confirm them in this friendly disposition, and told them, that the King of Great Britain wished for peace, whatever lies the *maize-thief* [Mr. P——, Commissioner of the United States] might have imposed on them last year. They answered, that the Governor was perfectly right, and that P—— was a liar, drank as much as they pleased, and departed. The conference was held at eight o'clock in the morning, and before nine o'clock half of them were intoxicated. The Governor is very anxious to oblige and please the Indians; his only son, a child, four years old, is dressed as an Indian, and called TIOGA, which name has been given him by the Mohawks. This harmless farce may be of use in the intercourse with the Indians.

The Niagara river and lake abound with a great variety of fishes. We assisted at a fishing, intended to supply the soldiers with fish; the net was drawn thrice. One end of the net was held by men, who remained on shore, while the remainder was carried into the stream by means of a boat, which, after the net had been entirely expanded, conveyed the other end back to the shore. Both ends are joined on the spot, whence the net is drawn. It is only four feet deep, but one hundred feet in

the following tribes of Indians, viz. the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Ottawas, Chippawas, Putawatimes, Miamis, Eel-river, Weeas, Kickapoos, Pian Kashaws and Kaskaskias.—*Translator.*

length.



length. Upwards of five hundred fish were caught, among which were about twenty-eight or thirty sturgeons, small pikes, whittings, rock-fish, sun-fish, herrings, a sort of carp, which in point of shape resemble those of Europe, but differ much in flavour, and in the form of their heads, salmon, trouts; in short, all the fish was of a tolerable size. Middle-sized fish are easily caught by anglers on the banks both of the river and the lake, they frequently catch more than their families can consume in several days.

The town of Newark stands on the other side of the river, directly opposite to the fort. About a hundred houses, mostly very fine structures, have already been erected, but the progress of building will probably be checked, by the intended removal of the seat of government. The majority of the inhabitants, especially the richest of them, share in the administration; and consequently will remove, to whatever place the government may be transferred. In point of size and elegance, the house of Colonel SMITH, lieutenant-colonel in the fifth regiment, is much distinguished from the rest. It consists of joiner's work, but is constructed, embellished, and painted in the best style; the yard, garden, and court are surrounded with railings, made and painted as elegantly, as they could be in England. His large garden has the appearance of a French kitchen-garden, kept in good order. In a country, where it is a hard matter to procure labourers, and where they are paid at the rate of one dollar per day, he finds, in his regiment, as many as he chooses, for ninepence sterling a day, because the men otherwise do not easily obtain leave to go to work. It is in this manner he is now clearing five thousand acres, which have been granted him, and has the use of thirty more, which belong to the King, are situate in front of the town, and which the Governor has assigned him, until he shall be necessitated to demand them again.

The scarcity of men servants is here still greater than in the United States. They, who are brought hither from England, either demand lands, or emigrate into the United States. A very wise act of the Assembly declares all negroes to be free, as soon as they arrive

in Canada. ~~The~~ description of men, who are more or less frequent in the United States, cannot here supply the want of white servants. All persons belonging to the army employ soldiers in their stead. By the English regulations, every officer is allowed one soldier, to whom he pays one ~~shilling~~ a week; and this privilege is extended, in proportion as the officers have need of a greater number of people. The Governor, who is also colonel of a regiment of Queen's Rangers, stationed in the province, is attended in his house, and at dinner, merely by privates of this regiment, who also take care of his horses. He has not been able to keep one of the men servants, he brought with him from England.

The regiments quartered in the vicinity of the United States, it is asserted, lose much by desertion. Seeing every where around them lands, either given away or sold at a very low rate, and being surrounded by people, who within a twelvemonth have risen from poverty to prosperity, and are now married and proprietors, they cannot endure the idea of a servitude, which is to end only with their existence. The *ennui* naturally arising from the dull and secluded manner of living in garrisons, where they find neither work nor amusement, and the slight attention shewn them by most of the colonels, darken still more, in their view, the dismal picture of their situation. They emigrate accordingly into the United States, where they are sure to find a settlement, which, if they choose to work, cannot fail to make them rich and independent. To hold out to them the same hope in the English colony of Canada, would be the only mean of rendering less dangerous the temptation offered by the United States. It is with this view, that Governor Simcoe very wisely formed the project of dismissing every soldier, who should find an able substitute in his room, and to give him one hundred acres of land; but it is said, that this project appears, in Lord Dorchester's judgment, to favour too much of the new principles, to obtain his consent. If it were actually refused, such an unreasonable denial would more forcibly provoke the discontented of the troops, from their being already acquainted with the measure.

During our residence at Naryhall, the session of the Legislature of  
Upper

Upper Canada was opened. The Governor had deferred it till that time, on account of the expected arrival of a chief-justice, who was to come from England; and from a hope, that he should be able to acquaint the members with the particulars of the treaty with the United States. But the harvest has now begun, which in a higher degree than elsewhere engages, in Canada, the public attention, far beyond what state-affairs can do. Two members of the Legislative Council were present instead of seven; no Chief-justice appeared, who was to act as Speaker; instead of sixteen members of the Assembly five only attended, and this was the whole number, which could be collected at this time. The law requires a greater number of members for each house to discuss and determine upon any business\*, but within two days a year will have expired since the last session. The Governor has therefore thought it right, to open the session, reserving, however, to either house the right of proroguing the sittings from one day to another, in expectation, that the ships from *Détroit* and *Kingston* will either bring the members, who are yet wanting, or certain intelligence of their not being able to attend.

The whole retinue of the Governor consisted in a guard of fifty men of the garrison of the fort. Dressed in silk, he entered the hall with his hat on his head, attended by his adjutant and two secretaries. The two members of the Legislative Council gave, by their Speaker, notice of it to the Assembly. Five members of the latter having appeared at the bar, the Governor delivered a speech modelled after that of the King, on the political affairs of Europe, on the treaty concluded with the United States; which he mentioned in expressions very favourable to the Union, and on the peculiar concerns of Canada. Where no taxes are to be levied, no accounts to be audited and examined, and no military regulations to be adjusted, public business cannot occupy much time. But, if even all these points were to be discussed, the business would still be trifling, from want of an opposition; which seems to be precluded by the

\* By the *Quebec Act*, passed in 1791, it is enacted, that the Legislative Council is to consist of not fewer than seven members for Upper Canada, and the Assembly of not less than sixteen members, who are to be called together at least once every year.—

manner, in which the two Houses for Upper Canada are framed. The constitution of this province is well adapted to the present state of the country. The members of both Houses, who bear a share in the administration, are all of them as useful, as can be desired, at this period. The influence of the Governor is not useless. And the other necessary arrangements, especially such as may ensure liberty and good order, will, no doubt, be made in the process of time.

Fort Niagara stands, as has been already observed, on the right bank of the river, on a point, opposite to that of Mississogus, on which Newark is built. It was originally constructed by Mr. de la TONQUIERE, three miles nearer to the falls; but was, some years afterwards, transferred to the spot, where it now stands, and where Mr. de DENONVILLE threw up an entrenchment. This fort, as well as those of Oswego, Détroit, Miami, and Michillimackinac, are to be surrendered to the Americans\*. Fort Niagara is said to be the strongest of these places, having been strengthened with some new works, in the course of last year; especially covered batteries, designed for its protection on the side of the lake and the river. All the breast-works, slopes, &c. are lined with timber. On the land-side, it has a curtain, flanked by two bastions, in each of which a block-house has been constructed, mounted with cannon. Although this fort, in common with all such small fortified places, cannot long withstand a regular attack; yet the besiegers cannot take it, without a considerable loss. All the buildings, within the precincts of the fort, are of stone, and were built by the French.

With very obliging politeness, the Governor conducted us into the fort, which he is very loath to visit; since he is sure, that he shall be obliged to deliver it up to the Americans. He carried us through every part of it, indeed more of it than we wished to see. Thirty artillery-men and eight companies of the fifth regiment, form the garrison of the fort. Two days after this visit, we dined in the fort, at Major SEWARD's, an officer of elegant, polite, and amiable manners, who seems to be much

\* All these forts were actually delivered up to the Americans in August 1796, pursuant to the treaty of 1794.—*Translator.*

respected by the gentlemen of his profession: He and Mr. PILKINSON, an officer of the corps of engineers, are the military gentlemen we have most frequently seen during our residence in this place, and whom the Governor most distinguishes from the rest. In England, as in France, the officers of the engineers and artillery are in general the most accomplished among the gentlemen of the army; and their society is consequently preferred. The officers of the fifth regiment, whom we have seen, were well-bred, polite, and excellent companions.

The communication of the fort with Newark is in winter intercepted for two or three months, by masses of floating ice, carried along by the stream. At times it is free for a few hours only. The Indians attempt, now and then, to cross the river, by jumping from one piece of ice to another. But the number of those, who venture upon this dangerous experiment, is never great.

Some trifling excursions, we made in the environs of the city; and especially a tour of four days, with the Governor, along the banks of the lake; afforded us an opportunity of seeing the interior country. The chief purpose of this journey was, to reach the extremity of the lake. A boat, made of the bark of trees, and designed for the Governor's excursions between Détroit and Kingston, contained the whole company; which consisted of the Governor, Major Seward, Mr. Pilkinson, us three (Mr. de Blacons, having left us two days after our arrival in Naryhall), and Mr. RICHARD, a young Englishman, who arrived here by the way of the North River, and whom we had already seen in Philadelphia. Twelve *chasseurs* of the Governor's regiment rowed the boat, which was followed by another vessel, carrying tents and provision. We halted at noon to eat our dinner, and in the evening to pitch our tents and sup. In the morning, we walked, then breakfasted, and set out to pursue our journey, which was rendered rather unpleasant by a small fall of rain.

Fortymile-creek was one of the chief objects of our tour. This stream, which intersects in a straight line the range of mountains, extending from Queens' Town, flows, with a gentle fall, into the plain; and affords

fords some wild, ~~awful~~, yet ~~very~~ pleasing prospects among the mountains. Before it empties itself into the lake, it turns a grist mill, and two saw-mills, which belong to a Mr. GREEN, a loyalist of Jersey, who, six or seven years ago, settled in this part of Upper Canada.

This Mr. GREEN was the constant companion of the Governor on this little journey; he is apparently a worthy man, and in point of knowledge far superior to the common cast of settlers in this neighbourhood. His estate consists of three hundred acres, about forty of which are cleared of wood. He paid one hundred and twenty-five dollars for forty acres, through which the creek flows, that turns his mill, on account of the greater value, they bear for this reason; the common price being only five shillings per acre. Land newly cleared yields here, the first year, twenty bushels of corn. The soil is good, though not of the most excellent quality. They plough the land, after it has produced three or four crops, but not very deep, and never use manure. The price of flour is twenty-two shillings per hundred weight; that of wheat from seven to eight shillings per bushel. The bushel weighs sixty-two pounds upon an average. Labourers are scarce, and are paid at the rate of six shillings a day.

Respecting the feeding of cattle, the winter is here reckoned at five months and half, and near the lakes often at six; on the mountains it is a month shorter. A few habitations are scattered over this district. Wheat is here, as well as throughout all Upper Canada, generally sown; but other sorts of grain are also cultivated. Wheat and rye are sown in September; oats, in May; barley, in June; turnips, in July; and potatoes, in May. The hay harvest falls between the 10th of June and the 10th of July. Rye is generally cut about the beginning of July; and wheat, in the latter days of the same month; potatoes and turnips are dug up in October and November. Grass is, in general, mowed but once. Cultivated meadows are sown with timothy-grass. The cattle are fed, in winter, with hay; which is kept either in barns, in Dutch lofts\*, or in stacks, after the English manner: the last are very

\* In this neighbourhood, as well as throughout all the northern parts of the Union, they call a thatched roof of a round, square or polygonal form, which rests on long posts, but can be raised or lowered at pleasure, a Dutch loft.—*Author*.

badly made. Until the winter sets in with great severity, the cattle are left to graze in the woods ; they tell us, that in all parts of Upper Canada, the snow lies seldom deeper than two feet. The whole of these observations apply also to the cultivated ground near Lake Ontario and Lake Erie.

Mr. Green, who has a very numerous family, intends to bring up all his sons to farming, and to build for each of them a mill, either on this or on a neighbouring creek. He grinds the corn for all the military posts in Upper Canada ; where General Simcoe has ordered all the flour of a good quality to be purchased, which shall be offered by millers in larger quantities than six bushels.

The road from Fortymile-creek to the extremity of the lake, which we travelled, on horseback, is one of the worst we have hitherto seen in America. But for our finding now and then some trunks of trees in the swampy places, we should not have been able to disengage ourselves from the morasses. Along the road, which is fifteen miles in length, the soil is good ; but we scarcely saw four plantations on the bank of the lake. At the very extremity of it, and on the most fruitful soil, there are but two settlements.

Burlington Bay borders on Lake Ontario. This bay is five miles in length, and communicates with the lake by a freight sixty yards wide ; but this communication is interrupted by sand-banks, which, at the extremity of the lake, form a bar, the base of which projects nearly half a mile into the lake. This sole passage excepted, the bay is separated from the lake by an isthmus, from two to four hundred yards broad. At the point, where this isthmus begins on the southern side of the lake, the unnavigable tract is about fifty feet in width. Small vessels are worked up into a small creek in the bay ; whence they proceed without any impediment to any other part within its extent. The mountains, which near Fortymile-creek reach close to the lake, but afterwards recede to the distance of five or six miles, approach it again at the extremity of Burlington Bay. Their colour, as well as the quality of the intervening soil between them and the lake, affords ground to suppose, that they once formed its borders, and that the tract of ground, which now separates

separates them from its present bed, and which is covered with very old and beautiful trees, has been formed by alluvia from the waters of the lake. This range of mountains, after having formed an opening, through which a pretty considerable river empties itself into the bay, re-join, bound the lake for about a fourth part of its length, and stretch thence towards Lake Huron, in the vicinity of which they divide into different branches, the farther direction of which is not known. The geographical knowledge of this country, as far as it relates to the course of the rivers, the shape of the vallies, and the direction of the chain of mountains, is yet very imperfect. Governor Simcoe is aware of the necessity of its being enlarged and perfected. But, in a newly occupied country, like this, the number of objects necessary to be attended to is immense.

During the whole of our excursion we passed through woods, copiously adorned with flowers of the most exquisite hues and fragrance, the names of which we could not learn. The numbers of fragrant trees, of a size unknown in Europe, was equally great.

The banks of the lake are rather unhealthy, and intermittent fevers are almost as frequent there, as in the district of Genesee. But few surgeons reside in the country; they are not suffered to practise, till after having undergone an examination by a physician, appointed by government. This prevention, which may prove very beneficial in future times, is at present of no avail. For, as very few apply for leave to practise, the most ignorant are admitted without difficulty, if they will only present themselves for admission.

By one of them I was informed, that the inferior classes of the inhabitants dread their advice in intermittent fevers, because they always prescribe bark; and that poor people, instead of following their advice, have recourse to a sort of magic charm, in which universal confidence is placed in this country. If seized with the ague, they go into the forest, search out a branch of an elm or sassafras, of the last year's growth; fasten to this branch, without breaking it off the tree, a thread, which must not be quite new; tie as many knots, as they think they shall have fits of the fever;



fever; and then return home, perfectly convinced, that they shall not experience more fits, than they have bound themselves to sustain, by the number of knots they have tied. The first discoverers of this arcanum used to make so few knots, that the ague would frequently disappoint their hopes, but they who at present practise this superstition tie so many, that the febrile matter is generally carried off, before the number of fits comes up to that of the knots.

A tour along the banks of the lake is extremely pleasant; the prospect of this vast sheet of water is majestic, and the traces of culture, which upon the whole has been commenced on the best principles, offer a picture, on which both the eye and the mind dwell with equal pleasure. The Governor is a worthy man, amiable and plain. The company was agreeable, and we enjoyed every convenience, which can be expected on a journey of this kind. And yet, during the whole time of our residence in Naryhall, where he, as well as every one belonging to him, loaded us with civilities, in a manner the most agreeable, I did not experience one moment of true happiness, and real untainted enjoyment.

I am at a loss to account to myself for the various perceptions, which pressed upon my mind, and prevented my feelings from being entirely absorbed by gratitude, and by the pleasing sensations, it naturally produces. I love the English more, perhaps, than any other Frenchman; I have been constantly well treated by the English; I have friends among them; I acknowledge the many great qualities and advantages which they possess. I detest the horrid crimes, which stain the French revolution, and which destroyed so many objects of my love and esteem; I am banished from France; my estates are confiscated; by the government of my country I am treated as a criminal or corrupt citizen; severed from all I held dear, I have been reduced to extreme, inexpressible misery, by Robespierre, and the rest of the ruffians, whom my countrymen have suffered to become their tyrants; nor are my misfortunes yet consummated—and yet, the love of my country, this innate feeling, now so painful to me, so clashing with my present situation, holds an absolute sway over my soul, and pursues me here more closely, than elsewhere. This English flag, under

which I am sailing over lakes where the French flag was so long displayed; these forts, these guns, the spoils of France, this constant, obvious proof of our former weakness and of our misfortunes, give me pain, perplex and overpower me to a degree, which I am at a loss to explain. The success, last year, obtained by Lord Howe, which the English mention with more frankness, because they suppose our interest to be intimately connected with theirs; the eagerness they display in announcing new defeats of the French, the accounts of which are prefaced by the assurance, that English triumphs and exertion shall reinstate us in the possession of our estates, and followed with congratulations; all these common topics of conversation, which our guests seem to introduce with the best intention, prove more painful to my feelings, as I am necessitated to hide my thoughts, lest I should be deemed a fool by the few, in whose eyes I am no Jacobin, no Robespierrian, and because I am, as it were, at cross purposes with myself. And yet it is a sentiment rooted, deeply rooted in my soul, that I would continue poor and banished, all the days of my life, rather *than owe my restoration to my country and my estates, to the influence of foreign powers, and to British pride.* I hear of no defeat of the French armies, without grief, or of any of their triumphs, without my self-love being gratified to a degree, which at times I take not sufficient care to conceal\*. And yet, notwithstanding these feelings, the confession of which may appear ridiculous in my present situation, I cannot discern the period, when anarchy shall cease in my ill-fated country, and liberty, regulated by wise and efficient laws, afford happiness at least to those, who are not banished; when France shall rest her glory on a safe and lasting foundation.

I do not know, whether those of my friends, who shall read these lines, will understand my meaning; and whether they will be more able, than

\* These "*Confessions d'un Emigré*," which ingenuously express the true sentiments of a very considerable part of the emigrated French nobility and gentry, are not, it seems, unworthy of the notice of foreign powers, and especially of our government. A French emigrant, who acted in the West Indies as field-officer in the British service, regretted, that the "*pavillon chéri*" was not waving at the mast head of the vessel, on board of which he was going to combat the French.—*Vol. VI.*

I am, to reconcile these apparently incongruous feelings and perceptions. I have here thrown them together, as I felt and conceived them.

In addition to the civilities offered here to our small company, Dupetitthouars experienced one of a peculiar complexion, consisting in an offer of lands in Upper Canada, made by Major Seward, who, without expressly stating, that he was authorised by the Governor to propose this offer, at least hinted something to that effect. The polite, yet peremptory answer, returned by Dupetitthouars, at once ended the business.

The taste for news is not by far so prevalent in Upper Canada as in the United States. Only one newspaper is printed in Newark; and but for the support granted by government, not the fourth part of the expense of the proprietor would be refunded by the sale of his papers. It is a short abstract of the newspapers of New York and Albany, accommodated to the principles of the Governor; with an epitome of the *Quebec Gazette*. In the front and back of the paper are advertisements. It is a weekly paper; but very few copies are sent to fort Erie and *Détroit*. The newspaper press also serves for printing the acts of the Legislature, and the notices and orders issued by the Governor; and this is its principal use. In point of news, the situation at Niagara is by no means convenient, especially in time of war.

The English ships are not yet arrived from Quebec, and this day is the sixth of July. The intelligence, which reached Philadelphia about the time of our departure, has but just been received at Niagara. They tell us, that they know nothing, but what they have learned directly from England. What little information we have been able to collect from different quarters, concerning the sentiments of the people, and which we could only now and then obtain, as we should otherwise have given offence by too much inquisitiveness on this head, coincides in representing the nation at large as desirous of tranquillity and peace. But the American loyalists, who have actually suffered by the war, still harbour enmity and hatred against their native land and countrymen. These sentiments however are daily decreasing, and are not shared by the far greater number of emigrants, who arrive from the United States, Nova Scotia, and

and New York. There are no students in this country, but their number is increasing. Settlers, who migrate into this province from the United States, mostly profess an attachment to the British Monarch, and to the maintenance of the Union, for the mere purpose of thus wrenching themselves into the possession of lands. The high price of provisions, the prohibition of a commercial intercourse, and the protracted delivery of the deeds, by which the property of granted lands is conveyed to the occupiers, form, indeed, grounds of much discontent; but this is by no means of a nature to cause uneasiness to the government, which seems even to doubt its existence, though, in case of a war with the United States, it might render its situation extremely critical.

The Episcopal is the established religion in Upper Canada. It is, however, half of the inhabitants are Roman Catholics; and some families of Quakers, Baptists, and Dunkers, are scattered through the province, though in small numbers.

A seventh part of the lands is allotted to the support of the Protestant clergy. For the Roman Catholic service nothing is paid, except in Detroit. No church has yet been built, even in Newark. In the same halls, where the Legislative and Executive Councils hold their sittings, jugglers would be permitted to display their tricks, if any should ever stray to this remote country. Our last excursion in the environs of Naryhall brought us by Queenstown to one of the Tuscarora villages, which stands on the Indian territory, four miles from Naryhall. One of the roads, which lead thither, passes over mountains, that border upon the falls. This road affords some interesting prospects, such as precipices, dizzy rocks, wild romantic scenes as far as the mountains project over the river, still hemmed in between this double range of high rocks. They become truly admirable where the mountains slope towards the plain, which separates them from the banks of the lake; this whole plain, Fort Niagara, the bank of the lake, the lake itself, nay, a part of the opposite bank, bursting at once on your view. The soil seems every where to be of a good quality.

"This Tuscarora village has as dirty and mean an appearance as all the other villages we have hitherto seen ; but the inhabitants, being informed of the intended visit of the Governor, had painted themselves with the utmost care, and were dressed in their most fashionable style. They fancied he came to hold an assembly. A booth, covered with green branches, before the door of the habitation of the chieftain, on which the English flag was waving, was the place singled out for the expected solemnity. The inhabitants were rather disappointed, when they learned from the Governor, that he came with no other view but to pay them a visit. He sat down in the booth. The Indians were seated on benches placed in a semi-circular form, and smoked tobacco. As many of the young men as could find room sat at the end, or stood leaning on the rails. General Simcoe and ourselves were in the centre of the semi-circle ; women and children were kept at a distance.

PATERSON, an American by birth, whom the Indians took prisoner at the age of ten years (he is now twenty-five) acted as interpreter to the Governor. All his speeches, like every discourse of the English agents addressed to the Indians, turned on the same subject. He told them also, at this time, that the Yankees were brooding over some evil design against them ; that they had no other object in view but to rob them of their lands ; and that their good Father (King George) was the true friend of their nation. He also repeated, that the *raize-thief* (T—— P——) was a rogue and a liar.

His speech, however, met not with much applause on the part of the Tuscaroras. The Seneca-Indians had called here a week before, on their way to Naryhall, and told them, that they were going to the Governor, without entering into any particulars respecting the object of their visit. This circumstance led the Tuscaroras to conclude, that something very important was in negotiation between the Senecas and the Governor, probably tending to the prejudice of their nation. For mistrust, suspicion, and apprehensions, form the prominent features of the policy of the Indians ; and it must be confessed, that this way of thinking is a very natural consequence of the conduct of the colonists towards them.

claiming particular negotiations with the Senecas ; and, in order to divert them from this opinion, made use of all the compliments and assurances which he thought any way fitted to flatter their vanity, or allay their fears. He again told them of the Yankees, of the *waice-thief*, and of King George ; but all this did not satisfy them. His promise of granting them lands in Canada, if the Yankees should drive them from their homes, made no deeper impression ; nothing could brighten that cold, nay gloomy countenance, which they generally preserve while they are treating on business. The extreme care, which they employ to conceal their impressions on similar occasions, may either be the effect of a studied dissimulation, the necessity of which they may have learned in their intercourse with the colonists, or merely the result of character and habit. This anecdote, however trifling in itself, shews how easily the jealousy between the different Indian nations is roused ; a disposition which, like all the other foibles of the Indians, both the English and the Americans turn to their advantage.

There are few Indian villages, where some persons of European descent have not settled, who generally enjoy a considerable share of influence over the tribe. They are commonly people of a very indifferent character, attracted by the idle, extravagant, and drunken habits of the Indians. For a general remark, that the whites, who reside among them, are extremely vicious, cruel, and covetous, and the very worst husbands and fathers.

Intermitting fevers are very frequent in this village. The Indians frequently take the advice of the physician, whom the English government appoints, and pay on their account ; but they, far more frequently, take draughts, which they prepare themselves from the juice of herbs. Although the neighbourhood is much infected with rattle-snakes, yet none of the present inhabitants of this village were ever bitten by them. Their remedy, in this case, would consist of salt and water, which they think infallible, and fully sufficient to effect a cure.

We met on this excursion an American family, who, with some oxen, cows, and sheep, were emigrating to Canada. " We come," said they,

"to the Governor," whom they did not know, "to see whether he will give us land." "Aye, aye," the Governor replied, "you are tired of the federal government; you like not any longer to have so many kings; you wish again for your old father," (it is thus the Governor calls the British Monarch when he speaks with Americans); "you are perfectly right; come along, we love such good royalists as you are, we will give you land."

On our return from Queenstown we descended in the Governor's boat the noble river Niagara, the banks of which imagination delights to fancy covered with inhabitants, and reclaimed by culture from their present wild state, and views rich and charming landscapes; but this richness, and these charms, will probably yet, for a considerable time, enchant the eye of fancy alone.

During our residence in Naryhall, Messrs. Dupetitthouars and Guille-mard took the opportunity of the return of a gun-boat, and made an excursion to York. Indolence, politeness to the Governor, and the conviction that I should meet with nothing remarkable in that place, united to dissuade me from this journey. My friends informed me on their return, that this town, which the Governor had fixed upon as the capital of Upper Canada, before he thought of building a capital on the Thames, has a fine extensive road, detached from the lake by a neck of land of unequal breadth, being in some places a mile, in others only six score yards broad; that the entrance of this road is about a mile in width; that in the middle of it is a shoal or sand-bank, the narrows on each side of which may be easily defended by works erected on the two points of land at the entrance, where two block-houses have already been constructed, that this is two miles and half long, and a mile wide; and that the elevation of the shore greatly facilitates its defence by fortifications to be thrown up on the most convenient points.

Governor Simcoe intends to make York the centre of the naval force on Lake Ontario. Only four gun-boats are, at present, on this lake; two of which are constantly employed in transporting merchandize, the other two, which alone are fit to carry troops and guns, and have

oars and sails, and lying under shelter until an occasion occurs to convert them to their intended purpose. It is the Governor's intention to build ten similar gun-boats on Lake Ontario, and ten on Lake Erie. The ship-carpenters, who construct them, reside in the United States, and return home every winter.

There have not been more than twelve houses hitherto built in York. They stand on the bay near the River Dun. The inhabitants do not possess the fairest character. One of them is the noted BATY, the leader of the German families, who, according to the assertion of Captain Williamson, were decoyed away by the English, to injure and obstruct the prosperity of his settlement.

Notwithstanding the navigation of this river, there is a portage of thirty miles between York and Lake Simcoe, by which the merchandize, that comes from Lake Huron, might reach that place in a straighter line. The barracks, which are occupied by the Governor's regiment, stand on the road, two miles from the town, and near the lake; desertion, I am told, is very frequent among the soldiers.

In a circumference of one hundred and fifty miles the Indians are the only neighbours of York. They belong to the tribe of the Mississogias. I shall here observe, that all, who have visited the Indians in Upper Canada, assure us, that Father CHARLEVOIX has delineated their manners with the same exactness and truth, which he has in general displayed in the description of the countries he traversed.

After a residence of eighteen days at Naryhall, we took leave of the Governor on Friday the 10th of July. He wished us to stay a little longer; but Lord DORCHESTER's answer had probably reached Kingston by this time; and, notwithstanding the Governor's true politeness and generous hospitality, we were not entirely free from apprehensions of annoying him.

I hope that he has been as satisfied with the sincerity and frankness of Mr. Dupetitthouars and myself, as we were with his kindness. As to Mr. Guillemard, I make no mention of him, since, he being an Englishman, his situation is altogether different from ours. We enjoyed in the

General's



town and house, the most perfect freedom of opinion, which a man of his distinguished talents will always cherish, and but for which we should not have been able to continue so long at Nary-hall as we did.

Every thing we have seen and heard in this part of Upper Canada renders, in our judgment, extremely probable, that her dependance on England will not be of long duration. The spirit of independance, which prevails in the United States, has already gained ground in this province, and is to date, so much encreased by a more immediate communication with the United States. The comparison drawn by the inhabitants of Upper Canada, between the price of commodities subject to English duties and customs, and the value of the same article on the opposite shore, will be a sufficient source of envy and discontent. The navigation being carried on by both countries on the same lakes and canal, it will be impossible to prevent the contraband-trade, and this cannot but prove highly prejudicial to Great Britain, at least according to the system, by which she is guided in the government of her colonies. This contraband-trade will be a constant object of dispute between the two states, and will furnish the Governor of Upper Canada with sufficient pretences for commencing and promoting a war. But, a contest, the natural consequence of which would be an increase of the price of provisions in Canada above what it would bear in the United States, could not be a just war. It would be a repetition of the American War, the Stamp act, and of the Tea-tax, and would probably be attended with the same consequences.

The natural order of things at this moment, and the usual disposition of nations, announce the separation of Canada from Great Britain as an event, which cannot fail to take place. I know nothing, that can prevent it. By great prosperity and glory, by signal successes in her wars, and by undisturbed tranquillity at home, Great Britain may be able to maintain her power over this country, as long as considerable sums shall be expended to promote its population and prosperity, and so that it may enjoy the most complete exemption from all the taxes and burthen of the mother country; in fine, as long as a mild government, by its finances

prompt and well applied; the public establishments not yet existing, and by encouraging them out to all classes and descriptions of citizens, shall convince a people already inveterate and qualified by a wise constitution to enjoy all the blessings of liberty, of the advantages of a monarchical government, which in its benevolent projects unites wisdom of conception with rapidity of execution.

But these conditions are and will hardly be fulfilled. In our time, perhaps soon, Great Britain will lose this bright jewel of her crown.\* In reserved to Canada, she will experience the same fate, as she is likely to share, sooner or later, respecting her possessions in India; as will befall Spain in respect to her Florida and Mexico, Portugal in regard to her Brasil, in short all European powers, respecting such of their colonies at least, as they possess on the continents, unless, enlightened by experience, they shall speedily change the colonial form of government.

Before I close the article of Niagara, I must make particular mention of the civility shewn us by Major LITTLEHALES, adjutant and first secretary to the Governor, a well-bred, mild, and amiable man, who has the charge of the whole correspondence of government, and acquits himself with peculiar ability and application. Major Littlehales appeared to possess the confidence of the country. This is not unfrequently the case, when a place and power; but his worth, politeness, prudence and benevolence, gave this officer peculiar claims to the confidence and respect, which he so amply enjoyed.

At the mouth of Kingston on board the "Orestes," one of the cutters which compose the naval force on the lake. This cutter is pierced for twelve pounders, but carries only six in time of peace. When

the author displays a more liberal share of political liberty, than the author displays in the preface to the "Orestes," on which he found his dismal preface, will perhaps be better understood by the reader, who is not quite so near at hand, as the author of the "Orestes" is not to recollect, that the British government, by the establishment of the "Orestes," in the first ad of the ancient constitution of Canada, has adopted the very means, to prevent her doing, which at the present objection to this subject he offers as the only preventive of such a calamity.

these

these vessels are laden with stores for the King's service; they are freighted with merchandize, for which they either pay freight, or engage to transport in their bottoms an equal quantity of the King's stores.

The Onondago is of eighty tons burthen. On this occasion, she had two detachments on board; one of the fifth regiment, destined for Kingston to bring money, and another of the Queen's rangers, to receive at Montreal new cloathing for the regiment. There were, besides, forty-one Canadians on board, who had conducted ten vessels for the King's service from Montreal to Niagara. The cabin-passengers were, Mr. Richard, Mr. Seward, whom I have already mentioned, Mr. BELLEW, who commanded the detachment of the fifth regiment, which was going to fetch money; Mr. HILL, another officer of the same regiment, who was ill, and was going to Kingston for the recovery of his health, Mr. LEMOINE, an officer of the sixtieth regiment, quartered in Kingston, and our party.

The wind was tolerably fair during our passage; this is generally accomplished in thirty-six hours; at times in sixteen; but it took us forty-eight hours. Dead calms are frequent, especially at this time of the year, and last sometimes five days. Scarcely any motion was observable on the waters of the lake. This passage, which is one hundred and fifty miles long, offers no interesting objects; the coast soon disappears from your view, especially in hot weather, when the horizon is clouded with vapours, as when we sailed. Duck's Islands form, to speak generally, the only trifling danger on this passage. They are three in number, lying in a line; there is no passage for ships either between the coast and the island on the left, or between this and the middle island, on account of the rocks under the water, on which ships would unavoidably be lost. You must pass between the middle island and that on the right, where the water is from four to five miles in width, and sufficiently deep to afford a safe navigation. The only danger, to be here encountered, might arise from a sudden gust of wind, springing up the moment, you approach the islands and driving the ship into one of the dangerous channels. To the best of

my knowledge; but one shipwreck has happened here, within the memory of man; but no vessel ventures near the islands by night, except when the weather is perfectly fair and clear. A more common and more real danger arises from the storms, which frequently on a sudden arise on the lake, render it even more boisterous than the sea, and cause the ships to labour and strain more severely, on account of the shortness of the waves, bounded by the small extent of the waters. The ships are then in constant danger of being driven on shore, and would hardly be able to avoid it, if the storms lasted longer. But they generally continue only for a short time, especially in summer, and the clearing up of the weather is as sudden as was the coming on of the storms. They are, properly speaking, only violent gales of wind, which in autumn frequently blow two days together, and succeed each other very rapidly. Five or six years ago, a ship was lost, with every hand on board, and instances of this kind are said not to be uncommon at that time of the year. From November until April, the navigation is entirely discontinued on the lake.

During our passage, Lieutenant EARL, who commanded the cutter, and almost all our fellow-passengers, behaved to us, in the most civil and obliging manner. The weather was very warm, and had been so for the last eight or ten days. The mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer stood, at Naryhall, frequently at ninety-two; but on board the vessel, in the cabin, it was only at sixty-four. It is less the intensity of the heat, than its peculiar nature, which renders it altogether intolerable; it is sultry and close, and more so by night, than by day, when it is sometimes freshened by a breeze, which is not the case in the night; the opening of the windows affords no relief; you do not perspire, but feel oppressed; you respire with difficulty; your sleep is interrupted and heavy; and you rise more fatigued, than when you lay down to rest.

I have already mentioned, that we had a detachment of the fifth regiment on board. They dressed, before we arrived at Kingston. Eight days before we had seen the Indians painting their eyes with lamp-black and red-lead, and braiding their hair, to fix in it feathers or horses' manes.

dyled red or blue. This day we saw European soldiers **plastering** their hair, or if they had none, their heads, with a **thick white mortar**, which they laid on with a brush, and afterwards raked, like a garden-bed, with an iron comb; and then fastening on their head a piece of wood, as large as the palm of the hand, and shaped like the bottom of an artichoke, to make a *cadogan*, which they filled with the same white mortar, and raked in the same manner, as the rest of their head-dress.

This is a brief sketch of the spectacle, which these soldiers exhibited to us, the last two hours of our passage; though their toilette was not exactly the same as that of the Indians, yet they consulted their looking-glasses with the same anxious care. These observations are less intended to **throw** a ridicule on the dress of soldiers, and the childish attention paid to it in all countries, than to check the forwardness of those, who are ever ready to ridicule all manners and habits, which are not their own. The Indian savage would be at a loss, whether to laugh more at the Turk, who covers his shorn head with a **turban**, containing more or fewer folds in proportion to his rank and consequence—at the women in the island of Melos, whose petticoats scarcely cover half their thighs, while their sleeves reach down to the ground—or at our *belles*, who ten years ago confined their breasts and waist in huge stays, with false hips, and strutted along on high heels, and who now screw up their waist to the middle of their bosoms, tied round with a **girdle**, which looks more like a rope, than a sash, wear their arms naked up to their shoulders, and by means of transparent garments expose every thing to view, which formerly they thought themselves obliged to conceal, and all this, forsooth, to resemble Grecian ladies.

*Sunday, the 12th of July.*

When Ducks' Islands were about twenty miles a-stern of us, the lake grew more narrow, and the number of islands encreased. They seemed all to be well wooded, but are not inhabited, and lie nearly all of them along the right bank. On the left is Quenty Bay, which stretches about fifty miles into the country, and the banks of which are said to be cultivated

vated up to a considerable extent. The eye dwells with pleasure, once more, on cultivated ground. The country looks pleasant. The houses lie closer, than in any of the new settled parts of Upper Canada, which we have hitherto traversed. The variegated verdure of the corn-fields embellishes and enriches the prospect, charms the eye, and enchants the mind. In the back-ground stands the city of Kingston, on the bay of the same name, which the French, in imitation of the Indians, called Cadarakwe. It consists of about one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty houses. The ground in the immediate vicinity of the city rises with a gentle swell, and forms, from the lake onwards, as it were, an amphitheatre of lands, cleared, but not yet cultivated. None of the buildings are distinguished by a more handsome appearance from the rest. The only structure, more conspicuous than the others, and in front of which the English flag is hoisted, is *the barracks*, a stone building, surrounded with pallisadoes.

All the houses stand on the northern bank of the bay, which stretches a mile farther into the country. On the southern bank are the buildings belonging to the naval force, the wharfs, and the habitations of all the persons, who belong to that department. The King's ships lie at anchor near these buildings, and consequently have a harbour and road separate from the port for merchantmen. We landed at Port Royal. However *kingly* were the commander and his ship, he took our money. Governor Simcoe expressly desired us not to pay for our passage, as the cutter was a King's ship, and he had amply supplied us with provision. But my friend Dupetitthouars, as well as myself, were so much displeased with the idea, of making this passage at the expence of the King of England, that we ventured to offer our money to Captain Earl. Offers of this kind are seldom refused, nor did ours meet with a denial. Yet, it is but justice to add, that Captain Earl is a worthy man, civil, attentive, constantly on the deck, apparently fond of his profession, and master of his business.

No letter from Lord Dorchester had yet arrived, and it was extremely uncertain when it would arrive. The calculation, made at  
N n 2 Kingston.

Kingston, respecting the probable time of the return of an answer, is less favourable than what\* they made at Niagara.† We shall, perhaps, be obliged to wait a week longer. How much time will be lost for our journey, and why? Because Governor Simcoe is not on good terms with Lord Dorchester; and because he observes the nicest punctuality, from which, in consideration of the letters we brought with us, he might well have departed in this case. Our friend, Mr. Hammond, might have saved us this unpleasant delay, by writing sooner to Lord Dorchester, as I requested him to do. Unfortunately such accidents cannot be foreseen. If they could, how many things should we alter in the course of our life? We must wait. Patience, patience, and again patience. .

Kingston is the place, to which Lord Dorchester wishes, that General Simcoe should transfer the seat of government in Upper Canada. In this choice he is, perhaps, in a great measure influenced by the advantage, which he would thus enjoy, of having all the troops, in case of an attack, in the vicinity of Quebec, which is, in his opinion, the only tenable place in Lower Canada. He thinks, that if the seat of the government of Upper Canada were removed to Kingston, which lies nearer to Quebec than any other place, the orders and news, which arrive from Europe, would reach this place with more rapidity and safety, and would also be more rapidly circulated through the province. He further imagines, that the naval stores, sent from Europe, would here be safer, and that the refitting of ships would be cheaper, and with more security effected in Kingston, whither, at all times, they might be sent directly from Quebec, at least more expeditiously, than to any other place on the lake, where the inconvenience of a tedious and uncertain passage must be added to the expence for shifting the cargo on board of another vessel.

Governor Simcoe, on the contrary, is of opinion, that by the aggregate of his arrangements, the defence of Upper Canada might be easily effected. He adds, that the wealth of the country, which he considers as the necessary result of his projects, will attract the enemy; and that if they should make themselves masters of Upper Canada, it would be impossible

to dislodge them. He also observes, that, in time of war, by the various means of navigation, considerable parties might be easily sent from Upper Canada to every point of the United States, even to Georgia; that Upper Canada is the key of the territories of the Indians; and that thence succours may be easily sent to every part of Lower Canada, which, on the other hand, is not able to send any to Upper Canada, at least not so expeditiously as circumstances might require.

As to the more rapid circulation of orders and intelligence, and the earlier receipt of them, the Governor allows the truth of these allegations; but answers, that, from the vast extent of Canada, it is extremely improbable, that in case of its being peopled, this territory should be divided only into two governments. He adds, that the best method of peopling such parts of Canada, as have hitherto been explored, would be, to encourage the population of the two extremities, in which case, the prosperity of the centre would be more easily and rapidly attained. He further observes, that, in such a case, Kingston would become the capital of a new province; and that, in regard to the more difficult and more expensive distribution of ships, no facility and savings, to be obtained under this head, could balance the advantage of uniting in its centre the whole naval force stationed on the lake, and especially in a place, where it is most essentially protected against an attack.

All men seek after reasons or pretensions to enlarge the extent of their authority and power. Here, as every where else, good and bad reasons are alleged in support of a system, of a project, and especially of the interests of self-love. Yet power is also here, as every where else, the best, at least the most decisive of reasons; and if Lord Dorchester should not be able to prevail upon the British government to declare Kingston the capital of Upper Canada, he will, at least, prevent the seat of government from being established between the lakes Erie, Huron, and Ontario, according to the wish of General Simcoe. As to the project of transferring it to York, he declares himself in a manner by no means favourable to that city; and in this opinion he is joined by all the inhabitants of Kingston, whose displeasure at their city not becoming the capital of the province



vince is greatly increased by the consideration, that, in consequence of this project, their town will cease to be the emporium of the small naval force stationed on this lake. The friends of Kingston further allege against the project, and not without reason, that York is an unhealthy place, and will long remain so, from the nature of the ground, which separates the bay from the lake.

Dupetitthouars, who is a zealous partizan of York, as far as he considers it in the light of an establishment for the navy, cannot help allowing, that it has the air of being an unhealthy place. General Simcoe apparently possesses the love and confidence of all the inhabitants and soldiers. But his projects are deemed too extensive; and, above all, too costly, in proportion to the advantages, which England is likely to reap from their being carried into effect.

The merchants on the lake, whose rapacity the Governor is endeavouring to restrain, lay great stress on these two objections, and bestow much praise on Lord Dorchester's profound wisdom and consummate abilities; while, by other accounts, he was formerly an useful man, but is now superannuated.

Lord Dorchester being an utter stranger to me, I am altogether unqualified to judge of his abilities and talents. I am also unacquainted with the amount of the expence, which the execution of Governor Simcoe's plans may require, and with the resources which England may possess to meet them. But I am clearly of opinion, that Great Britain cannot fail to reap signal advantages from his views and projects, if they should ever be carried into effect; and that they compose a complete system, which, if properly pursued in all its parts, will do great credit to him, who shall execute it.

But, at the same time, all the information we here obtain on this subject confirms our opinion, that General Simcoe meets with much opposition in his plans; that the jealousy, which Lord Dorchester shows in regard to him, and which is the natural result of his age and temper of mind, is carefully kept alive, by those who hold places under him; and that, with the exception of grants of land, and other matters of government,

ment, in respect to which the Governor is perfectly independent, he can do and enact nothing without the consent of the Governor General. As to his rooted aversion against the Americans, I have heard it censured even by private soldiers; but he is allowed by all to possess military talents.

In relating these particulars, which finish the picture of *the man*, I have no other object, but faithfully to draw the character of Governor Simcoe, who, being undoubtedly a man of superior abilities and endowments, deserves to be known.\*

Kingston, considered as a town, is much inferior to Newark; the number of houses is nearly equal in both. Kingston may contain a few more buildings, but they are neither so large nor so good as at Newark. Many of them are log-houses, and those which consist of joiner's work, are badly constructed and painted. But few new houses are built. No town-hall, no court-house, and no prison have hitherto been constructed. The houses of two or three merchants are conveniently situated for loading and unloading ships; but, in point of structure, these are not better than the rest. Their trade chiefly consists in peltry, which comes across the lake, and in provision from Europe, with which they supply Upper Canada. They act as agents or commissioners of the Montreal Company, who have need of magazines in all places, where their goods must be unshipped.

The trade of Kingston, therefore, is not very considerable. The merchant ships are only three in number, and make but eleven voyages in a year. Kingston is a staple port. It is situated twelve miles above that point of the river, which is considered as the extremity of the lake. Here arrive all the vessels, which sail up the river of St. Lawrence, laden with provision brought in European ships to Quebec.

\* Governor Simcoe has since left Upper Canada, and returned to England, whence he has been sent to St. Domingo. In that colony he has found no opportunity for displaying his military talents, but has endeavoured to curb the rapacity of the small army in the pay of Great Britain, and by this meritorious conduct excited the hatred both of the French and English, who have gratified it in a dreadful manner.—*Author.*

The

The barracks are constructed on the site of Fort Frontenac, which was built by the French, and levelled by the English. The latter built these barracks about six years ago. During the American war their troops were constantly in motion; and, in later times, they were quartered in an island, which the French call Isle aux Chevreux, (Goats' Island) and which the English have named Carleton, after Lord Dorchester. Fort Frontenac, which was liable to be attacked on all sides, would answer no other purpose but to protect the small garrison, which the French kept there, against the attacks of the Indians and English; a part of the garrison was quartered in Cadarakwe, for the protection of the French trade. Here were also built, by Mr. DE LASALLE, the first French ships, which navigated the lake.

Kingston seems better fitted for a trading town than Newark, were it only for this reason, that the ships, which arrive at the latter place, and are freighted for Lake Erie, pass by the former, to sail again up the river as far as Queen's Town, where the portage begins. Nor is its position equally advantageous for sharing the trade in provision, with which the lake may one day supply Lower Canada, England, perhaps all Europe, if Upper Canada should ever answer the expectations entertained by Governor Simcoe.

Kingston is, at present, the chief town of the middle district of Upper Canada, the most populous part of which is that situated on Queen's Bay. This district not only produces the corn requisite for its own consumption, but also exports yearly about three or four thousand bushels. This grain, which, in winter, is conveyed down the river on sledges, is bought by the merchants, who engage, on the arrival of the ships from Europe, to pay its amount in such merchandize, as the sellers may require. The merchants buy this grain for government, which pays for it, in ready money, according to the market price at Montreal. The agent of government causes a part to be ground into flour, which he sends to the different posts in Upper Canada, where it is wanted; and the surplus he sends to England, probably with a view of raising the importance of

of the colony in the estimation of the mother-country. The price of flour in Kingston is, at present, six dollars per barrel.

The district of Kingston supplied, last year, the other parts of Canada with large quantities of pease; the culture of which, introduced but two years ago, proves very productive and successful. In the course of last year, one thousand barrels of salt pork, of two hundred and eight pounds each, were sent from Kingston to Quebec; its price was eighteen dollars per barrel. The whole trade is carried on by merchants, whose profits are the more considerable, as they fix the price of the provision, which they receive from Europe, and either sell in the vicinity, or ship for the remoter parts of Upper Canada, without the least competition, and just as they think proper.

Although the number of cultivators is here greater than in the district of Niagara, yet the vast quantity of land under cultivation is not better managed than theirs. The difficulty of procuring labourers obstructs agricultural improvements, and encourages them to insist on enormous wages.

The process of clearing woodlands is here the same, as all over America. The husbandmen harrow the cleared ground two, three, or four years successively; during which time wheat is sown. Then they plough, but in a very imperfect manner, and sow pease or oats, and again wheat, and so on, according to the common routine. The land yields, in this state, from twenty to thirty bushels per acre.

Corn, for the winter, is sown from the beginning of August till the end of September. Snow falls generally in the latter days of November, and remains on the ground until the beginning of April. Under this cover the blade gets up remarkably well; the corn ripens in July, and the harvest begins about the end of that month. For want of reapers, the scythe is made use of, which causes a great waste of corn, that cannot be housed, and merely serves for feeding pigs. Labourers, whose common wages are from three to four shillings (Halifax currency), are paid during the harvest at the rate of one dollar, or six shillings a day. Some farmers hire Canadians for two or three months, to whom they pay seven or

eight dollars per month, and find them in victuals. It frequently happens, that these Canadians, who bind themselves by a written contract, meet with people offering them more money than they receive from their masters, which not being allowed to accept, they, of course, grow dissatisfied, and work negligently. They must be procured from the environs of Montreal. Farmers, who have no acquaintance in that country, find it difficult to obtain them; and this difficulty deters many cultivators from recurring to that resource, from which they might else derive considerable advantages. The harvest work is therefore generally performed by the family: thus the housing of the crops, though it proceed slowly, is yet accomplished; but the farmer has much additional trouble, and the loss he sustains, by his harvest being less perfect, far exceeds the few dollars, which he would have been obliged to spend in gathering in his crops in a more expeditious manner. The soil, which is but of a middling quality in the vicinity of the town, is excellent about the bay; many farmers possess there to the number of one hundred and fifty acres of land, thoroughly cleared.

The climate of America, especially that of Canada, encourages the imprudence and covetousness of the farmers. There is no danger here, as in Europe, of the hay rotting, and the grain being spoiled by rains, if not speedily housed. There seldom passes a day without sun-shine; the sky is seldom entirely overcast; it never rains but during thunder-storms, and this rain never continues longer than two hours. Grain is, besides, seldom liable here to blights, or any other kind of disease.

The cattle are not subject to contagious distempers; they are numerous, without being remarkably fine. The finest oxen are procured from Connecticut, at the price of seventy or eighty dollars a yoke. Cows are brought either from the state of New York, and these are the finest; or from Canada: the former cost twenty, and the latter fifteen dollars. These are small in size, but, in the opinion of the farmers, better milch-cows, and are for this reason preferred. There are no fine bulls in the country; and the generality of farmers are not sensible of the advantages to be derived from cattle of a fine breed. In summer the cattle are turned

turned into the woods; in winter, that is, six months together, they are fed on dry fodder, namely, with the straw of wheat, rye, or pease, and on most farms with hay cut on swampy ground, but by rich and prudent farmers with good hay. The hay is frequently kept the whole winter within a sort of fence, covered with large branches, through which, however, the snow finds its way; but commonly it is preserved in ricks badly made, and under Dutch hay-sheds. The meadows yield to the quantity of four thousand pounds per acre, but no after-crop. There is no ready market at which a farmer can sell that part of his cheese and butter, which is not wanted for the use of his family. Of cheese and butter, therefore, no more is made, than the family need for their own consumption. They generally begin in the first days of May to make a provision for the winter. Some few farmers manufacture coarse woollens for their own clothing; the more usual way, however, is to buy the clothes. The farmer is too busy, has too little assistance, and makes his calculations with too little judgment, to engage in such a multiplicity of labours.

Sheep are more numerous here than in any part of the United States, which we have hitherto traversed. They are either procured from Lower Canada, or the state of New York, and cost three dollars a head. They thrive in this country, but are high legged, and of a very indifferent shape. Coarse wool, when cleaned, costs two shillings a pound. There are few or no wolves, rattle-snakes, or other noxious animals, in this country.

The farmers make but little maple-sugar, though the woods abound with the trees, from which it is procured. The Indians import about two or three thousand pounds, and sell it to the retail traders for one shilling a pound. Maple-sugar is prepared in much larger quantities in Lower Canada. The Canadians eat it here on bread, or make cakes of it, mixed up with flour of wheat, or Indian corn. On the maple-tree frequently grows a sort of knobs, or fungusses, of a very large size. If these excrescences be torn from the tree, and dried in the sun, they form an excellent tinder, which the Indians and Canadians use to light their pipes. Notwithstanding the great number of pines, no resin has yet been ga-

thered. The culture of hemp and flax has been tried, but hitherto, without success; the experiments, however, are continued.

The price of wheat is one dollar per bushel; last year the price was much lower; but it has risen from the general failure of the harvest. Fire-wood, delivered in the town, costs one dollar a cord; in winter it is conveyed thither in sledges from all the islands and banks of the river, which are covered with wood.

The river freezes over at the distance of twenty miles above Kingston.

The price of land is from two shillings and six-pence to one dollar per acre, if the twentieth part be cleared. This price rises in proportion to the number of acres cleared of wood, though influenced by occasional circumstances. Two hundred acres, one hundred and fifty of which were cleared, were very lately sold for one thousand six hundred dollars. The expence for cutting down all the large trees on an acre, and inclosing it with a fence as rude as in the United States, amounts to eight dollars.

There is no regular market in Kingston; every one provides himself with fresh meat as well as he can, but frequently it cannot be had on any terms.

For this information I am chiefly indebted to Mr. STEWARD, curate in Kingston, who cultivates himself seventy acres, a part of two thousand acres, which have been granted him as an American loyalist. He is a native of Harrisburg in Pennsylvania, and seems to have zealously embraced the royal cause in the American war. Fifteen hundred pounds sterling, which he had placed in the American funds, have been confiscated. Although he continues warmly attached to the British Monarch, yet he has become more moderate in his political principles; he has preserved some friends who espoused the cause of the Republic, among whom is Bishop WHITE, of Philadelphia. Mr. Steward is a man of much general information, mild, open, affable, and universally respected; he is very sanguine in his expectation that the price of land will rise, and that he shall then be enabled to portion out his numerous children. With-

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out being a very skilful farmer, he is perfectly acquainted with the details of agriculture, so that I can place implicit confidence on his statements, the truth of which has also been confirmed by other husbandmen.

The number of farmers is very small about Kingston. By Mr. Steward's report, the agreement between the land-owner and farmer is generally made for their joint account, but not always faithfully performed. From his having been imposed upon in such agreements, he leased out last year four hundred and thirty acres, which are situated on the bay, and forty of which are cleared, for a yearly rent of one hundred and fifty bushels of grain; on condition that, if at the expiration of three years his tenant be desirous of acquiring the property of these lands, he must pay him one thousand dollars; in default whereof, he is bound to quit the land, and will consequently lose all the money and labour spent in clearing the ground.

The clergy of the Episcopal church are the only ministers in Upper Canada, who are paid by government. The members of other religious sects pay their pastors, if they choose to have any. In the district of Kingston are Baptists, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, and Quakers; but they possess no building devoted to religious worship. Some of the inhabitants of Kingston are American loyalists; but the majority is composed of Scots, English, Irish, Germans, and Dutchmen.

The emigration from the United States is not considerable; during the last three or four years it has been very insignificant indeed, but gains now, it is asserted, a more promising appearance. This intelligence, which we first received from people attached to the English government, has since been confirmed to us by a great many labourers. These new colonists emigrate most of them from the States of Connecticut, Vermont, and New Hampshire. The emigration from Canada to the United States is far less considerable.

If any dependence might be placed on the report of persons, who arrived four years ago from the River Mohawk, such families, as are suspected of an attachment to Great Britain, are, in the United States, looked upon rather with an evil eye; but perhaps they give out such reports



reports, merely that they may meet with a better reception in the British possessions.

The inhabitants of the district of Kingston are still less with politics than the people of Newark. No newspaper is printed in the town; that of Newark is the only one published in Upper Canada, which being a mere imperfect extract from the Quebec Gazette, is here taken in by no one. I know but of two persons who receive even the Quebec-paper. As to the interior of the country, no news penetrates into that quarter, a circumstance that excites there very little regret.

In this district are some schools, but they are few in number. The children are instructed in reading and writing, and pay each a dollar a month. One of the masters, superior to the rest in point of knowledge, taught Latin; but he has left the school, without being succeeded by another instructor of the same learning.

There are yet but very few surgeons in this district; they, who assume this appellation, contrive to get well paid for their trouble. Excepting intermittent fevers, which are rather frequent in Kingston, the climate is very healthy. The houses, as has already been observed, are built of wood, for reasons which it is extremely difficult to discern. The town is seated on rocky ground; and not the smallest house can be built without the foundation being excavated in a rock, a sort of stone which affords the twofold advantage of being easily cut, and of growing hard, when exposed to the air, without cracking in the frost. The inhabitants allow that, if bricklayers were procured even from Montreal (for there are none in this place), building with stone would be less expensive than with wood. They grant that, in addition to the greater solidity of such buildings, they would afford more warmth in winter, and more coolness in summer; but habit is here, as elsewhere, more powerful than reason. Carpenters' wages amount to sixteen shillings a day; labourers are equally scarce in Newark, and consequently as bad and as dear.

This district contains no paupers, and, of course, there exist no poor-rates; the taxes are managed in the same manner as at Newark.

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The roads at Kingston are much the same as at New York; they are kept in good repair by ten days' labour, from which none of the inhabitants are excepted, all being obliged to work ten days at the roads. Labouring people complain, and not without reason, that this public burthen has not been assessed in a manner more proportionate to the means of the inhabitants; and calculate, with some degree of discontent, that their ten days' labour is tantamount to a tax of twelve dollars and upwards; for they must also find their own victuals when they work on the roads.

There is but one church in Kingston, and this, though very lately built, resembles a barn more than a church.

We had a letter from General Simcoe to the Commanding Officer in Kingston, who, at our arrival, was Captain PARR, of the sixtieth regiment. Six hours after the detachment, commanded by that gentleman, was relieved by another of the same regiment, under the orders of Major DOBSON. This circumstance, however, did not prevent Captain Parr from giving us the most obliging proofs of civility and kindness. He is a son of the aged Governor of Nova Scotia. At first he seems cold, grave, and reserved; but his countenance brightens on a nearer acquaintance, and grows more open, gay, and cheerful; he soon fell into an easy familiarity of conversation, which was heightened during our dinner. His behaviour was entirely free from ceremony, and indicated that he was not displeased with our society.

This dinner, which he gave to the newly arrived officers, forms for us a remarkable epocha. The ingenuity of the English in devising toasts, which are to be honoured with bumpers, is well known. To decline joining in such a toast would be deemed uncivil; and, although it might be more adviseable to submit to this charge, than to contract a sickness, yet such energy of character is seldom displayed on these occasions. Unwilling to oppose the general will, which becomes more imperious in proportion as heads grow warmer, you resort to slight deceptions in the quantity you drink, in hopes thus to avert the impending catastrophe. But this time none of us, whether French or English, has carried the deception

deception far enough, and I was concerned to feel, the remainder of the evening, that I had taken too lively a part in the event of the two detachments relieving each other.

The sixtieth regiment, to which they belong, is the only regiment in the English service, excepting the guards, which consists of four battalions. This regiment, which at the time of the war of 1757 was composed only of two battalions, was raised in America, and as many foreigners as Englishmen were enlisted. It was afterwards augmented to four battalions, and was considered, as in fact it is still in many respects, as a foreign regiment. The first two battalions have never yet left America; the two others have been stationed in Jersey, Guernsey, and the Antilles. General AMHERST is colonel of this regiment. In point of duty, promotion, and command, the four battalions are perfectly independent of each other.

The officers we have seen are well bred and extremely polite \* \*  
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The general opinion, in regard to Canada, is, that this country proves, at present, very burthenfome to England, and will be still more so in future; and that, of consequence, Great Britain would consult her true interest much better by declaring Canada an independent country, than by preserving it an English colony, at so enormous an expence. The Canadians, say they, will never be sincerely attached to England, so that, if, in time of war, a militia were raised, not half of them would take up arms against America, and none perhaps against France. The British government commits, therefore, in their opinion, a gross error, in expending such vast sums in attempting to improve and preserve a country, which, sooner or later, is sure to secede from Great Britain, and which, did it remain faithful to the mother country, could not be of real service to it for any length of time.

These gentlemen further assert, in direct contradiction to General Simcoe's opinion, that the majority of new settlers of Upper Canada, who

\* On the death of Lord Amherst, His Royal Highness the Duke of York was appointed Colonel of the sixtieth regiment.—*Translator.*

emigrate from the United States, and who are esteemed loyalists, would certainly assist those States, if they marched any troops into that country. I am not qualified to form a correct judgment on these opinions, which are perhaps mere effusions of the displeasure of officers, obliged to serve at so great a distance from Great Britain; \* yet they appear to me not altogether destitute of foundation. But, however this may be, all the Canadians, we have seen, whether inhabitants of the country or sailors, constantly expressed the utmost satisfaction on meeting with us Frenchmen of old France, and evinced a degree of respect and obligingness, to which we had long been unaccustomed. I cannot say much on the character of this people; all who came under my observation were full of spirit, active, gay and merry.

The royal navy is not very formidable in this place; six vessels compose the whole naval force, two of which are small gun-boats, which we saw at Niagara, and which are stationed at York. Two small schooners of twelve guns, viz. the Onondago, in which we took our passage, and the Mohawk, which is just finished; a small yacht of eighty tons, mounting six guns, and lastly the Missisaga, of as many guns as the two schooners, which has lately been taken into dock to be repaired, form the rest of it. All these vessels are built of timber fresh cut down, and not seasoned, and for this reason last never longer than six or eight years. To preserve them even to this time requires a thorough repair; they must be heaved down and caulked, which costs at least from one thousand to one thousand two hundred guineas. The expence for building the largest of them amounts to four thousand guineas. This is an enormous price, and yet it is not so high as on Lake Erie, whither all sorts of naval stores must be sent from Kingston, and where the price of labour is still higher. The

\* Whether the political opinions of the officers of the sixtieth regiment, alluded to by the Duke, be correctly stated, must be left to these gentlemen to explain. But the supposition, that British officers, from a mere dislike to remote garrisons, should censure administration for not abandoning a colony, which in the author's opinion is "a bright jewel in the British crown"—"an important conquest," and the loss of which appears to him "a public calamity," is an effusion of Gallic petulance, which should not pass unnoticed.—*Translator.*

timbers of the Mississauga, which was built three years ago, are almost all rotten. It is so easy to make provision of ship-timber for many years to come, as this would require merely the felling of it, and that too at no great distance from the place where it is to be used, that it is difficult to account for this precaution not yet having been adopted. Two gun-boats, which are destined by Governor Simcoe to serve only in time of war, are at present on the stocks; but the carpenters, who work at them, are but eight in number. The extent of the dilapidations and embezzlements, committed at so great a distance from the mother-country, may be easily conceived. In the course of last winter, a judicial enquiry into a charge of this nature was instituted at Kingston. The commissioner of the navy, and the principal ship-wright, it was asserted, had clearly colluded against the King's interest; but interest and protection are as powerful in the New World as in the Old:—for both the commissioner and ship-wright continue in their places.

Captain BOUCHETTE commands the naval force on Lake Ontario; and is at the head of all the marine establishments, yet without the least power in money-matters. This gentleman possesses the confidence both of Lord Dorchester and Governor Simcoe; he is a Canadian by birth, but entered the British service, when Canada fell into the power of England. While ARNOLD and MONTGOMERY were besieging Quebec, Lord Dorchester, disguised as a Canadian, stole on board his ship into that city, on which occasion he displayed much activity, intrepidity and courage. It is not at all a matter of surprise, that Lord Dorchester should bear in mind this eminent service. By all accounts, he is altogether incorruptible, and an officer, who treats his inferiors with great mildness and justice.

In regard to the pay of the royal marine force on Lake Ontario; a captain has ten shillings a day, a lieutenant six, and a second lieutenant three shillings and sixpence. The seamen's wages are eight dollars per month. The masters of merchantmen have twenty-five dollars, and the sailors from nine to ten dollars a month.

Commodore Bouchette is among those, who most strenuously oppose  
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the project of removing to York the central point of the force on the lake; but his family reside at Kingston; and his lands are situated near that place. Such reasons are frequently of sufficient weight to determine political opinions.

The desertion among the troops is not so considerable from Kingston, as from the forts Oswego, St. John, Niagara, and Détroit; from all those posts, in short, which lie nearer to the United States. Yet, it is pretty prevalent in all the garrisons of British America. We were told by the officers, that the first two or three years after the arrival of the regiment from Europe, no soldier deserts, but that envy and habit soon corrupt their mind. The discipline appears to me more severe in the British service, than it ever was in ours; the men are treated with less attention and kindness.

Several regiments employ the Indians to apprehend deserters. In addition to the eight dollars, which are allowed by government for every deserter, brought back to his regiment, the captains promise them eight dollars out of their private purse, and inspire them by some glasses of rum. These Indians then enter the American territory, where they are acquainted with every foot-path, every track, which they pursue without ever losing their way, and frequently fall in with the deserter, whom they stop, bind and bring back. If the deserter, which is frequently the case, be attended by inhabitants of the United States, the Indians make no attempt to stop him, but the English officers place sufficient confidence in the honesty of the Indians to suppose, that they will not suffer themselves to be bribed either by money or rum, which the deserters might offer.

The nearest regular Indian habitations are forty miles distant from Kingston, and belong to the Mohawks. About the same distance from the town are also some villages of the Missasogas, and wandering tribes of the same nation are constantly rambling about the banks of the lake, pass a few nights in one place and a few in another, cross the river on the confines of the United States, and stop in the islands. Hunting and fishing are their only employments. They are the filthiest of all

the Indians, I have hitherto seen, and have the most stupid appearance. They are said to live poorly, to be wicked and thievish, and men, women and children all given to drinking. The uncommon severity of the winter in this country occasions not the least alteration in their mode of living. In their small canoes they carry with them some rolls of the bark of soft birch \*, which serve to cover the huts, built in form of a cone, wherein they sleep, and which are supported merely by some slight props, on which rest these portable walls, that at the top leave a passage for the smoke.

In the month of September the Indians bring wild rice to Kingston, which grows on the borders of the lake, especially on the American side. This plant, which loves marshy ground, succeeds there remarkably well. The Indians bring yearly from four to five hundred pounds of this rice, which several inhabitants of Kingston purchase for their own consumption. This rice is of a smaller and darker grain than that, which comes from Carolina, Egypt, &c. but grows as white in the water, is of as good a flavour, and affords full as good nourishment, as the latter. The culture of rice would be very useful in Europe for the subsistence of the poor, especially as in those parts the frequent use of it would not prove injurious to health, which it certainly does in hot countries. *Wild rice* is said to be the same plant, which in Canada is called *wild oats* (solle avoine).†

The same banks of Lake Ontario, where this wild rice grows, produce also a species of hemp, which grows up to a considerable height without the least culture, and is apparently as useful as that, which is cultivated in France. It is stronger, produces more seed, and its transplantation to Europe would probably be attended with beneficial results.

To beguile *ennui*, and enjoy a few hours longer the society of our friend, Captain Parr, we accompanied him to the distance of six miles from Kingston. His detachment occupied seven vessels, and he had one for himself. The soldiers were without exception as much intoxicated

\* *Betula lenta*, Linn. called by the French inhabitants of Canada, *mérifcier*.—*Transl.*

† The Duke seems to be misinformed on this subject. The *wild oat* (*avena fatua*) is a plant altogether different from *wild rice*, (*oryza sylvestris*, Linn.)—*Transl.*

as I ever saw any in the French service. On the day of their departure they were scarcely able to row, which rendered our tour extremely tedious. On our return, wind and current were against us, so that we proceeded very slowly. Canadians rowed our boat, and according to their custom ceased not a moment to sing. One of them sings a song, which the rest repeat, and all row to the tune. The songs are gay and merry, and frequently somewhat more; they are only interrupted by the laugh they occasion. The Canadians, on all their tours on the water, no sooner take hold of the oars, than they begin to sing, from which they never cease until they lay the oars down again. You fancy yourself removed into a province of France; and this illusion is sweet. Our whole day, from six o'clock in the morning until nine at night, was consumed in this tour. So much the better; a day is gone; for although the unwearied politeness of the officers afford us every day in Kingston a comfortable dinner and agreeable society from four to eight o'clock in the evening, yet we cannot but feel much *ennui* in a place, where no sort of amusement, no well-informed man, and no books shorten the long lingering day.

Our situation is extremely unpleasant, and might well render us melancholy, did we give up our mind to irksome reflection. Mr. Guille-mard is gone to Montreal, with the Captain. He is perfectly right, for he would have shared in our weariness, without giving us the least relief. He is a man of superior worth. The goodness of his heart, united to the charms of an enlightened mind, have long inspired me with the strongest attachment for him. His determination to leave us gave me, therefore, the utmost concern.

After a hearty breakfast, served up at a place somewhat remote from the troop, we took leave of Captain Parr. The place, where we breakfasted, belongs to Captain STORE, a native of Connecticut, captain in the militia of Upper Canada, a loyalist and proprietor of seven hundred acres of land, by virtue of a grant of the British government. He is owner of a saw-mill, which is situated on the creek of Guanignouqua, and has two movements, one of which works fourteen saws, and the other



other only one. The former may be widened and narrowed; but frequently cannot work all at once, from the size of the logs and the thickness of the boards. We saw thirteen saws going; a log, fifteen feet in length, was cut into boards in thirty-seven minutes. The same power, which moves the saws, lifts also, as it does near the falls of Niagara, the logs on the jack. For the sawing of logs the Captain takes half the boards; the price of the latter is three shillings for one hundred feet, if one inch in thickness, four shillings and sixpence, if one inch and half, and five shillings, if two inches. The same boards, if only one inch thick, cost five shillings in Kingston. On the other side of the creek, facing Dutchmill (this is the name of Captain Store's mill), stands another mill, which belongs to Mr. JOHNSON, who uses half the water of the creek. We viewed the latter only at a distance from the shore; the whole prospect is wild, pleasing and romantic, and made me sincerely regret my unskilfulness in drawing. The land is here as good as at Kingston.

Although a communication by land is opened between Montreal and Kingston, and though half the road is very good, yet the intercourse between these places is mostly carried on by water. The rapidity of the stream does not prevent vessels from being worked up the river, and this tedious passage is preferred to that by land, even for the troops. All the provisions, with which Canada is supplied from Europe, are transported in the same way; and the whole correspondence is carried on by this conveyance, but in a manner extremely irregular; at times eight days elapse even in summer, without any vessel going up or coming down the lake.

During our long residence in Upper Canada we had an opportunity of seeing a Canadian family, who were emigrating to the Illinois River. The husband had examined the settlement last year, and was now removing thither with his whole family, consisting of his wife and four children all embarked in a boat made of bark, fifteen feet in length by three in width. While the parents were rowing at the head and stern, the children, excepting the oldest, who was likewise rowing, were seated  
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on mattresses or other effects; and thus they sang and pursued their voyage of at least one thousand one hundred miles. We met them at Newark. They proceed along the banks of the lakes and rivers, lie still every night, make a sort of tents of their sheets supported by two poles, dress their supper, eat it, wrap themselves up in their blankets until the morning, set off at eight o'clock, stop once a day to a meal, and then pursue their voyage again until the evening. They generally advance from fifteen to twenty miles a day, but, when bad weather comes on, or they meet with rapids or other obstructions, which force them to go by land, their progress is shorter, and they frequently rest a whole day. Having set out from Montreal, they came up Lake Ontario; thence they pass Lake Erie, go up the Miami River, travel about six or seven miles by land, and then reach the Theakiki River, which empties itself into the Illinois, or embark on the Wabash\*, which communicates by several branches with the Illinois, and thus proceed to the spot where they intend to settle. New colonists commonly form their settlements on the banks of that river, and chiefly consist of French Canadians.

There is another way from Montreal to the Illinois, which is said to be more frequented than the former; namely, up the Ottawas River or Great River † to Nipissing Lake, and thence by the French River to Lake Huron. On this way you meet with thirty-six places where the boats are to be carried over land, which, however, are very short. From Lake Huron you proceed by the Straits of Michillimackinac to Green Bay, thence by the Crocodile River, Roe Lake, and River Saxe, after a short passage over land to Ouïscouing River, which empties itself into the Mississippi, which you descend as far as the Illinois, and thence go up this river. The way, just pointed out, is much longer than the other; but is generally

\* This beautiful river of the north-west territory is peculiarly celebrated on account of a copper mine on its northern bank, which is the richest vein of native copper that has hitherto been discovered.—*Transl.*

† The Duke seems misinformed as to the appellation of the Great River, by which the Miami is meant in America, not the Ottawas.—*Transl.*

preferred, especially by the agents of the fur-trade. On turning to the westward, this is the same way, which you travel from Montreal as far the Straits of Michillimackinac, which you leave on the left, to reach Lake Superiour, on which you proceed to the great carrying place, thence to the Lake of the Woods, and so on.

The settlement on the Illinois is a large *dépôt* for the fur-trade; nay, it is the last principal factory in that direction, the chief magazine of which is at Fort Michillimackinac; but the agents travel one hundred miles farther and traffic even with the Indians of Louisiana.

This traffic is chiefly carried on with rum, but also with guns, gun-powder, balls, blankets, small coral collars, small silver buckles, bracelets, and ear-rings, which are all worn by the Indians in proportion as they are more or less rich.

The common standard, by which the Indians estimate the value of their peltry, is the beaver-skin; so many cat-skins are worth one beaver-skin; buckles, guns, or a certain quantity of rum, are worth one or two beaver-skins, or perhaps only a part of one. The traders generally give the Indians in summer a part of the articles they want on credit; but the skins they take in exchange are sold at so low a price, and the provision they sell rated so high, that they can well afford to give credit, the more so as the Indians are, in general, pretty punctual in fulfilling their engagements. These Indians hunt, live in families rather than in tribes, and are, by all accounts, distinguished by the same vices, the same qualities, and the same manners, as those we have had an opportunity of observing in the vicinity of the lakes.

The trade in these parts is carried on not by the Hudson's Bay Company, but by two or three houses in Montreal, especially by Mr. TONNE, to whom I am indebted for the communication of these particulars. The Missouri River alone has hitherto been shut up against foreign traders by the Spaniards, who have there a fort. Besides the Canadian habitations, which stand along the banks of the Illinois either scattered or assembled in villages and towns, the Illinois Town contains about three thousand inhabitants. There are also some Canadians, who reside among  
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the Indians, and live exactly as they do. All these settlements are in the north-west territory, belonging to the United States; for that part of the banks of the Missouri, which appertains to Spain, is not inhabited, excepting St. Louis and St. Genevieve, for eighty miles from New Orleans, and but very thinly peopled beyond this.

Such peltry as is exported in the course of trade is conveyed to Montreal by the same way which the traders travel to these points. The mouth of the Mississippi, which by the new treaty with Spain has been ceded to the Americans \*, and the friendly manner in which the Spanish Governor favours this branch of commerce, procure their trade a more expeditious and less expensive outlet, so that in this way the expence has been lessened one-tenth. By the same way furs can be transmitted either to the United States or to any part of Europe, as the merchant chooses, while all peltry, which reaches Montreal, by the English laws can be sent only to Great Britain. The provision to be exchanged for these articles may also be bought in the cheapest market, and, consequently, at a much lower rate than in Montreal, where the exorbitant duty on all merchandize, landed in Canada, and which, moreover, Great Britain alone has a right to import, raises their price in an enormous degree.

The furs in the whole of this country are of an inferior quality, if compared with the peltry of those parts which are situated north of the lakes, where the Hudson's Bay Company alone carries on this trade. By Mr. Tode's account you may travel, in an easy manner, from Montreal to the Illinois in fifteen days, and from the Illinois to New Orleans in twenty. The navigation of the Mississippi is good, but requires great prudence and attention, on account of the rapidity of the stream, and the great number of trunks of trees with which its bed is filled in several places. The whole country, through which it flows, is extremely fertile and delightful.

\* By the treaty of 1796, between the United States and Spain, the former obtained the free navigation of the Mississippi, but not the cession of the mouth or rather mouths of the river.—*Transl.*

On Wednesday the 22d of July arrived the long-expected answer from Lord Dorchester. It was of a nature to strike us with amazement—a solemn prohibition, drawn up in the usual form, against coming to Lower Canada. It was impossible to expect any thing of that kind. Mr. Hammond, the English Minister to the United States, had invited us himself to visit Canada, and removed the difficulties, which, from the report of other Englishmen, I apprehended on the part of the Governor-general, by assuring me, that Lord Dorchester had requested him to take it for the future entirely upon himself, to grant passports for Lower Canada, as he knew better than the Governor-general the travellers who came from the United States; and that the letters which he should give me would, without previously concerting with Lord Dorchester, secure me from all unpleasant incidents. I could not, therefore, entertain the least apprehension of a refusal, as I had not the smallest reason to suppose that Mr. Hammond, who had loaded me with civilities, would have deceived me on this subject.

But his Excellency had been pleased to order his Secretary to send me an order of banishment, which he had not even taken the trouble to sign. They told me, by way of consolation, that his Excellency was rather weak of intellect, that he did not do any thing himself, &c.; that some emigrated French priest might have played me this trick by his influence over his Lordship's secretary or his mistress;—and well may this be the case; for, though, Heaven be thanked! I have never injured any one, yet I find constantly people in my way, who endeavour to injure me. But, be this as it may, a resolution must be taken, and the best of any is, to laugh at the disappointment. May it be the only, or at least the most serious frustration of my hopes, which yet awaits me.

On my arrival in Canada, my Grace was overwhelmed with honours, attended by officers, complimented and revered wherever I made my appearance; and now—banished from the same country like a miscreant!

“ *Et je n'ai mérité*  
“ *Ni cet excès d'honneur ni cette indignité.*”

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On such occasions, as in many other situations in life, we ought to call to mind, that our own sentiments and feelings can alone honour or degrade us, and that conscious rectitude exalts us above all villains, great and low, above all fools, and all tattlers.

My eagerness to quit the English possessions as soon as possible, after the receipt of this letter, will be easily conceived; though, upon the whole, I cannot too often repeat, that the civilities shewn us by the English officers at Kingston, as well as Niagara, deserve our warmest praise.

Major DOBSON being sensible of the necessity of our leaving Canada with the utmost speed, assisted us with true and sincere politeness, but for which we should not have been able to attain our end so soon as we wished, for, generally, no vessel sails from Kingston to the American coast except twice a year. He lent us his own barge, on board of which we embarked, four hours after the receipt of the Secretary's letter, for the United States, where no commandant, no governor, no minister, enjoys the right of offending honest men with impunity.

We shaped our course for Oswego, where we hoped to meet with an opportunity of a speedy passage for Albany. The four soldiers, who composed our crew, were intoxicated to such a degree, that the first day we scarcely made fifteen miles, though we sailed twelve of them. Mr. Le-moine, the officer who commanded them, made them pay dear for the delay of the preceding day, by obliging them to row this day at least fifty-five miles. We left, at four o'clock in the morning, the long island where we passed the night. A heavy fall of rain had wetted us through to the skin; the wind had destroyed the slight covering we had made of branches of trees; the musquitoes had nearly devoured us; in short, we had scarcely enjoyed a moment's rest. But the weather cleared up; the morning grew fine; and we soon forgot the sufferings of the preceding night.

We reached Oswego at half past eight in the evening, having scarcely stopped an hour in the whole course of the day. This passage is seldom

effected in less than two days; but instead of coasting along the shore, we stretched from the place where we breakfasted straight over to Oswego, without approaching the land; an undertaking, which, but for the fairness of the weather, might have proved extremely hazardous.

Previous to our departure, we enjoyed the satisfaction of hearing the report of Admiral Hotham's second victory in the Mediterranean, and of the capture or destruction of four French ships, with fifteen thousand land-troops on board, destined for Corsica, contradicted by an officer, who arrived from Quebec. This action had been so frequently alleged to us, as a proof of the immense superiority of English ships over the French, that we felt extremely happy on finding the whole report vanish like a dream.

The restoration of tranquillity and order in our country depends, at this time, more than ever on the successes of the French.—May they be as complete as I wish. Good God, what would have become of us, if Great Britain and her allies should prove victorious! I am free—Heaven be thanked!—from the rage against the English nation, which possesses so many Frenchmen, and cannot be justified by the still fiercer rage of some Englishmen against the French. The English are a gallant and great nation; I wish they might be sincerely allied with France—

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Oswego is one of the posts, which Great Britain has hitherto retained, in open violation of the treaty of peace, though she will be obliged to deliver it up to the United States, in the course of next year. It is a miserable fort, which, in the year 1782, was built at a considerable expence by General HALDIMAN, at that time Governor of Canada. The river Oswego, at the mouth of which the fort is seated, is at present almost the only course for American vessels to Lake Ontario. The fort is in a ruinous state; one single bastion, out of five, which form the whole of the fortifications, is kept in better repair than the rest, and might serve as a citadel, to defend for some time the other works, indefensible by any other means. The present garrison consists of two officers and thirty men, under whose protection a customhouse-officer searches all the vessels,

sels, which sail up or down the river. It is not lawful to import any other articles from the United States into Canada, but grain, flour, cattle, and provision, and no commodities are suffered to be exported to the United States, without express permission from the Governor of Upper Canada; nay, this prohibition extends even to persons, who, if they intended to proceed to that country without such permission, would be imprisoned. As to the prohibited exports in merchandize, they are confiscated, without exception, for the benefit of the customhouse-officer, by whom they are seized. This naturally prompts his zeal, and increases his attention: but there are so many points along the coast, where the contraband trade can be carried on, that it will hardly be attempted in this place, where the Americans are sure to encounter so many difficulties and obstructions. Yet some vessels, now and then, slip out, under favour of the night. Two or three, which failed in the attempt, were last year taken and condemned. The large income of the receiver of customs, placed here three years ago, has hitherto been confined to these perquisites. Americans, who from an ignorance of the severity and latitude with which English prohibitions are enforced, have a larger quantity of provision on board, than the rigour of the English law permits, frequently see the surplus confiscated to the augmentation of the customs, which, if exacted by less delicate hands than those of the present receiver, might be carried to a much larger amount.

This officer is called Intendant General: a fine title, which ornaments a station, that, in fact, knows no superiors, but has also no inferiors, excepting a director, who resides at Niagara. The intendant general has not even a secretary. His pay is ten shillings a day, and a ration, which is estimated at two. He receives his pay all the year round, though the navigation of the lake is entirely interrupted for five months, and he himself is seven months absent from Oswego. Decorated with such a title, and furnished with such an income, he will hardly be supposed to transact himself the trifling business of his place. This is entrusted to a non-commissioned officer, who makes his report. This is signed by the intendant general, who, in case of absence from the fort, leaves blanks signed



signed on his table. This *permit*, which authorizes all vessels bound for Canada, to proceed thither, must also be signed by the commanding officer, for which every vessel pays three-fourths of a dollar. For sailing up the lake a verbal *permit* is given *gratis*.

The present intendant general is an interesting young man, of the name of MAC-DONALD, who, in addition to his talents and abilities, possesses all the peculiar merits, for which his family has long been distinguished in Canada. They came from Scotland, and settled here about twenty years ago. Mr. Mac-Donald served as an officer in the American war. He is now on half-pay; his brothers hold commissions in a Canadian regiment, lately raised, and one of them is speaker of the house of representatives of Upper Canada.

A man of Mr. Mac-Donald's extraction, in France, would injure his character, in the public opinion, by accepting a place in the customs. In England they know better. There, no injurious idea attaches to any profession, which concurs in the execution of the laws; and no blame attaches to a nobleman for holding a place in the commission of the customs, or turning merchant. He is, on the contrary, respected as much as if he belonged to the church, the army, or the navy, or were placed in any other honourable situation. Yet, if public opinion were altogether founded on just and reasonable principles, it should stigmatize all persons, who hold sinecures without any useful employment, and press consequently as dead burthens on the State. This, however, is not the case in England.

The number of vessels, which ascend and descend the Oswego during the seven months, the navigation is open, amounts to about thirty a month. By Mr. Mac-Donald's account for the greater number of them carry new settlers to Upper Canada, at which I am not astonished, it being a certain fact, that the emigration from the United States to Canada is far more considerable, than from the latter to the former country.

Fort Oswego is the only settlement on the banks of the lake between Kingston and Niagara, excepting Great Sodus, where Captain Williamson forms one, and which bids fair, as has already been observed, to become  
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very prosperous; it is thirty miles distant from the fort. Twelve miles behind Oswego, stands, on the river, the first American settlement. This fort must therefore shift for itself. The officers hunt, read, and drink; and the privates do duty, are displeased with their situation, and desert. For this reason the oldest soldiers are selected for the garrison of Oswego; and yet, though less open to temptation, they desert to the United States. This fort, which lies too remote for any communication with foreign countries, is for five months together completely cut off from the rest of the world; the snow lying then so deep, that it is impossible to go abroad but in snow-shoes. A surgeon, who has seven shillings and sixpence a day, augments the company in Oswego. The gentleman, who fills this place at present, contributes much to heighten the pleasure of the society, by submitting to be the general butt of railleries and jests.

The nearest Indian habitations are forty miles distant from Oswego; and yet there is an Indian interpreter appointed at this fort, who has three shillings and sixpence a day and a ration. He was employed during the last war. In other places his appointment might carry at least some appearance of utility; but here he is paid without having any employment. The commanding officer has five shillings a day in addition to the pay he enjoys by virtue of his commission; he keeps oxen, cows, sheep, fowls, &c. which, as a permanent stock, one commanding officer leaves to his successor at a settled price.

The gardens are numerous, and beautiful, in the vicinity of the fort; the lake as well as the river abounds with fish; the chace procures plenty of game. The officers, therefore, live well in this wilderness, which they call Botany Bay, and yet wish to wrest from the Americans. We experienced from all of them a very kind reception.

The land in the neighbourhood of Oswego is very indifferent; the trees are of a middling growth, and the wood-lands have a poor appearance.

As fate would not permit me to see Lower Canada, I shall here throw together some particulars, I had collected respecting that country. I counted on certifying and arranging them on the spot; and although I have  
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not been able to do this, yet they shall not be lost, either to myself or my friends.

The people of Canada possess the French national character; they are active, brave, and industrious; they undergo the severest toils, endure hardships with fortitude, and console and comfort themselves with smoking, laughing and singing; they are pleased with every thing, and checked and dispirited by nothing, neither by the length, or excessive fatigue of a journey, nor by the bad quality of their food, if their spirits be kept up by pleasantries and jests. They are employed in all voyages. At the beginning of spring they are called together from the different districts of both provinces, either for the King's service, or that of trade. The people, employed in this manner, reside about Montreal, and some miles lower down, as far as Quebec. Several of them live in Montreal, where they carry on a trade, which occupies them in winter. Their own inclination and taste invite them to this active and roving mode of life. Some of them are farmers, who leave the housing of the harvest to their wives and neighbours; others are artisans, who shut up their shops and depart. We met some of them, who were tanners, saddlers, butchers, joiners, &c. and who by all accounts were very good workmen. They leave their country for a summer, for one year or more, according to the work, which they are called to perform; and sometimes only for a short voyage. In the King's service they are employed in working the ships from Montreal, or rather China, which is three miles nearer, up to Kingston. This passage, which is rendered extremely troublesome by the numerous rapids in the river, takes up nine days, more or less, the back passage only three days, and the lading and unlading at least one. For this voyage they receive two Louis d'ors and are found in victuals; if not employed in actual service, they receive no pay. They now begin to serve as sailors on board the shipping on the lake. Commodore Bouchette is much pleased with them. Their wages amount to nine dollars a month both on board the King's ships, and in merchantmen, engaged in the fur-trade.

Mr. MACKENZIE was attended by several of them on his travels to the

the South Sea; he brings them back with him from a journey, which, it was supposed, would extend as far as the former, but which he intends to terminate at the last factory. By the account of the English themselves, who do not like them, they are the best rowers, extremely dexterous in extricating themselves from difficulties, inured to labour, and very sober, though at times they are apt to drink rum rather too freely. In this case their gaiety grows noisy, while the English in a similar situation frequently grow sad and melancholy.

There exist few people, among whom crimes are less frequent, than among the Canadians; murders are never committed, and thefts very seldom; yet the people in general are ignorant. But this defect is to be imputed less to the people, than the government, whose system it is to cherish and preserve this ignorance. No colleges have yet been established in Canada; and the schools are very few in number. Hence it is, that the education even of the richest Canadians is much neglected; but few of them write with any tolerable correctness of spelling, and a still smaller number possess any knowledge, though some of them hold seats in the Legislative Council of the province. I must, however, mention, that I have received this information from Englishmen, whose accounts of the Canadians deserve but little credit, from the most prominent feature of their national character consisting in a warm attachment to France, which on every occasion they display more or less, according to the class of society, to which they belong, and to the extent of their wishes and expectations, relative to the British government.

I have already observed, that all the families in Canada have retained the French manners and customs; that but very few Canadians, perhaps not one in a hundred, understand the English tongue; that they will not learn it, and that none of those, who understand that language, will talk it, except those, who from the nature of their employment have a constant intercourse with the military.

The British government has, since the conquest, from a silly affectation, changed the names of the towns, islands, rivers, nay of the smallest

creeks. But the Canadians make no use of these new appellations, but either from affectation or habit retain the ancient French names.

Many members of the Assembly, as well as of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada, are French inhabitants of Canada; the debates are carried on there in the French and English languages; the speech of the French member is immediately translated into English, and of the English into French.

The inveterate hatred of the English against the French, which is at once so ridiculous, so absurd, and so humiliating for the people, inasmuch as it proves them to be mere tools of the ambition of their ministry—this hatred, which the lights, diffused through both countries, and the frequent intercourse between the two nations, had nearly destroyed in Europe, before the French revolution broke out, has not abated here in the same degree. No Canadian has just grounds of complaint against the British government; the inhabitants of Canada acknowledge unanimously, that they are better treated than under the ancient French government; but they love the French, forget them not, long after them, hope for their arrival, will always love them, and betray these feelings too frequently and in too frank a manner, not to incur the displeasure of the English, who even in Europe have not yet made an equal progress with us in discarding the absurd prejudices of one people against another.

When Lord Dorchester, at the appearance of a war with the United States, tried last year to embody the militia in Canada, he met everywhere with remonstrances against this measure. A great number of Canadians refused to enlist at all; others declared openly, “that if they were to act against the Americans, they would certainly march in defence of their country, but that against the French they should not march, because they would not fight against their brethren.” These declarations and professions, communicated to me by English officers, and of consequence unquestionably true, were not the effects of Jacobin intrigues; for, it is asserted, that at that very period the emissaries of the Convention

Convention complained of the character of the Canadians being averse to an insurrection ; but they are the natural results of their attachment to France, which neither time, nor the mildness of the English administration has hitherto been able to extirpate. The notions of liberty and independence are, from their political situation, foreign to their minds. They pay no taxes, live well, at an easy rate, and in plenty ; within the compass of their comprehension they cannot wish for any other good. They are so little acquainted with the principles of liberty, that it has cost a great deal of trouble to establish juries in their country ; they oppose the introduction of the trial by juries, and in civil causes these are not yet in use. But they love France ; this beloved country engages still their affection. In their estimation, a Frenchman is a being far superior to an Englishman. The French are the first nation on earth ; because, attacked by all Europe, they have repulsed and defeated all Europe. The Canadians consider themselves as Frenchmen ; they call themselves so ; France is their native land. These sentiments and feelings cannot but be highly valued by a Frenchman, who must love and respect the good people of Canada. But, it will be easily conceived, that they displease the English, who frequently display their ill-humour, especially the spirited and impatient British officers, by despising and abusing the Canadians. “ The French,” say they, “ beat them, starved them, and put them into irons ; they should therefore be treated by us in the same manner.” Such are the opinions on this amiable and liberal-minded people, which you hear delivered during an English repast ; several times have I heard them with indignation. People of more prudence and reserve, it is true, do not profess these sentiments in the same rash and public manner ; but they entertain them, and the people of Canada know full well, that such are, in regard to them, the sentiments of the generality of Englishmen.

Lower Canada, which pays no more taxes than Upper Canada, has of late been obliged to raise a yearly contribution of five thousand pounds sterling, to meet the public expence for the administration of justice, legislature, and other *items* in this province. This contribution, or impost is laid on wine, brandy and other articles of luxury ; it is raised as an ex-

cise, and consequently is an indirect tax, but little burthensome from its amount, as well as from the mode in which it is raised; and yet it has excited much discontent and displeasure against the representatives, who sanctioned it by their consent.

This is an outline of the sentiments, which prevail among the people of Canada, and which I should have more closely examined, had I been permitted to visit Lower Canada. I have been assured, that Lord Dorchester, in consequence of the refusal of the Canadians, to be embodied in regiments, desired last year to return to England. Whether this be the true motive of his desire to resign, which is a certain fact, I know not. His displeasure may also, perhaps, have been excited by the marked disapprobation of the English ministry, respecting his address to the Indian nation. However this may be, his resignation has not been accepted. Lord Dorchester, from his constant good and kind demeanour to the Canadians, imagined he was beloved by that nation; his administration has throughout been marked with mildness and justice; he has supported the new constitution; he loves the Canadians, but his self-love as well as patriotism and national pride have been much humbled by the sentiments, displayed last year by the people of Canada.

I have already mentioned a conversation, in the course of which several officers delivered it as their opinion, that it would ~~be~~ for the interest of Great Britain to give up Canada. This is the general opinion of all Englishmen, who reside in this country, excepting such as on account of their stations and emoluments hold a different language. They, who share in the government and administration of Canada, the English merchants and families, who have long resided here, are far from professing these principles, from a conviction, that in the process of time Great Britain will reap considerable benefits from the possession of Canada. These ~~are~~ not the ideas which I entertain on this subject, considering either the extent or the nature and complexion of the English administration and government in this part of the globe. I conceive, that the enormous expence, incurred by Great Britain, is absolutely unnecessary, and that the state of independence, in which she endeavours to keep Canada, does

not afford the greatest and most permanent advantage she might derive from that country.

What would be said of a ministry, which would attempt to convince England, that the proceeds of her trade and extensive navigation to Canada fall much short of her yearly expence to maintain herself in the possession of that colony, and propose to the British cabinet, to declare it independent, to assist it with subsidies the first years, and immediately to conclude with the Canadian government a treaty of amity and commerce? Such a ministry would undoubtedly be considered as a set of rank Jacobins. And yet it is highly probable, that Great Britain, while on the one hand she saved a considerable expenditure, would on the other lose none of her commercial advantages, form a permanent and extensive connexion with Canada; and would spare herself the humiliation of another colony being dismembered from the British empire. But such a resolution should be embraced without any secret views, and hidden projects, loyally and frankly; so that Canada, enjoying all the blessings of liberty and prosperity, might have no just grounds for any sinister apprehensions. However absurd this language may appear, it is perhaps precisely that, which all European powers should, at this time, hold to their continental colonies; nay, with some modification, I think it should even be addressed to the West-Indian Islands. But away with political speculations!

The Roman Catholic priests in Upper Canada are of the same cast as our former country curates; their whole stock of knowledge being confined to reading and writing, they are of course unenlightened and superstitious. The French revolution has brought thither some of a superior character, who are probably less indolent and more tolerant than the former. I am unacquainted with them, but the British officers are so astonished at seeing French priests possessed of some sense and knowledge, that, in their opinion, they are *very clever*.

The only branch of commerce belonging to Canada is the fur trade; with the whole extent and annual amount of which I had some hopes of getting acquainted during my intended residence at Montreal. I know from Governor Simcoe, that it is far more insignificant, than is generally believed,



lieved, and that a considerable contraband trade in this article is already carried on in the United States, the chief agents of which are Canadian merchants. I know also, that this contraband trade, which they encourage on the river St. Lawrence, may likewise be carried on, without their assistance, with the United States, on Lake Erie, as well as on several points of the banks of Lake Ontario; and that the surrender of this fort to the United States, and the subsequent American settlements on the frontiers, will render it altogether impossible, to prevent this contraband trade. Besides, it is well known, that the Canadian merchants, who send the peltry to England, are the absolute masters of this trade in this country, and that a monopoly, which raises the price of commodities to an exorbitant height, is the most powerful incitement to smuggling.

All the ships, in which the trade between Canada and Europe is carried on, are English bottoms; none of them belong to merchants of the country. These possess but a few vessels, which are built at Quebec, and employed in the inland trade. In no parts of British America are any ships built, but such as navigate the lakes: even at Halifax, ships are not built, but merely caulked and refitted. No ships but English bottoms are suffered to sail from Canada for Europe; whence it is, that, if this navigation be intercepted or protracted, the utmost scarcity of European provision prevails in that country. This year, for instance, all the magazines and warehouses in Canada were empty, on account of the ships, which generally arrive about the 15th of May, not having yet come in on the 20th of July. Since the 1st of July, not a bottle of wine, or a yard of cloth, could be procured for money, either at Quebec or Montreal. The officers, who came from these towns, and had not been able to supply their wants, complained of the absolute impossibility of procuring any necessary article in Canada; and, I understand, the discontent, which prevails on this subject, is not confined to the military.

It is agreed, on all hands, that the Canadians are indifferent husbandmen, that agriculture is imperfectly understood in this colony, and that, in this respect, the English have not transplanted hither either their own agricultural improvements, or any branch of European skill. The land

is good, upon the whole; the best, which is in the island of Montreal, is worth from twenty to twenty-four dollars an acre. From this circumstance, which is certain, the wealth of the country may be partly estimated.

The severe frost, which in winter generally prevails in Quebec, causes the mortar to crack, and every year occasions expensive repairs at the citadel, which never last long. The other strong places in British America are constructed of wood, which is never seasoned, but used as soon as felled, and consequently decays very soon. In the whole fort of Oswego, which was built about eleven years ago, there is not one sound piece of timber to be found; and for the same reason the citadel of Halifax, which was constructed only seven years ago, is now rebuilding from the ground. This is all the information, which I have been able to collect, and which, however imperfect it be, may yet serve as a guide to other travellers in their pursuits of useful knowledge.

The northern borders of the basin, which holds the waters of the Niagara, just above the falls, consist of a fat and strong reddish earth, lying on a ground of lime-stone.

The rocks, between which the stupendous cataract of Niagara rushes down, are also lime-stone, as are numerous fragments of rocks, which appear within the chasm, and have undoubtedly been swept away by the tremendous torrent. At the bottom of the basin you see also large masses of white stone, of a fine grain, which the inhabitants assert to be the petrified foam of the fall, but which, in fact, appears to consist of vitriolated lime. It does not effervesce with acids. I have tried no other experiments.

The ground between the falls and Queen's Town is a level tract, some hundred feet elevated above the plain, which joins Lake Ontario, and in which the town of Newark, and the fort of Niagara are situated.

This whole tract seems to consist of lime and free stone, which contain petrifications of sea animal.

Over the plain near Newark are scattered large masses of a reddish granite, which lie insulated on the lime-stone, like the large blocks of granite,

nite, which you see on Mount Saleve, near Geneva; so that it is impossible to account for their origin.

In the environs of Toronto, or York, the soil is in some places sandy, in others light clay; no rocks are here to be found.

In Kingston, or Kadaraque, on the north-easterly extremity of Lake Ontario, you find again the argillaceous, fine grained lime-stone, of a dark grey colour. Here, as nearly all along the borders of the lake, are found different sorts of flints, schist, quartz, and granite.

You also find at Kingston, at no great distance from the shore, a large black conglomeration, which has the appearance of basalt, and great quantities of free-stone, with petrifications of sea animals.

The trees and plants, I have met with in Upper Canada, are nearly the same, which I observed in the northern district of Genessee. Yet I found the buck-eye, called by the Canadians *bois chicot*, the five-leaved ivy, which I have seen branched thirty feet high around an oak tree, the red cedar, the small Canadian cherry (*ragou minier*), and black or sweet birch. I have seen neither a papaw, nor a cucumber tree. The ginseng root, which is pretty common in the territory of the United States, abounds in Canada, but forms here not so considerable an article of trade, as in the former country. The Canadians use an infusion of this root as a cure for pains in the stomach, especially if they proceed from debility; for colds, and, in short, in all cases where perspiration may be required. They also make use of the leaves of maiden hair\*, which is found in great abundance in the vicinity of Kingston, instead of tea.

Mr. Guillemard having communicated to me the journal of his tour to Lower Canada, I shall extract from it such particulars, as appear most proper to fill up the deficiencies of the information, which I have myself been able to collect. This journal confirms, upon the whole, the general observations, which I have made on that country. Although the intelligence, gathered by Mr. Guillemard, be not altogether as minute as I could

\* *Adiantum capillus veneris*, Linn. a plant, from which the once celebrated "*Syrup de capillaire*," took its name, which P. Formis, a physician of Montpellier, recommended as an universal medicine, in his treatise "*De Adiantho*," published 1631.—*Tran?*

have wished, yet from the correctness of his judgment, and his character for veracity, the truth of his remarks cannot be questioned.

The passage from Kingston to Quebec is made, as far as China, in Canadian vessels of about ten or fifteen tons burthen. The navigation from China to Montreal being intercepted by the falls of St. Louis, this part must be travelled by land. Ships of any burthen may sail from Montreal to Quebec.

The rapids are of various descriptions. They are either whirlpools, occasioned by rocks, against which the water strikes in its course, or strong declinations of the bed of the river, the rapid motion of which is checked by few or no obstructions. Carried by rapids of this nature, ships may advance sixteen miles in an hour. Those of the former description are the most dangerous, though misfortunes, but seldom occur. They are most frequent on the cedar passage.

From Montreal to Quebec, the river flows with great velocity, but without any rapids. In Lake St. Peter \* ships must keep within a natural canal, from twenty to fifteen feet in depth; in other places the lake is only from four to six feet deep. It is under contemplation to make a canal from China to Montreal, by which the interruption of the water conveyance from China to Montreal will be removed.

There are few or no settlements between Kingston and St. John's, the chief place of the lower district of Upper Canada, about midway between Kingston and Montreal.† Between this place and Montreal they are rather more numerous, yet still few in number.

The right banks, belonging to England, are more thinly inhabited than the left. The few habitations you here meet with lie, almost all of them, contiguous to the river. Between Montreal and Quebec they stand more closely together. Even the inland parts are inhabited within three

\* This lake is a part of St. Lawrence river. Its centre is sixty eight miles above Quebec, and two hundred and five north-east of Kingston, at the mouth of Lake Ontario.  
*Translator.*

† St John's belongs not to the lower district of Upper Canada, but to Lower Canada. By an ordinance of the 7th of July, 1796, it has been established as the sole port of entry and clearance for all goods imported from the interior of the United States into Canada.  
*Translator.*

or four miles of the shore; and so are almost all the borders of the rivers and brooks which fall into the stream. To judge from the habitations and the mode of cultivation, these settlements are the worst of any you meet with in the United States; on the right side of the river the plantations do not extend to so great a distance into the interior of the country.

The soil is generally good, especially in the islands. It bears a variety of fine trees and excellent grass. The land in the island of Montreal is esteemed the best; while in other inhabited parts the price of the land is at most five dollars per acre, it costs in the island of Montreal from twenty to twenty-five. There are estates in the vicinity of Quebec either somewhat better cultivated than the rest, or furnished with a good dwelling-house and out-buildings, the lands belonging to which bear a still higher price. Upon the whole there is but little land sold, either from the poverty of the inhabitants; or the difficulties attending a sale, for reasons which I shall detail in another place.

Agriculture is as bad in Lower Canada as it possibly can be. In the vicinity of Quebec and Montreal no manure is known but stable dung, and even this the farmers used not long ago to throw into the river. What is here called cultivated land is, even on the banks of the river, neither more nor less than ground merely cleared in tracts of about forty or fifty acres, and enclosed with rough fences. In the midst of these tracts are small plots of cultivated ground sown with wheat, Indian corn, rye, pease, and clover; they very seldom take up the whole space enclosed. The farmers are a frugal set of people, but ignorant and lazy. In order to succeed in enlarging and improving agriculture in this province, the English government must proceed with great prudence and perseverance. For, in addition to the unhappy prejudices, which the inhabitants of Canada entertain in common with the farmers of all other countries, they also foster a strong mistrust against every thing which they receive from the English; and this mistrust is grounded on the idea, that the English are their conquerors, and the French their brethren.

There

There are some exceptions from this bad agricultural system, but they are few. The best cultivators are always landholders arrived from England. Mr. Touzy, an English clergyman in Quebec, who arrived very lately from Suffolk in England, is now occupied in clearing and cultivating in the English manner from seven to eight thousand acres, which he holds from government, or at least a part of this grant. Should he be gifted with sufficient perseverance to succeed, he cannot fail to become extremely useful to this part of the globe. In the mean while, it is a matter of general astonishment in Quebec, that he should form any such establishments at so great a distance from the town, and yet this distance exceeds not fifteen miles.

On the road from Montreal to Quebec the dwelling-houses are some of them built with small stones, and others with wood plastered over with lime, which abounds in the country; the inside of such of these buildings, as are inhabited by Canadians, is miserable and filthy. In most of them, which stand along the road, and where of consequence the death of the King of France is known, you find his portrait, the print which represents him taking leave of his family, his execution, and his last will. All these prints are something venerable to the Canadians, without impairing their attachment to the French.

Montreal and Quebec resemble two provincial towns in France; the former stands in a pleasant and delightful situation; the latter is seated half on the bank of the river and half on the adjoining rock. The lower part of the town is inhabited by the merchants and trade's-people, and the upper part by the military. From its position, encircled as it is with mountains, and from the works constructed to encrease its actual strength, Quebec belongs to the fortresses of the second or third rank.

The military, it seems, enjoy in this city, on account of the presence of the Governor-general, and of the great number of officers and other persons attached to the army, the same distinction in society, which the merchants possess at Montreal.

The Canadian gentry, who reside in towns, are much poorer than the English, invited hither either by considerable pay, attached to their places,

places, or some other valuable income. They live in general by themselves ; and as they spend less than the English, the latter are apt to call them avaricious and proud ; and the former fail not to return the compliment in a different manner. The English merchants are rich and hospitable.

In point of furniture, meals, &c. the English fashions and manners prevail, even in some of the most opulent Canadian families connected with administration. In other Canadian families of distinction the French customs have been preserved.

The export and import trade of Canada employs about thirty vessels, and is merely carried on with and through England. From an extract of the custom-house books for 1786, procured by Mr. Guillemard, the exports in that year appear to have amounted to three hundred and twenty-five thousand one hundred and sixteen pounds, Halifax currency, and the imports to two hundred and forty-three thousand two hundred and sixty-two. Since that year not only large quantities of corn have been exported, but the trade has, upon the whole, been considerably increased by the great agricultural improvements made in both provinces, but especially in Upper Canada.

The whole amount of a common harvest in Lower Canada is estimated at four thousand bushels, three fourths of which are consumed in the country. The principal *dépôt* of the peltry-trade is in Montreal.

I shall at the end of this article subjoin some satisfactory information respecting this trade, extracted from a journal, the veracity of which is unquestionable.

The navigation of the River St. Lawrence is shut up by frost seven months of the year.

An iron-work on the *Trois Rivières*, and a distillery near Quebec, are the only manufactories in Canada, and both in a very low state. The iron-work cannot even supply Lower Canada with the necessary articles ; it belongs to merchants of Quebec and Montreal, who make no use of the machinery employed in England in manufactories of that description. The iron-ore is found in the neighbouring rivers, and also in grains on the surface of the soil. It is very rich, and known by the name of

St. Maurice ore. The work employs about twenty workmen; all of them Canadians; they forge the iron into bars, manufacture tools for artificers, utensils, pots, &c. and earn three quarters of a dollar a day, but are not boarded by the owners of the work.

In the distillery whisky and geneva are distilled, but very little of either. The number of workmen is very small; their daily wages consist in two shillings in money and board. The Canadians, like the inhabitants of the back country in the United States, manufacture themselves all the clothes they want for their families.

The Roman Catholic religion forms the established church in Lower Canada, the ministers are supported by tithes and gifts, and out of the estates acquired by the clergy. All the churches in the country belong to the Roman Catholic persuasion, and are tolerably well frequented by the people. The clergy of the Episcopal church are paid by the king; as well as the Protestant bishop, who is at the same time bishop of Upper Canada. Divine service is performed by Protestants, in Roman Catholic churches or chapels, at Quebec, Montreal, and *Trois Rivières*. In the country there is no religious worship but according to the rites of the Roman Catholic religion.

A convent of *Urselines* in Quebec, and another in Montreal, and a society of Charitable Sisters, who attend the hospitals and lazarettoes, are the only nunneries of Lower Canada. The revenue of the hospitals consisted in part of annuities, paid by the city of Paris, the payment of which was stopped in pursuance of a decree of the French National Assembly; and this deficiency has not hitherto been made up in any other manner. Two Franciscans only, and one Jesuit, are remaining of the numerous convents of these orders which subsisted here at the time of the conquest of Canada. One of these Franciscans, it is asserted, has, in violation of the treaty, taken the vow since that time, and the Jesuit is rather a priest, who styles himself a Jesuit, than really a member of that religious community. By virtue of a grant of his Britannic Majesty, all the estates in Canada, which belong to the Jesuits, go to Lord Amherst at the decease



of the last member of that community in the province; and rumour says, that the proceeds of these estates, enjoyed by the *foi-disant* monk, which amount to fifteen hundred a year, are the true cause of the enmity which subsists between Lord Anherst and Lord Dorchester.

The seminary in Quebec is kept by a sort of congregation or fraternity, known by the name of the Priests of St. Sulpice, who, prior to the conquest, possessed three such houses, namely, one in Siam, one in Pondicherry, and one in Quebec. Since that time the seminary supports itself by its own means. The estates which it possesses are considerable, at least in point of extent, and contain from fifty to sixty thousand acres; yet, as the seminary possesses not the right to dispose either of the whole or any part of them, and consequently cannot gain any advantage from these estates but by farming them out to tenants, who pay no more than about a bushel and a half of corn for every ninety or a hundred cultivated acres, the proceeds exceed not in the whole five hundred dollars per annum. The mill, which the seminary possesses in the Island of Montreal, is let for somewhat more.

Besides the lectures on theology, which are delivered in the seminary, Latin is also taught, and the scholars are even instructed in reading. This business is confided to young clergymen, who pursue their studies to obtain the order of priesthood, and are excused from certain exercises, without which they would not be qualified to take orders, on account of their being engaged in the instruction of youth. This seminary forms the only resource for Canadian families, who wish to give their children any degree of education, and who may certainly obtain it there for ready money.

Upon the whole the work of education in Lower Canada is greatly neglected. At Sorrel, and *Trois Rivières*, are a few schools, kept by nuns, and in other places men or women instruct children. But the number of schools is, upon the whole, so very small, and the mode of instruction so defective, that a Canadian who can read is a sort of phenomenon. From the major part of these schools being governed by nuns

and

and other women, the number of the latter, who can read, is, contrary to the custom of other countries, much greater in Canada than that of men.

The English government is charged with designedly keeping the people of Canada in ignorance; but were it sincerely desirous of producing an advantageous change in this respect, it would have as great obstacles to surmount on this head as in regard to agricultural improvements.

The feudal rights continue in the same force in Canada as previously to the conquest. The proprietors, or lords of the manor, have alienated or alienate the lands on condition of an annual recognition being paid by the tenants, which amounts to a bushel or a bushel and half of grain.

At every change, in respect to the occupiers of land, except in a case of a succession in direct lineage, the lord of the manor levies a fee of two per cent; and, in case of sale, he not only receives a twelfth of the purchase-money, but has also the right of redeeming the estate; he moreover enjoys the exclusive right of building mills, where all the people, who inhabit within the precincts of the manor, are obliged to have their corn ground.

The mills are so few in number, that frequently they are thirty-six miles distant from the farms. The miller's dues amount to a fourteenth, according to law; but the millers are as clever in Lower Canada as elsewhere, and contrive to raise them to a tenth. The bolting is performed by the farmers in their own houses. The mills are numerous in the vicinity of Quebec and Montreal, and belong to the seminary.

On lordships of the manor being sold, a fifth of the purchase-money goes to the crown; all these fees and charges, it will be easily conceived, greatly impede the sale of estates.

The administration of justice is exactly the same as in Upper Canada. In this respect, Lower Canada is divided into three districts. The penal and commercial laws are the same as in England; but the civil law consists of the customs of Paris, modified by the constitutional acts of Canada, and by subsequent acts of the legislative power. Nineteen twentieths of all

all property, amenable before the courts of justice, belong to merchants. Criminal offences are very seldom committed in Canada.

The five thousand pounds, which last year were voted for the expence of the legislature, &c. are raised by means of an excise on liquors.

The climate in Lower Canada is rather dry, and very cold in winter; the sky is, at all times, beautifully clear and serene. In the months of January and February REAUMUR'S thermometer stands generally at twenty degrees below the freezing point. In 1790 it fell quite below the scale, and the quicksilver retreated into the ball. In summer some days are excessively hot, and the thermometer stands at twenty-four degrees; this year it mounted to twenty-eight. The heat in summer, it has been observed, becomes more intense and continues longer, and in winter the cold grows more moderate than formerly. The climate is healthy; epidemical diseases are very rare; but, on account of the severe cold, cancerous sores in the face and hands are very frequent. The declination of the magnetic needle at Quebec is twelve degrees to the west.

There exists no incorporated municipality either at Montreal or Quebec. The police of these towns is managed by justices of the peace, who fix the price of provision, and direct every public measure relative to this subject. They also meet once a week for the administration of justice, and decide on petty offences.

As to charitable institutions, they consist in two hospitals, one at Montreal, the other at Quebec, and a lazaretto at the latter place. They are inconsiderable and badly managed, especially in regard to the abilities of the physicians who attend the sick.

Throughout all Canada there is no public library, except in Quebec, and this is small and consists mostly of French books. From the political sentiments of the trustees and directors of this library, it is a matter of astonishment, to find here the works of the French National Assembly. It is supported by voluntary contribution.

No literary society exists in Canada, and not three men are known in the whole country to be engaged in scientific pursuits from love of the sciences. Excepting the Quebec almanack, not a single book is printed  
in

in Canada. Meteorological observations are made with peculiar care, but only for his own amusement, by Doctor KNOTT, physician to the army, and a man of extensive knowledge.

Provision is much cheaper in Lower Canada than in the United States; the price of beef is three or four *sous* a pound, mutton six, veal five, and salt pork from eight to twelve *sous*. A turkey costs from eighteen pence to two shillings, a fowl from six to eight *sous*, wheat from six to seven shillings a bushel, oats three, Indian corn from five to seven, salt one dollar a bushel, bread two *sous* a pound, and butter eight *sous* [money of Canada, reckoning the dollar at five shillings.] Day-labourers generally earn in summer two shillings and six-pence a day, women half that money; in winter the wages of the former are one shilling and three-pence a day, and the latter are paid in the same proportion as above. A man-servant gets about five dollars a month. The rent for a good convenient house amounts in Quebec to one hundred and thirty dollars, and in Montreal to one hundred and fifty. The price of land has already been stated.

The markets, both at Montreal and Quebec, are but moderately supplied in comparison with the abundance in the markets of the large towns in the United States.

Mr. Guillemard in his journal assigns to the Canadians the same character, which I have above delineated. The first class, composed of proprietors, and people attached to the British government, detest the French Revolution in every point of view, and seem in this respect even to outdo the English ministry. The second class of Canadians, who form a sort of opposition against the proprietors and gentry, applaud the principles of the French Revolution, but abhor the crimes which it has occasioned, without their attachment to France being in the least impaired by these atrocities. The third, or last, class love France and the French nation, without a thought of the French Revolution, of which they scarcely know any thing at all.

Lord Dorchester bears the character of a worthy man, possessed of all the vanity of a darling of fortune. His Lady, who is much younger than

her husband, and determined not to sacrifice any of the enjoyments which pride can afford, takes peculiar care to keep alive the vanity of her Lord.

\* \* \* \* \*

The settlements form, as already mentioned, a large stripe of about seven or eight miles in breadth on both banks of the river. The whole unsettled country appertains to the Crown, which is ever ready to make any grants that may be demanded; but the formalities, and reservations connected with them, deter many people from making applications for land. All the new settlers come from New England.

On both sides of the road which leads from St. John's to Quebec, near Lake St. Peter, and in the vicinity of the towns of Montreal and Quebec, are some Indian villages. One of them is Loretto, five miles from the latter place. The Indians of Loretto have attained, it is asserted, the last stage of civilization, at least in point of the corruptness of morals and manners. No other Indian village can, in this respect, rival Loretto\*.

These Indians, who on working-days dress like the Canadians, wear on feasts and Sundays their usual dress. They cultivate their fields in the same manner as the whites, live like them, and speak the same language; they are of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and a curate resides in the village.

The settlements, which carry a more Indian appearance than this village, are farther distant, and not numerous. On descending the River St. Lawrence, you meet with a more stony soil, and in the vicinity of Thousand Islands with a range of rocks of granite. These isles apparently consist of granite of a reddish colour, well crystallized, and the chief component part of which is feldspar. In Kadanoghqui, between Kingston and Thousand Islands, a species of steatite is found, considerable veins of which are said

\* Loretto, a small village of Christian Indians of the Huron Tribe, north-west of Quebec, has its name from a chapel built after the model of the Santa Casa at Loretto in Italy, whence an image of the Holy Virgin has been sent to the converts here, resembling that in the famous Italian sanctuary.—*Transl.*

to be discovered in the neighbourhood. The reddish granite of Thousand Islands is interspersed with more perfect granite of a larger grain, which is very common in countries consisting of this sort of stone, such as the Alps, the Scotch Highlands, and others of less moment, but of the same description.

The rapidity, with which Mr. Guillemard descended the River St. Lawrence, prevented him from examining the species of stone of which its banks are formed. But at Montréal he had sufficient leisure to enquire into the mineralogy of the country. It consists, north of the River St. Lawrence, chiefly of lime-stone; in the south, where the little populous village La Prairie is situated, you find, besides a sort of chert, nothing very remarkable on this head.

The Island St. Helena, a little below Montréal, consists of this stone. On the banks of the river large masses of granite, quartz, and pudding-stone, are found, which seem disjoined from the beds to which they formerly belonged, and which cannot now be discovered. The soil on the mountains is rich and fertile, and full of quarries of lime-stone. Mines of pit-coal are said to have been discovered in these mountains.

The houses in Montréal are mostly built of lime-stone of a dark colour and very compact structure. It whitens in the fire, and assumes a greyish colour, when exposed to the air and sun.

The river Sorrel, after having left the basin by Chamblee, flows along the foot of a broad and high range of mountains, called Beloeil. Between this river and the river St. Lawrence expands a vast plain, on which neither a rock nor stone is to be found. On digging up the ground you find to a considerable depth strata of different sorts of earth, sand, clay, vegetable earth, and in many places another kind of black vegetative earth, which bears a close resemblance to peat.

The summit of the mountain Beloeil consists of granite of a dark grey colour and a strong grain. It contains little mica, but much schœrl. The declivity on both sides of the summit consists of slate of a very compact texture; some pieces resemble basalt in shape and grain.

On descending the Sorrel, you see not a single rock, and the banks of this river, which the English at present call William Henry, consist of a fine micaceous loam.

If you cross St. Peter's lake on your way to the Trois Rivières, the ground rises in a striking manner in the form of terraces; but no rocks meet your view. The sandy banks of the Trois Rivières bespeak a poor soil, exhausted by cultivation, and deprived of the vegetable earth. Marl of a blueish colour has fortunately been discovered under the sand, which has much contributed to restore the fertility of the ground. This marl is of a fine grain, very compact and light; it lies above the level of the stream below the town of Trois Rivières.

A few miles thence, farther on in the country, are the only iron works in Canada; the ore is found in several places in the neighbourhood. It is bog-ore, and said to yield very good iron.

Lime-stone is found as far as Quebec; its farther extent is not known. It is of various forms and qualities; in some places very hard and compact; in others in the state of calcareous spar. The colour passes, by imperfect shades, from a reddish light brown to a dark blue, approaching to black.

South of the river St. Lawrence, near the bason-falls, lime stone is still found; but the ground consists chiefly of strata of a black, clayey slate, of a fine grain, interspersed with beds of lime-stone. The conglomerations, which form the banks of the river, are of the same nature as the adjoining strata, intermixed with different sorts of schœrl and granite, which must have been washed to this spot from more elevated parts of the country.

The rock, on which stands the citadel of Quebec, is called the Diamond-rock, on account of several of its fissures and cavities containing spars, which by ignorant people are esteemed precious stones. This rock consists chiefly of strata of lime-stone, which is in general very compact, and of a dark grey colour.

Over the plain lying farther up the country, called Abram's-plain, lime-stone and large masses of granite are scattered, which are peculiarly remarkable

remarkable on account of the great quantity of schoerl they contain. Near the river you find various sorts of pebbles, free-stone, granite, quartz, with some slate and lime-stone.

In Wolf-love the strata of stone consist of a black slate, forming an obtuse angle with the horizon. In the vicinity of Quebec most of these layers have a more perpendicular direction towards the surface of the earth, than in more western countries. The high mountains north-east of Quebec are said to consist of granite. Mr. Guillemard has not seen them; near the falls of Montmorency and somewhat farther up, the strata consist of lime-stone, and their direction runs nearly parallel with the horizon.

*Accounts of the Fur-trade, extracted from the journal of Count ANDRIANI, of Milan, who travelled in the interior parts of America in the year 1791.*

The most important places for the fur-trade are the following, viz.

Niagara, Lake Ontario, Detroit, Lake Erie, Michillimackinac, Lake Huron,	yielding	-	-	-	1200	bundles mixed peltry.
Michipicoton	-	-	-	-	40	bundles fine peltry.
Pic	-	-	-	-	30	ditto.
Alampicon	-	-	-	-	24	ditto.
Near the great carrying-place or portage	-	-	-	-	1400	ditto.
Bottom of the lake	-	-	-	-	20	ditto.
Point of the lake	-	-	-	-	20	ditto.
Bay of Guivaranun	-	-	-	-	15	ditto.

The skins of beavers, otters, martens, and wild cats, are called fine peltry.

Mixed peltry are furs, consisting of a mixture of the finer sorts with a larger number of skins of wolves, foxes, buffaloes, deers, bears.

The finest peltry is collected north-west of the lakes in the British dominions; the furs grow coarser in proportion as you approach nearer to the lakes.



This fur-trade is carried on by a company, known by the name of the *North-west Company*, and two or three other small companies.

The north-west company, which is generally esteemed a privileged company, has no charter; for the preponderance, which it enjoys in this trade, it is merely indebted to the large capital, which it employs in the trade, to the unanimity of the members, to their unwearied exertion, and to the monopoly, which the company has appropriated to itself in consequence of the above circumstances.

Its formation took place in the year 1782, and originated from the commercial operations of some eminent merchants, who used to carry on the trade in the country, situated beyond Lake Winnipeg, and especially of Messrs. FORBISHER and MACTARISH, who reside at Montreal. The signal success, which this company met with, soon excited the jealousy of other merchants, and ere long three different companies made their appearance at the great carrying-place, and rivalled each other in the purchase of furs with a degree of emulation, which could not but prove highly detrimental to themselves and advantageous to the Indians. The north-west company, being more opulent than the rest, made use of its wealth to ruin its competitors; no stone was left unturned; the agents of the company's rivals were bribed and seduced; and the animosity between the different traders rose to such a height, that they frequently proceeded to blows. This petty warfare, which cost several lives and large sums of money, at length opened the eyes of the rival companies. They became sensible of the necessity of uniting in one body, and the north-west company, essentially interested in preventing any further molestation of this trade, made several sacrifices, to attain this end. They formed a connection with different members of the other companies, admitted other merchants to a share in their trade, and thus secured their extensive commerce with the country situated north-west of the lakes, the only spot where fine peltry can be had in abundance.

Several thousands of Indians formerly conveyed their furs to the great carrying-place. But at present the company send their agents a thousand miles into the interior parts of the Indian possessions. It frequently

quently happens, that these agents continue there two years, before they return with the peltry, they have purchased, to the great carrying-place.

The company employ about two thousand men in carrying on this traffic in the interior of the Indian country, which is, however, so extremely barren, that whatever articles these agents stand in need of either for their cloathing or subsistence, must be sent thither from Montreal with considerable difficulties and trouble, and, of consequence, at an excessive price.

Near the great carrying-place, where all these agents meet, and which is the central point of this trade, stands a fort, which is kept in good repair, and garrisoned with fifty men.

The post of Michillimakkinak is the rallying-point of the different Canadian merchants, who do not belong to the north-west company. Their agents traffic only with such parts, as are seated west and south-west of the lakes, and where the furs are of an inferior quality. They carry on this trade in the same manner as the north-west company, but as these small companies are less opulent than the former, their agents penetrate not so far into the interior of the country, as those of the north-west company.

The agents set out from Montreal in the month of June, and are six weeks going to the fort near the great carrying-place. They embark at Montreal in boats, forming parties of eight or ten persons, proceed on the river St. Lawrence from China to the Lake of the Two Mountains; descend the river Utageha; cross Lake Nipissing; pass by the French River into Lake Huron; proceed to Fort Michillimakkinak; and thence to the great carrying-place.

This way is shorter by a hundred miles than that by the lakes, but you meet with thirty-six carrying places, several of which lie across rocks, over which the boats as well as the cargoes must be carried on the backs of the passengers, and that with great precaution, on account of the narrowness of the roads. The boats are but of four tons burthen; they are navi-

gated.

gated by nine men, cost twenty-eight Louisd'or each, and serve but for one voyage.

The ships, employed in the passage across the lakes, are from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty tons burthen. Flat-bottomed vessels of fifteen tons are also made use of for this purpose, which are easily managed by four or five men, and are very durable.

Notwithstanding the advantages, offered by this passage, the former route is preferred for the fur-trade, because, although it is attended with much trouble, yet it admits of the day of the departure as well as of the arrival being fixed with certainty and exactness, which point, on account of the wind, cannot be attained on passing over the lakes, and yet is of the utmost importance for the Canada merchants, as they must neither miss the period of receiving the furs from the interior of the Indian territory, nor that of expediting them for Europe; the navigation of the river St. Lawrence not being open for a long time.

About the end of June the agents of the company, sent into the interior to trade with the Indians, cause the articles purchased to be transported to their place of rendezvous.

At this time upwards of one thousand men are frequently assembled in Michillimackinac, who either arrive from Canada to receive the peltry, or are agents of the company and Indians, who assist the former in conveying thither the furs, they have bought.

As the trade of the north-west company is far more important, than that of the other traders, the number of people, assembled in the fort near the great carrying-place is of consequence far more considerable at the time of the delivery of the skins; in this place there is frequently a concourse of one thousand people and upwards.

The method, observed by the agents in their traffic with the Indians, is this, that they begin with intoxicating them with rum, to over-reach them with more facility in the intended business. The agents carry on this traffic in those villages only, where there are no other merchants.

It is a circumstance, worthy of notice, that an ancient French law, enacted

enacted at the time, when Canada belonged to France, prohibits any rum to be sold to the Indians by the agents on pain of the galleys. Hence originates the custom, still observed at this day, of giving it away; yet this is not done without exception, for many agents sell their rum.

The one thousand four hundred bundles of fine peltry, from the great carrying-place, which according to the price, paid to the petty traders in Montreal, who collect them in small numbers, are valued at forty pounds sterling each, and which by the company are sent to London, fetch there eighty-eight thousand pounds sterling. They form about a moiety of all the fine peltry, yearly exported from Canada, without taking into the account the furs sent from Labrador, from the bay of Chaleurs and Gaspé or Gachepe.

For these one thousand four hundred bundles the north-west company pay about sixteen thousand pounds sterling, and for the proceeds thereof such articles are purchased in England, as the Indians are fond of receiving in exchange for their peltry, and the chief store-house of which is at Montreal. As the accounts relative to this trade are generally kept in Canada in French money, the above sixteen thousand pounds sterling must be computed in the same manner, as this actually has been done by Count Andriani in his journal.

1. Commodities purchased in England	-	-	-	<i>liv.</i> 354,000
2. Pay for forty guides, interpreters, and conductors of the expedition *	-	-	-	88,000
3. Pay for one thousand one hundred men, who are employed in the traffic in the interior of the country, and who pass the winter there, without returning to Montreal; one thousand eight hundred livres for each	-	-	-	1,080,000
4. Pay for one thousand four hundred men, employed in descending the river with the boats from the great portage	-	-	-	

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Carried forwards. *liv.* 2,422,000

\* Every boat's company, consisting of eight or ten persons, has a guide, there is also a chief guide in every harbour, where they winter. They are all inhabitants of Canada, and receive each two thousand five hundred livres — *Idem.*

	Brought forwards,	<i>liv.</i> 2,422,000
to Montreal, and ascending it from this place thither,		
and transporting the merchandize	-	350,000
5. Price of the provision, consumed on the passage from Montreal to the great carrying-place, and at the latter place,		
upon an average per year	-	4,000

Total amount of all the expence, incurred by the company for  
 one thousand four hundred bundles fine peltry - *liv.* 2,776,000

On comparing the eighty-eight thousand pounds sterling, which the sale of these furs produces in London, with these two millions seven hundred and seventy-six thousand livres, it should seem, that the company sustains a loss of six hundred thousand livres Tournois. But this loss is merely apparent, as will be obvious from the following statement.

The pay of the men, employed in the trade, as mentioned in the above account, is merely nominal; for excepting the forty guides and one thousand four hundred men, who are employed in ascending and descending the river with the boats, who receive half their wages in cash, all the rest are paid entirely in merchandize, which at the great carrying-place yields a profit of fifty per cent.

The merchandize, imported on behalf of this trade to the above amount of three hundred and fifty-four thousand livres, consists of woollen blankets, coarse cloths, thread and worsted ribbands of different colours, vermilion, porcelain bracelets, silver trinkets, firelocks, shot, gunpowder and especially rum. In fort Détroit these articles are sold for three times their usual value in Montreal, in Fort Michillimackinak four times dearer, at the great carrying-place eight times, at Lake Winnipeg sixteen times; nay the agents fix the price still higher at their will and pleasure.

As the men, employed in this trade, are paid in merchandize, which the company sells with an enormous profit, it is obvious at how cheap a rate these people are paid. They purchase of the company every article, they want; it keeps with them an open account, and as they all  
 winter



winter in the interior of the country and beyond lake Winnipeg, they pay, of consequence, excessively dear for the blankets, and the clothes, which they bring with them for their wives. Their menial servants of the company are in general extravagant, given to drinking and excess; and these are exactly the people whom the company wants. The speculation on the excesses of these people is carried so far, that if one of them happen to lead a regular, sober life, he is burthened with the most laborious work, until by continual ill-treatment he is driven to drunkenness and debauchery, which vices cause the rum, blankets and trinkets to be sold to greater advantage. In 1791, nine hundred of these menial servants owed the company more than the amount of ten or fifteen years pay.

This is in a few words the system of the company, at the head of which are Messrs. Forbisher and Macfarish, who possess twenty-four shares of the forty-six, of which the company consists. The rest, divided into smaller portions, are distributed among other merchants in Montreal, who either transact business with the company, or otherwise do not concern themselves in their affairs.

The north-west company is to subsist six years: at the expiration of which time the dividends are to be paid to the share-holders; until that time they remain with the capital.

*Total amount of the Fur-trade.*

The whole amount of the peltry, which the north-west company receives from the great carrying-place and exports			
from Canada, is estimated at	-	-	£. 88,000
From the Bay of Chaleurs, Gaspe, and Labrador	-	-	69,000
From different places in the interior, with which the trade is:			
carried on by a certain number of merchants, who have as-			
sociated in Michillimackinak	-	-	60,000
Total,			£. 208,000

. That branch of this extensive trade, which is carried on by small companies in such parts, as are situated below the lakes, is likely soon to fall into the hands of merchants in the United States, as the free navigation of the Mississippi, stipulated in the treaty with Spain, opens a more expeditious, a safer and less expensive outlet for these commodities, and a more easy importation by New Orleans to all the marts of the United States.

*Amount of the Merchandize, exported from the Province of Canada in the Year 1786.*

Rye,	103,824 bushels, valued at	-	-	£. 20,764	0	0
Flour,	10,476 bushels	-	-	12,571	0	0
Biscuit,	9,317 hundred-weight	-	-	6,056	0	0
Flax-feed,	10,171 bushels	-	-	2,031	1	0
Oats,	1,015 bushels	-	-	516	0	0
Pease,	304 bushels	-	-	62	16	0
Timber	-	-	-	706	0	0
Masts, staves, planks, flungles	-	-	-	3,262	0	0
Potatoes	-	-	-	1,724	0	0
Maiden hair ( <i>adanthum capillus veneris</i> , Linn.)	-	-	-	186	0	0
Horses, sixty-seven	-	-	-	670	0	0
Cast iron	-	-	-	1,200	0	0
Spruce-essence for beer	-	-	-	211	0	0
Shook casks	-	-	-	516	0	0
Banana, 1984 hundred-weight	-	-	-	1,289	8	0
Salmon	-	-	-	759	0	0
Potatoes	-	-	-	55	6	0
Smoked salmon	-	-	-	68	15	0
Onions	-	-	-	300	0	0
Pork	-	-	-	376	0	0
Beef	-	-	-	210	0	0
Train oil	-	-	-	3,700	0	0
Carried forward,				£. 57,237	9	0

Brought forward	£. 57,237	0	0
Salt fish and peltry from Labrador, from the Bay of Chaleurs and Gaspe, according to the list transmitted by Governor Coxe.	-	-	- 40,000 0 0
Amount of the peltry which comes from the great lakes, from the factories of the north-west company, and other places, according to the under-mentioned detail	-	225,977	0 0
Sum total,	£. 343,214	9	0

being the amount entered in the custom-house books of Canada.

*A detailed Account of the different sorts of Peltry, exported from Canada in the Year 1786.*

6,213 foxes skins
116,623 beavers
23,684 otters
5,959 minks
3,958 weasels
17,713 bears
1,659 young bears
126,079 deer skins in the hair
202,719 castors
10,851 racoon
2,277 wild cat-skins, loose
3,702 ditto in bundles
7,555 elk
12,923 wolves
506 whelps
64 tygers
15,007 seal-skins
180 squirrel

Although a variety of circumstances, incident to the chase, occasioned by the weather, or originating in the sentiments of the Indians cannot



cannot but produce variations in regard to the quantities of peltry yearly received, yet the results of the years 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790 and 1791, nearly correspond with those of 1786; a circumstance, which as it happens in regard to a trade, that extends from Labrador to a distance of three or four hundred miles from Lake Superior, is very remarkable.

*Account of the Merchandize, imported into Canada in the said Year 1786, extracted from the Custom-house Books.*

Rum	-	-	£. 63,032
Brandy	-	-	225
Molasses	-	-	21,380
Coffee	-	-	2,065
Sugar	-	-	5,269
Spanish wine	-	-	31,288
Tobacco	-	-	1,316
Salt	-	-	2,912
Chocolate	-	-	129

Sum total, £. 127,616

An exact account of the value of piece-goods has not yet been made out in a regular manner; but in pursuance of an order of Lord Dorchester, the sum total of the value of all imports was by the merchants, upon a four years average, determined in the following manner, viz.

Amount of the above sum	-	-	-	£. 127,616	0	0
Merchandize for Quebec	-	-	-	99,700	0	0
Ditto for Montreal	-	-	-	97,800	0	0

Amount total of Imports	£. 325,116	0	0
Exports	343,214	9	0

Balance in favour of Canada £. 18,098 9 0

To the above imports is to be added the value of six thousand seven hundred and nine barrels of salt pork, and of one thousand seven hundred

dred and fifty-four firkins of butter, of about fifty or sixty pounds each, for the use of the military.

The imports in the following years 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790 and 1791, were nearly of the same value, with a difference of about five or six thousand pounds sterling more or less.

At the close of this short account of the trade of Canada I shall here repeat once more, that it is a faithful extract of the journal of Count Andriani, of which a friend of his, to whom he had communicated it, permitted me to make use. The abilities and character of Count Andriani, as well as the facility, with which he was able to make his researches pursuant to the direction of the British government, inspire great confidence in the exactness of the information, which he has collected. I have not been able myself to substantiate the veracity of his accounts; and besides it is easily understood, that since the time, when he wrote, some alterations may have taken place, in point both of the quality and the value of the exports and imports.

## JOURNEY FROM UPPER CANADA TO BOSTON.

## DEPARTURE FROM OSWEGO.

ON Sunday, the 26<sup>th</sup> of July, the day after our arrival at Oswego we learned from the officers, that during the harvest the American ships sail less frequently, than at other times, and that probably we should have to wait for one several days. We understood at the same time, that the best plan we could adopt was, to walk twelve miles farther on, in the hope that the settlers, who live there, would accommodate us with a vessel. Being both impatient to quit the English dominions, and afraid to incur too great an expence by hiring a whole ship for ourselves, we were walking, in some degree of perplexity, on the bastion along the shore, when we discovered a vessel approaching. The soldiers, who have learned hatred and contempt of the Americans along with the manual exercise, perceiving the attention, with which we observed her approach, said to us, "Why, gentlemen, that is nothing; she is but a vessel of the d——d Yankees;" and it was exactly a vessel of the Yankees, we wished to obtain. Mr. VANALLEN, an American, who resides in the vicinity of Albany, commanded the vessel; he came on shore shortly after, to procure some fresh provision, of which he stood in need to cure himself of an intermittent fever, that he had caught in the woods. From want of an inn, he had no opportunity of buying any at the fort; the officers might have easily supplied him with some vegetables; but in the opinion of a British officer, it is neither necessary nor decent to succour a Yankee.

Mr. Vanallen, although thus disappointed in his hope of finding in Oswego the necessary succour for his recovery, yet promised us two places  
in



in his vessel. He could not however set sail for Albany sooner than the next day, or perhaps in two or three days, after having been joined by three other vessels, which he expected, and in quest of which he returned to a certain point on the lake. We were thus furnished with a certain opportunity of quitting Oswego, and the eagerness, with which we embraced it, could not but convince our guests of our earnest desire of making all possible haste. The certainty of our speedy departure inspired us with patience. The English officers, who entertained more liberal sentiments towards us, than to the Yankees, peremptorily insisted on supplying us with provision; and this they did with a generosity, which perfectly answered the kind reception, we in general experienced on their part.

Two whole days had in the mean while elapsed, and the third began to press heavy upon us, when, being alone in the fort, while Dupetit-thouars and the English officers had gone on a hunting and fishing party, I at last descried two vessels with my telescope, which was constantly pointed to the coast, whence I expected my deliverance; my effects were soon packed up and my stores collected. Whether these vessels belonged to Mr. Vanallen or any other person, we were determined to seize upon the first opportunity of departing from Oswego. It was Mr. Vanallen; he had been joined but by one of the vessels, and had resolved not to wait for the rest: yet as it was already noon, as his vessels were heavy laden, and the *rapids* two miles from Oswego, which he was obliged to pass, would have detained him too long to make much way the remainder of the day, he proposed to us, to follow him on foot, at four o'clock the next morning. We thought it better, to share his tent with him that very evening, and the certainty of quitting Oswego in the afternoon made us far more happy, than all the attention of the British officers, on which we can hardly bestow sufficient praise, had been able to do. They carried their politeness so far, as to attend us to our night quarters, and on taking leave, gave us such proofs of friendship and attachment, as we cannot but acknowledge with unfeigned gratitude.

The musquitoes, which teased us sadly, were not able to make us repent our resolution of joining Mr. Vanallen that very evening; and although we did not lie down to rest the whole night, yet we heartily rejoiced in being no longer subjected to the sceptre of his Excellency the Governor-general of the two Canadas.

## JOURNEY FROM OSWEGO TO THE FALLS.

We set out at break of day, and yet were not able to advance more than ten miles, the whole day. The navigation of the river Oswego is extremely troublesome, as there is but very seldom sufficient water, even for pushing the vessel along. Each of our vessels, it is true, carried about one ton and a half, but each was worked too by three men. Besides Dupetitthouars assisted the men in our vessel with the utmost zeal; he pushed as much as they did, and passed like them three-fourths of the day in the water, to lift the vessel, that she might more easily clear the rocks and large stones, with which the river is filled, and which she would not have been able to pass over in any other manner. In five or six places the strength of a single ship's company was not sufficient to keep the vessel afloat, but the men of both vessels were obliged to join for that purpose. Ships less deeply laden, than ours, are said to proceed with more facility, especially in descending the river, when the current affords some assistance. In autumn and spring the increased mass of water is also said to remove the impediments, which at present obstruct and retard the navigation. It may be so; yet a navigation, which is practicable only for two months in the year and in descending the river, and at the same time affords at present the only known outlet for the exportation of all the productions, and the sole inlet for all the provision, which is imported from the other side of the lake, cannot in any respect be compared with that of the river St. Lawrence, however imperfect it may be. The State of New York, to whose territory this river-navigation belongs, and for which it is of much greater importance, than for any other state, will no doubt make all possible exertion to facilitate

tate it. A project of this nature is, I understand, already under contemplation, but how far will it be possible to execute this important enterprise? This is a question, which cannot be decided, but after a long and mature consideration of all the obstacles, which it will be necessary to surmount. To have started it, is sufficient for being aware of the great impediments, by which it is obstructed.

During this whole day's journey nothing remarkable came within our view. There is no settlement between Oswego and the Falls. You pass by an island, which has taken the name of Breswit from a French officer, who in the seven years war obtained here an advantage over a combined corps of English troops and Indians. The island is throughout covered with wood, and so is the whole country, through which we have hitherto passed. Two miles from the falls stands a house, which appertains to Mr. VAN VERBERG, a Dutchman, who is charged in the country with giving information to the garrison of the smugglers who intend to run any commodities into the province in the night, and with being an English spy in regard to deserters. This charge, which, by what we learned in the fort, seems to be founded, is so generally credited, that last year, in consequence of the rumour of an impending war between America and England, he was obliged to take refuge in the fort against the revengeful projects of his neighbours.

At the place, where the navigation is intercepted, we halted at WILLIAM SHORTEN'S. He keeps an inn, that is, he admits into one room of his house all the travellers, who desire to sleep there, and accommodates them with salt pork and rum; which is the most he is able to do. We arrived there, at nine o'clock in the evening, wet to the skin; for such of us, as had not been drenched by pushing and drawing the ship along, were soaked by the constant rain. We dried ourselves at a good fire; and a few slices of ham, we had brought with us, restored our strength. Dupetitthouars shared with me a very indifferent bed, which however we found extremely comfortable. From excessive fatigue I conquered the extreme aversion, which I always feel when I am obliged to sleep in

the same bed with another person, and became insensible of the inconvenience of sleeping in so narrow a room among so many people and with so great a noise.

### OSWEGO FALLS AND PENIERS.

The portage, occasioned by the falls of the river Oswego, is about a mile in length. W. Shorten, at whose house we stopped, kept only a yoke of oxen, and our two vessels were heavy laden. Each vessel was to be conveyed separately, and the cargo required four turns of the carriage. The Americans not being anywise remarkable for speed and agility, it was not until five o'clock in the evening, that our vessels had reached the place, where the navigation recommences, and where they were again to be loaded. Here a quarrel arose between our commander Vanallen, and the two mates, who were in his service, but quite intoxicated. They used him very ill; he swore at them, and they returned the compliment by calling him all the ill names, which their well-stored memory would supply. This quarrel was scarcely half accommodated, when another man arrived from the neighbourhood, demanding from Mr. Vanallen some money, which, he said, was due to his son, who for some time had served on board his vessel. This difference, however, was soon settled on friendly terms; Vanallen conducted us into night-quarters at his adversary's, and sacrificed to this reconciliation some miles, which we should have been able to make the same evening.

This time we had not even a bed. Our party, our skippers, landlord, wife, sons and daughters slept all pell-mell in a room, which was about twelve feet square. And unfortunately we were not sufficiently fatigued, having travelled but one mile on foot and one mile and a half by water, to find the floor soft, and to be insensible to the stings of the musquitoes and the bites of fleas.

Mr. Vanallen, in whose vessels we took our passage, is member of the Congress for the county of Albany in the state of New York. He is also a geometer and surveyor. His age, and, no doubt, his talents, seem to have

have procured him the confidence of his country. He is charged with the commission of surveying upwards of half a million of acres, situated on Lake Ontario and the river St. Lawrence, nearly opposite to Carlton Island, which belong to Messrs. CHASSANG, REY, DE CHAUMONT, COXE and Company. He began last year to execute this commission; but was much impeded in the progress of this business by the sickness of most of the assistant surveyors, employed under him, and was further prevented from completing it by the considerable declination of the magnetic needle in the vicinity of some rocks. He was himself seized with a fit of the ague, with which the whole country is infested, and which is caught by wandering through the forests, as well as by inhabiting the banks of rivers. Mr. Vanallen is justice of the peace, and for this reason styled 'Squire by his people, if he do not swear at them. He is about sixty years old, is said to possess a tolerable share of information, and seems in fact to be a worthy and intelligent man.

All the settlements in this part of the country are in an infant state. W. Shorten, at whose house we stopped the first night, settled here as late as last spring. He bought his estate three years ago for three pence an acre, and can now sell it for twelve shillings. He possesses three hundred acres, ten of which are scarcely cleared, and these are situated on the right bank of the river. That which lies on the left is Soldiers' land, as it is called, that is, it has, since the peace, been distributed among soldiers by the state of New York. PENIERS, at whose house we remained the second day, bought two years ago a share of this land from a foldier, to whom it had been given, for three shillings an acre.

The Oswego fall is about ten feet high, and the river nearly one eighth of a mile in width. The prospect is not without charms. A break of the bed of rocks, from which the river precipitates itself, and the irregularity of the form, produce a tolerably striking, but not a grand effect. On the right bank, near the water-fall, are found the traces of an ancient French entrenchment, and hard by them stands a small log-house, the proprietor of which is at present building a grist-mill below the fall.



### THREE RIVERS POINT AND 'SQUIRE BINGHAM.

There exist few unpleasant situations in this world, which may not be considered in a less unfavourable point of view; an exercise of imagination, with which, for some time past, I have tolerably familiarised myself. The benefit arising from a bad resting-place is the acceleration of the moment of departure. Mr. Vanallen, who satisfied Penier's demand with many caresses of the little ones, with compliments to the grown up members of the family, and with a small present of chocolate for Penier's himself, hastened to set off. We went on board before five o'clock in the morning. After a navigation, which ran constantly between woods, and in the course of which we saw, in a tract of country of eleven miles in length, not one felled tree, we reached at last, partly by rowing, and partly by pushing the vessel along, the rapids of the Three Rivers. All superfluous people were here obliged to leave the vessel. Mr. Vanallen, therefore, as well as myself, went on shore, and repaired to a small cottage, where we found a family, but very lately recovered from the ague, and at present busied in mowing a meagre looking field of wheat. These good people, who have no neighbours, are necessitated to do every thing themselves. Of eight children, who compose this family, the oldest, who is nine years old, is alone able to assist them a little. They have neither rakes, harrows nor scythes; and yet it is better to sacrifice three fourths of their harvest, than to lose the whole. These poor people, who have lived here a twelvemonth, were constantly troubled with the ague. They possessed one thousand two hundred acres of land, six hundred of which were, by the state of New York, given to the husband, who had served in the army, and the other six hundred he purchased two years ago for ten shillings an acre, but was compelled by extreme distress to sell again three hundred, with the small profit of two shillings per acre. The good people cultivate a garden; they exchanged some vegetables for a few pounds of pork, with which Mr. Vanallen was readier to accommodate them from an opinion, that his recovery depends

depends on the use of fresh provision. They seem to be good and industrious people; the wife, though mother of eight children, and scarcely recovered from the ague, is yet handsome. They presented me with some potatoes and cucumbers, and declined accepting any payment.

After the rapids had been passed, not without considerable trouble, we returned on board, and pursuing our voyage with less obstruction than before, we at length reached the point, where the Oswego river joins the Onondago, which proceeds from the small lakes, changes its name, and assumes that of the river Oneida. These appellations should rather be reversed. As we worked up the stream, the river Oneida flowing out of the lake of that name, meets the Onondago, which falls into it, and is now called Oswego; but I write as I travel.

The whole tract of land, which we have traversed since we left Oswego, lies in the county of Onondago, which extends as far as Lake Oneida, contains nearly one million eight hundred thousand acres of excellent land; and yet, according to the last computation, has no more than three thousand inhabitants.

The Three Rivers Point, which is the name of this place, is a very interesting spot. The navigation, by which the provision from the district of Genesee is conveyed across the lakes, and the salt from the brine-spring, near the borders of Onondago, here joins that by which the provision is procured on the Mohawk River from Albany and all the eastern provinces. The navigation between Albany and the Lakes of Genesee has hitherto been far more frequent than from any of these points to Lake Ontario. But the time cannot be distant, when this spot, where at present stands no building but an inn, will become the site of an important town. As yet, it is one of the most unhealthy spots in a country by no means remarkable for salubrity. Our Squire, who had purchased in Kingston flour for six dollars a barrel, and pork for sixpence a pound, and from the connivance or extraordinary blindness of the English officers, conveyed it to the River Oswego, thought now of selling it here with considerable profit. He had already disposed of some barrels of flour for eight dollars a barrel at the Oswego Falls, and intended to transmit his whole

whole, ~~to~~ Salt Springs, where he hoped to sell it for ten dollars a barrel. But he learned here; that the meeting, relative to the treaty with the Indians, was not to take place; that the country was full of provision; that it was sold at a much lower price than he demanded; and that specie was very scarce. He was, therefore, necessitated to give up his fond hopes, and embrace the resolution of proceeding somewhat farther in quest of purchasers.

.. I entertained some hope that, on account of this disappointment, we should this afternoon proceed some miles farther, when a vessel arrived, on board of which were Messrs. RENSELAER, HENRY, and STOUTS, all inhabitants of Albany of great respectability. The first was not yet perfectly recovered from a fever, which had left him in some measure, but still carried all the symptoms of an intermittent. These gentlemen intended not to proceed farther. Mr. Vanallen proposed to delay his departure until the next morning, to travel in their company; he introduced us to them, and a glass of good wine, which they carried with them (they travelled all much at their ease), consoled Dupetit-thouars as well as myself for this new delay.

Every one in the house was ill. The landlord, another Squire, was just recovered from the ague; but his wife was still indisposed with it, and in bed. His children and servants were in the same situation, and so was a pretty young woman, about twenty years old, whom we supposed to be married, because she suckled an infant of two months; but this, alas! was the unfortunate offspring of her love for a young man, who, under a promise of marriage, had seduced and afterwards deserted her. All these people lay ill in the room where we went to dine and sleep; for it was the only room in the house. The new comers, who brought with them a very tight tent, declared that they would rather pass the night under this tent, than breathe the noxious air of this house. Mr. Vanallen, struck with a dread of a relapse of the ague, ordered his tent, which consisted only of his sail, to be pitched on the banks of the river; and we wrapped ourselves up, as usual, in our blankets.

I had just fallen asleep, when I was waked by the landlord, who called me

me Doctor. Having observed, in the course of the day, that I concerned myself about his patients, and carefully enquired into the particulars of their indisposition, and their treatment, he concluded that I must needs be a physician. "Doctor," said he, "for God's sake, ~~get up~~ unless you immediately relieve the young woman she will certainly die." The Doctor, who was here eight days ago, left her some medicine, which was to last till this day, and he said would cure her. She is much worse now, and the medicine is all gone. "Pray do give her something, that she may not die." Though I was a long while debating with myself, whether or no I was to accept the title of Doctor, and at length assured him, that I had no claim to that title, yet 'Squire BINGHAM, mistaking my modesty for ill-nature or drowiness, insisted on my administering relief to the young woman. Fortunately it so happened, that in my saddle-bag I had some James's powder, which Mr. BORDLEY was so kind as to procure me before my departure from Philadelphia. From an opinion, that in these desperate circumstances it might perhaps be of service, I declined with less obstinacy to answer the confidence reposed in me by the good man. He conducted me to the bed of the patient, who, I found, was swollen, covered with petechia, and delirious; under these circumstances my James's powder could do ~~no~~ harm. But unfortunately I had lost the printed direction, pointing out the dose, a correct knowledge of which I stood much in need of, as I had never before seen it used, and this was the reason why Mr. Bordley gave me the above direction. By shewing any irresolution I should have lessened the confidence, which, though very undeservedly placed in me, I wished to preserve. With a tolerable degree of assurance I gave her twenty grains in a glass of Madeira, which the patient took with implicit confidence. Four hours had scarcely elapsed, when the enraptured 'Squire waked me again, to announce the good success of my prescription. It had produced a strong perspiration and evacuations, which the Physician of Onondago had, these eight days past, in vain endeavoured to procure. On the following morning, previously to my departure, I gave her ten grains more, left her another dose, and departed loaded with the blessings of the unfortunate young woman, who kissed my hands,

my cost, and would not let me go. I gave Mr. Bingham, who consulted me also, some bark, and left Three Rivers Point, carrying with me the thanks of all the people in the house, leaving behind a distinguished reputation for medical talents, and enjoying the happiness of having accidentally done some good by my advice. The unlucky stars of the young woman, whom Mr. Bingham took into his house eight months before, had conducted her seducer into the inn, who aggravated his former offence by using her ill in her present situation. He arrived on board a vessel bound for the district of Genesee, whither he was going in quest of labour; and his conduct had thrown my poor patient into convulsions, which my powder completely conquered. On my return to Philadelphia, it will be easily conceived, I ceded all the honour of the cure to Mr. Bordley, who made me shudder at the medical experiment I had made. He told me, that in no cure whatever James's powder should be given in a larger dose than seven grains; but I had saved the poor woman, whose life, by a strict observance of the printed direction, might perhaps have been lost.

The spot, on which the inn stands, belongs to 'Squire Bingham, who also possesses a few acres contiguous to the building; and a considerable quantity of land at some distance from it. All these lands would be tolerably good, but for their marshy, low, and flat situation, which exposes them to frequent inundations. The water is abominable; and the air bad.

#### ROTTERDAM AND LAKE ONEIDA.—MR. DE VATINES.

The passage to Lake Oneida was attended with less difficulties, than that of the preceding days; we found it excellent, travelling in the company of the gentlemen of Albany, one of whom was brother to the Deputy-governor of New York, the second one of the richest merchants of Albany, and the third a very respectable lawyer; their behaviour was frank and polite. We stopped at Fort Brompton at the entrance of the lake. This structure also is surrounded with pallisadoes, erected last year; it stands at the foot of an ancient entrenchment, constructed by the

the English during the American war; on an advantageous ground, commanding the entrance of the lake. The work was thrown up in a zig-zag figure; but from the remains no distinct idea can be formed, how the cannon could be pointed to advantage. All the antiquities of this country consist in the remains of forts, built in the wars of 1776 or 1756. Fancy must live in future ages, to find occupation in this infant country; past ages can exist here only for generations not yet born.

The proprietor of the house had gone to Rotterdam three days before. A girl of fourteen was left behind to take care of the house, and of a little brother, who was sick, and whom she actually nursed with a solicitude truly affecting. The girl, poor thing, did all she could for our accommodation, but nothing was to be procured. We should have been obliged to content ourselves with a few small potatoes, which we pulled up in the fields, if the Indians, who were encamped on the opposite bank of the river, had not brought us a large pike, which they had caught in the morning with a harpoon.

Our seamen, worn out with fatigue, refused at first to proceed the same evening to Rotterdam, ten miles farther up the lake. But from the scantiness of our provision, they altered their mind, thinking, that they might be better off in that place. Rotterdam is an infant settlement, formed but ten months ago. Mr. SCHREIBER, a rich Dutch merchant, possesses a large tract of land, extending from Lake Ontario to Lake Oneida. He fixed upon the mouth of Bruce-creek as the site of the chief place, and another settlement he has formed on Little Salmon-creek, two miles from Lake Ontario. Bruce-creek continues navigable some miles farther up. Mr. Schreiber has made a road from Rotterdam to his new town; but all these settlements are yet of no importance. The whole city of Rotterdam, to which the founder has given that name in honour of his native place, consists of about twenty houses. The dams, which he constructs for two mills he is building, have cost him considerable sums of money; hitherto he has proved rather unsuccessful in the construction of these dams, and has several times been necessitated to recommence them a-new. The grist-mill is not yet finished; the dams seem not to be of sufficient

strength for the mass of water, which they are destined to enclose and direct. Some very expensive works, which he has erected at the entrance of the creek, have contributed but very little to render them more commodious. The money, which Mr. Schreiber has expended on buildings and roads, is estimated at eight thousand dollars. If they were constructed on good principles, this money would have been well spent. He is now building a handsome house of joiner's work, where he intends to keep a store, in company with two partners, who are to manage this concern, to have a share of the profits, and to act as his agents in every branch of the business. A store or shop affords here, as indeed it does all over America, the best income, which a man can procure, who incurs a considerable expence in forming a new settlement. Mr. Schreiber, by means of his store, obtains all the money back, which he expends for his building; &c. He sells his brandy for four shillings and sixpence a quart, rum for three shillings and sixpence, flour for sixpence a pound, and ten dollars and half a barrel, for which he pays no more than seven dollars. The profit, he obtains by the sale of other provision, is still more considerable. The land, which eighteen months ago he purchased for one dollar an acre, costs now three, but is not much sought after. The present settlers come from New England and the environs of Albany.

The partners of Mr. Schreiber in regard to his store are Dutchmen, like himself. Their shopman is a mulatto, who at the same time acts as physician and gardener, and seems to have received a liberal education. He is said to be a brother of Mr. WELSH, one of the partners. Labourers' wages are at Rotterdam four shillings a day with board, or six shillings and sixpence without it. For the bread for our own consumption we paid nine-pence a pound, about eighteen French sous; its usual price is sixpence. Fresh meat, when it can be procured, costs eight-pence a pound. But these kinds of provision are scarce, notwithstanding the great number of workmen, employed by Mr. Schreiber, and consequently dear. Fevers are as prevalent in this part of the country, as in any we have hitherto traversed.

Mr. Yanallon found here an opportunity of selling his whole cargo, as well as one of his vessels; but at a lower price than he hoped to obtain. His flour he sold here for eight dollars a barrel, and at the Oswego-falls for eight dollars and a quarter. He concluded this bargain with several shop-keepers, and as it took up the whole morning, we gained sufficient time to visit a Frenchman, who enjoyed the reputation of being a very skilful gardener. Although we found him busied in gathering potatoes and onions, yet both his physiognomy and demeanour marked him as a man of some distinction; and we soon learned from him, that not long ago, he possessed a viscount's estate in the neighbourhood of Lille. His father had spent a part of his property; he himself was rather prodigal, and sold for this reason his small estate for twenty-four thousand livres, before the French revolution broke out, to try his fortune with this money in America. Having sunk this sum also, in imprudent enterprises and useless expence, he was at length obliged to resort to agriculture for his livelihood. His name is VATINES, and he has already resided three years in the neighbourhood of Lake Oneida. A whole twelvemonth he passed with the Indians, whom he highly praises, and afterwards resided with his wife alone on an island in the lake, where he cleared about twenty acres of land. About fifteen months ago he settled in Rotterdam, where Mr. Schreiber sold him one hundred acres on very fair and reasonable terms. By his own confession, the various changes of his place of residence, have been regulated by the inconstancy of his character, rather than by mature deliberation. He is about thirty years old, sprightly, obliging, always merry, inured to labour, and never troublesome with complaints of his fate. But he is prejudiced against the Americans, on account of their unfair dealings in the course of business, as he says, and especially, because they are extremely dull and melancholy. He lives, however, on very good terms with all the inhabitants of Rotterdam; though, in his judgment, they are even worse than other Americans. He assists them in their business, accepts their assistance in his business, and sells them at the highest possible rate the produce of his small garden, which is well cultivated and stocked with culinary plants.

He



He was extremely pleased with seeing his countrymen, and offered us all the vegetables in his garden, without accepting a shilling in return. All his ideas are fixed on France, and on the moment, when peace shall allow him to return into a country, which he prefers to any other. Dry bread in France he would not exchange for property and wealth in any other part of the globe. This frame of mind is common to all Frenchmen. With the utmost concern he enquired after news relative to the armies of France and their successes. To judge by our conversation with him, he seems to possess more activity than judgment. His sentiments concerning the French revolution are those of an honest Frenchman. He possessed some books, the choice of which was much to his credit—Montesquieu, Buffon, Corneille, and a great variety of travels. After having made away with his jewels, his cloaths and his linen, he was at last obliged to part with his library at half the price, which they would have fetched even in New York or Philadelphia. The keeper of the store was the only man within a space of two hundred miles, who could procure him a purchaser, in the person of a rich Dutchman, who had settled a few miles from Rotterdam. We wished to see Madame VATINES; she is about twenty-four years of age, pretty and good; her eyes are beautiful; her look has much sweetness and expression, and it seems that she, like many other wives, loves her husband with more tenderness, than he returns. Nor should I anywise be surprised, if the expressions and light tone of her husband should inspire her with jealousy, although he appears to be much attached to her. She is mother of three children, the oldest of whom is ten years old; she is of a mild and cheerful disposition, sensible and judicious. She makes hay, bakes bread, cooks, and yet her hands are very handsome. She is as little pleased with America as her husband, especially the environs of Lake Oncida; and she encourages him in the desire of residing at least in the same place with some other French families. She felt much pleasure in our company, and enjoyed with us, she said, more happiness in a quarter of an hour, than she would with Americans, if she lived ten years among them. This sort of aversion, or this dislike of Americans, is common to all the Frenchmen, you meet with

with in this part of the globe. However roughly they may have been handled by fate, they demand pleasing forms, versatility of expression, mildness, cheerfulness, and a frank and open demeanour. Their rashness in forming opinions, and their prejudices, never leave them. Although they may without injustice entertain the opinion, that the outward appearance of the Americans is less pleasing than ours; yet they are certainly unjust in contending, that they are less honest, than other people. Nothing, that has come within my observation, can justify such an opinion. We learned from Mr. Vatines, that Mr. DESJARDINS, and not the Abbé Desjardins, as we were told at Niagara, had bought of Mr. MACOMBE of Paris three hundred thousand acres of land, along the banks of the Black River in Hunger-bay, in company with two other Frenchmen, one of whom, Mr. FARON, an architect, was lately drowned, in crossing the Black River. They are now surveying these lands, on which they intend to form large settlements. Mr. Desjardins is said to be a man of considerable property; he is married, and at present, engaged in building a house in Albany. All these particulars we learned from Mr. Vatines, whom we left with the promise of a mutual kind remembrance. Rotterdam stands on the borders of the county of Herkmer, to which it belongs.

#### WOOD-CREEK.

Lake Oneida is twenty-eight miles in length, about eighteen of which remain yet to be crossed, before we leave it. You see not one building, or any settlement along the banks of the lake, excepting a farm-house, built by Mr. VANDEKAMP (the same who bought Mr. Vatines's books), and situated five miles from Rotterdam. Endless forests, an indifferent soil, and no eminence, appear towards the north. The country rises more southwards, where mountains come in view, at the distance of ten or twelve miles, in a direction parallel to the lake. These mountains are the same, which we saw on Lake Ontario, on our way from Kingston to Oswego. Lake Oneida is from five to six miles in breadth. On its south-east bank, a few miles from the shore, stands the Indian village

lage of Oneida. This nation is now engaged in concluding a treaty, by which it is to sell the country, south of Oneida-lake, called the Oneida Reservation, to the state of New York. I am not acquainted with the conditions of this treaty; all I know is, that the nation are to retain a tract of land of twelve square miles in extent, which is to be secured to them by all possible means, together with the right of a free fishery in the lake. But a few years ago, the Oneida Indians were possessors of the immense extent of country, which is now in the hands of the American speculators in land. That these lands should come into such hands, as are able to put them into a good condition, can be no matter of regret, especially as the Indians consent to it. But might it not be possible, to form settlements amidst these people, to civilize them by agriculture, and to instruct them by example? This tribe, it is asserted, encreases rather than decreases in numbers. If this were true, it would be the only instance among all the Indian nations, yet known, and deserve encouragement. Civilization is said to have already, in some measure, gained ground among the Indians, and agriculture to have reached a higher degree of perfection with them than in any other tribe. The negotiations, we were informed, meet, however, with obstructions, which are likely to impede a successful issue. General SCHUYLER, who conducts them on the part of the United States, and who intends to purchase all the land on his own account, experiences a strong opposition from TIMOTHY PICKERING, the Secretary of State, who is said to be displeased, that he himself cannot come in for a share in the proposed indemnification. These particulars, which I have from persons, who think themselves well-informed, may yet be mere scandalous reports, although they carry no improbability with them.\*

We counted on advancing a few miles on the Wood-creek, before we should stop, when we fell in with our company from Albany, who had halted at the mouth of the lake. A fit of the ague had obliged Mr. Van

\* The negotiations, mentioned by the author, actually led to the treaty of 1795, by which the Oneida nation sold the Oneida reservation to the state of New York, for an annuity of three thousand five hundred and fifty-two dollars.—*T. and B.*

Renfelaer to put a period to this day's journey at two o'clock in the afternoon. The gentlemen proposed to us, to stop likewise; our conductor accepted the proposal, and our consent was a matter of course. We passed the night in scratching, rather than in sleep, for the marangouins and other small gnats are more numerous and troublesome, along the banks of the Wood-creek, than in any other part of these wildernesses. We were obliged to send for water, to a spring, which was known to the people on board our vessel, but three miles distant. This water, though bad in itself, was excellent in comparison with the muddy, mephitic and stagnant water of Wood-creek, and with rum, was drinkable. Our dinner consisted of some potatoes, which were left from our last meal at Rotterdam; we had plenty of biscuit; and although we were badly off in every respect, yet we found, that things might be worse.

#### CANADA CREEK.

Wood-creek is the small stream of Lake Oneida; at its mouth it is scarce sixteen yards in breadth, and somewhat farther up hardly eight. The course of this creek being a continued serpentine winding, the distance from its source to the mouth, which in a straight line is estimated at forty miles, is trebled by these meanders. It is under contemplation to construct a canal, intended to cut off several of these windings, and to retain a part of its present channel. The moderate mass of water, contained in this stream, is also obstructed by a considerable number of trees, rooted out and swept along by the stream in spring and autumn, when it overflows its banks. It is with great difficulty a vessel works her way through these incumbrances. This sluggish river has probably taken its name from the great number of trunks of trees, which obstruct the navigation, and rot in the water; for, otherwise, it has no better claim to the name of Wood-creek, than all other small rivers and lakes in America, which in general flow through woods. This navigation is, in my opinion, far more troublesome, than that of the Oswego; at least it is equally so; and it can hardly be expected, that the proposed canal, were it even finished, and kept in good repair, should for ever remove the impediments, which

obstruct the navigation. Throughout the whole course of this creek, it receives only the waters of Canada Creek; which, excepting for two months in the year, discharges into it but a small quantity of water. But, in spring, it rises in so extraordinary a degree, that the trees, under which we are now passing along, and the branches of which hang two feet above our heads, were, last May, covered with water in such a manner, that the same vessel, in which we now find ourselves, at that time passed over the trees, without noticing their existence.

On the arrival of vessels in Canada Creek, they must be unloaded to pass nine or ten miles farther, the last two of which cannot be passed at all, if the miller, who possesses a mill at the entrance of the creek, allow not his water to flow into the creek, which he sometimes refuses. The cargoes of the vessels are transported in waggons, about ten or eleven miles; the passengers travel over the same ground, as they choose, or as they can. The vessels themselves, when they have approached the source of Wood-creek within one or two miles, are put on waggons, to pass the interval, which separates the lake we have just left from Mohawk River, where they are launched again.

Although our party had formed the bold resolution of pushing on to the head of Mohawk River, we halted at Canada Creek, resolved to let the vessel proceed onwards in moonshine, and to pursue, ourselves, the voyage on the next morning at break of day. The soil was all along of a black colour and excellent quality; although it did not cover the rocky ground to any considerable depth.

In the whole course of our navigation on the Wood-creek, twenty-four miles in length, we saw not one building, and found but one spring, called Oakorchard, which was four minutes filling a small glass, and the water of which was but of a middling quality.

#### FORT STANWIX.

In the evening we generally say, we shall be awake early in the morning. But this frequently not being the case, a fatiguing journey is protracted in a tedious manner, and a good night-lodging is more seldom obtained

obtained in a country, where in general such lodging is exceedingly rare. This inconvenience, however, cannot possibly be avoided by a numerous party, composed of people labouring under infirmities and fond of ease. Our vessels had not yet started at six in the morning; the waggons had not yet arrived; and it was seven o'clock before we left Mr. GILBERT's inn, which we found tolerably good, and which would have been much better, had our company been less numerous. Rotterdam we had left full of sick people; we were now about fifty miles from it, had seen no other house; and the first we entered was no less an infirmary. The landlady, the maid, the man-servant, were all indisposed with the ague, and the few neighbours of the inn were in the same situation, as the Gilbert family. The land along Wood-creek, which is not of great value, being subject to inundation, costs three dollars the acre. The price of that about Gilbert's house is five dollars, and it is but of middling quality. The construction of the canal induces the proprietors to raise the price of the land, though it is not frequently sought after; and, in truth, I am at a loss to conceive, how any one can be tempted to inhabit the banks of this miserable creek. Messrs. Van Renselaer and Vanallen, the two sick members of our party, made the tour on horseback; Mr. Henry, Mr. Stouts, and myself, travelled on foot; and Dupetit-thouars, passionately fond of vessels and navigation, followed the boats to help them along. Since we began to travel together, not a moment has passed, but I have congratulated myself on my travelling in his company; he is the most quiet, cheerful, and pleasant companion; he plays with children, converses with exquisite sense with men, who deserve his notice; drinks with officers, and rows with seamen—ever brave, ever simple, and for this reason prospering, in some measure, every where.

The whole tract of country, through which this river flows, from one extremity to the other, is called Fort Stanwix, and takes its name from a fort, erected for the protection of the communication between the two ends of the river. Colonel ST. LEGER, in order to attack this fort, attempted the difficult navigation of Wood-creek, still more obstructed by the trees, which the Americans had purposely thrown into

the stream. He succeeded in penetrating to the fort, which he besieged, but the intelligence of the capture of General BURGOYNE's army put a speedy end to the siege. I learned from General Simcoe, that on this retreat the English troops lost more men from the Indians firing on them, than from the pursuit of the Americans. We halted on the spot where Wood-creek entirely ceases to be navigable, very near to its source.

The inn of Mr. STERNEY was full of people indisposed with the ague. The whole neighbourhood was crowded with others in the same condition; and, by his account, numbers of travellers are daily arriving, who have not escaped the influence of the tainted air and of the contagion, which prevails in the district of Genessee. Within this last fortnight the flux has joined the fever, already sufficiently dreadful in itself; it rages with all the violence of an epidemical disease, and carries off a great many people. At every door, at which we stopped, we observed the same yellow paleness in every face, and received the same accounts. Having, at length, reached the place on the river Mohawk, where we were to embark, we found Mr. Renfelaer in a fit of the ague. An hour after, arrived the mate of Mr. Vanallen's vessel, seized with the same illness, and last of all came Dupetitthouars, the Hercules of our party, complaining of pains in his limbs, head-ache, and cold shiverings. The poor man had felt these symptoms these two days, but concealed it from me, lest I should repeat my earnest entreaties to him, not to undergo such excessive fatigue. Every one of our party, who felt not quite sick, began now to examine, whether he were not deceived in his opinion of being well; the fear of being attacked by the universal contagion was openly confessed; and the whole conversation turned upon the means of escaping it, on the most wholesome food, and the best remedies. Our whole day was spent in this manner; for our vessels, which had set out at seven o'clock in the morning, did not arrive until nine in the evening. The great number of the sick in the country, attention to the patients of our own party, and the waiting for the vessels, prevented me from collecting information. What little intelligence I obtained is as follows:—The land on the Mohawk River costs five dollars an acre. The settlers in this township,

township, which was founded six or seven years ago, come most of them from Connecticut; among these are many Methodists, Baptists and Episcopalians; but the major part are Presbyterians. Divine service is performed in private houses, and pretty regularly attended; but from want of preachers all the prayers are said successively by a member of the congregation; and in this consists the whole service.

### MAYER'S TAVERN.—MOHAWK RIVER.

I had cherished a hope, that Dupetitthouars's sufferings would be finished in half a day, and that this would be the only punishment for the excessive fatigue, which he had very imprudently undergone. But the ague has actually made its appearance, with all the symptoms which characterize this malady. Our situation is extremely unpleasant, unprovided as we are with any means of assistance. Although exhausted by fatigue, and scorched by the sun, from which nothing can protect us in this vexatious vessel, we have yet not been in a bed for these eight days past. Independently of my apprehension for my companion, I most devoutly wish to see the end of this passage, and yet our arrival in Albany is continually delayed by new obstructions. The navigation of the Mohawk River is fortunately not like that of the rivers, we have passed lately. We descend gently with the stream; and although its channel is in some places obstructed with trees, yet they may be easily cleared. It receives many small creeks and springs, the water of which is excellent; for these four days past we had not met with any tolerable water. The soil is good all along the way we have travelled, but grows better, in proportion as you proceed to a greater distance from the source of the stream. The settlements are more numerous, especially on the right bank. Ten miles farther on, they begin likewise to be so on the left bank; and here the communication between the settlers on both sides is kept up by wooden bridges. Ten miles from Fort Stanwix, the price of land is from five to six dollars per acre. A great part is leased out for life; the lessee agrees to pay the proprietor a certain sum per acre, as long as he cultivates it.

The



The lease is generally granted for three lives, which he can choose at pleasure, or for his own life and the lives of his children. The man, in whose house we breakfasted, holds one hundred acres by this tenure, but not from the first owner; and thus without having had the right of choosing the lives, the duration of which is to determine the period of his lease. Only nineteen acres have been yet cleared, for he settled here only fifteen months ago. Ten of these acres, which are sown with wheat, yield from thirty to thirty-five bushels an acre; a produce, which affords him not only subsistence, but also a sufficient overplus to pay his rent.

### SCHUYLERTOWN.

The settlement of Schuylertown is the most considerable we have hitherto seen, since we left Wilkesbarre. It is a tract of country populously settled, rather than an infant settlement; though its occupation commenced but in 1785. The land, which at that time cost a few pence the acre, and three years ago no more than five dollars, is now sold, not only in the vicinity of the town, but also fifteen miles beyond it, for nineteen or twenty dollars per acre. General SCHUYLER and Dr. BLIGHT are the original proprietors of a great part of these lands, which they purchased from the state. A road from Albany to the district of Genessee, which runs by this town, occasions a number of persons to pass this way, beside those who come by water. Colonists from New England form the most considerable part of the population of this rich and opulent settlement. The land is excellent, and yields, per acre, from twenty-five to thirty bushels of grain. Day-labourers are easily obtained; their wages are generally four shillings a day, and six shillings in harvest. Wheat is cut with the sickle. The harvest turns out plentiful, this year; and the price of flour, which was hitherto nine dollars a barrel, has already gotten down. The inhabitants are busied in gathering in their crops; and the country has an appearance of prosperity and plenty.

The town consists of about one hundred and fifty houses, many of which are well built; of two churches, one belonging to the Presbyterians,

terians, who are the most numerous, and the other to members of the Episcopal church. The other sects have churches in the surrounding country. This town is the capital of the county of Herkemer, which, by the last computation, contained twenty-five thousand five hundred and twenty-three inhabitants.\* Both the jail and court-house were built three years ago; and rates have, but very lately, been assessed, to reimburse the expence. The quotas of the inhabitants are raised on the same principles, as all other taxes, and are very trifling. The aggregate sum of all the taxes amounts scarcely to sixpence in the pound. One or two paupers, supported by voluntary contributions, constitute the whole burthen upon the charity of the township. The roads are good; the country is beautifully pleasant, and almost entirely cleared. Cattle are reared in great numbers. Fresh meat may be had at all times, and costs sixpence a pound. One grist-mill and three saw-mills within a space of four miles around the town, promote its prosperity. All the provision, which is not consumed in the country, in winter is sent to Albany. The number of houses may be augmented in the town, but the prosperous and flourishing condition of the country admits of hardly any encrease. All the lands along the Mohawk River are of a very good quality; the uncleared parts bear none but sound and large trees, and the ground under cultivation is extremely productive. The country is everywhere high, healthful, well watered, and doubtless one of the finest parts of the United States. Intermittent fevers are not more frequent here, than in all healthy and settled countries; few persons are afflicted with that distemper, but the flux is at this time making some ravages among the inhabitants.

#### GERMAN FLATS.

The German Flats are still more beautiful, than the country about Schuylertown. This establishment was formed about eighty years ago.

\* The county of Herkemer contains, by the state census of 1796, twenty-five thousand five hundred and seventy-three inhabitants, of whom four thousand one hundred and sixty-one are electors.—*Translator.*

Dutchmen and Germans were the first settlers. Since that time other families from Germany and Holland have joined the ancient colonists, and numerous settlers continue to arrive from those parts, as well as other European countries. The German tongue and German manners have been preserved among the families of the original planters. Yet this language is not exclusively the speech of the district, as in Reading and Lancaster. The German Flats are famous throughout America, on account of their fertility. The fruitful soil is from fifteen to twenty feet in depth; the eminences, which bound these low grounds, possess the same soil; many of them are high mountains, cultivated up to the summits, which in some places are crowned with beautiful meadows. The staple commodity is wheat; but Indian-corn, buck-wheat, water-melons, and gourds, are also cultivated. All plants are here of an uncommon size, and a peculiar flavour, especially potatoes. They are my favourite food, when I am on a journey; especially at present, when they are the only fresh vegetables, which can be had. Moreover, they seem to be prophylactics in the febrile atmosphere, in which we are travelling.

Some lands in the Flats, close to the river, would not be sold for less than one hundred, or one hundred and thirty dollars an acre. Cattle are here neither numerous nor of a fine breed. Horses are reared in the greatest number; but those I have seen are not remarkable for beauty; several of them are put to a waggon by the farmer. The harvest is uncommonly plentiful; and it is speedily housed, as labourers may be easily procured. But, what a difference between the grave assiduity of this people, and the cheerful, merry, and melodious activity of our reapers in France! The harvest is and was there a feast, a time of pleasure as of blessings. All were content. Old people and children, man and wife, young men and girls, all participated in this universal, real, noisy, and contagious mirth, which, far from interrupting the labour, imparted the labourers to greater zeal and exertion. The time of hay-making and the vintage—what an universal joy, charming giddiness, and delightful spectacle, did they not afford, fit to enrapture the oldest breast! What nation understands better to enjoy happiness, than the amiable French?

French? Ah! am I never to call this a harvest-home but on a foreign soil?

The corn in the German Flats, although commonly fine, would be still finer, if the fields were cultivated with more care; the farmers generally neglect to free them from weeds in spring. Noxious plants shoot up, therefore, more copiously, in proportion as the soil is richer, and obstruct the growth of the corn. The form of the fields, the expanse of the banks of the river, and the swelling hills and mountains, offer a delightful variegated prospect, the charms of which are heightened by the numerous buildings interperfed, of various forms and colours. To an extent of twelve or fifteen miles, the right bank forms an uninterrupted village, of a considerable depth. Fevers are not frequent here; but the flux carries off, at present, numbers of people. The heat is in truth excessive, and the sun, which darts piercing rays, remains long above the horizon. The heat is altogether intolerable, exposed as we are to it in an open vessel; and the nights are nearly as troublesome as the days. Never are they cooled by the slightest breeze, and they are still warm with the sultry heat of the preceding day, when the sun rises again. This is the hottest weather, I have ever experienced. My thermometer stands in the shade generally at ninety-three degrees of Fahrenheit (twenty-seven one-ninth Réaumur).

#### THE CANAL AND LITTLE FALLS TOWNSHIP.—PALATINE.

Seven miles from the German Flats are the Little Falls, which again occasion a land-carriage of three-fourths of a mile. These falls are mere violent rapid; several rocks of different size narrow the channel of the stream; the consequent agitation of the water occasions a foam, and interrupts the navigation. The adjacent country, two miles above and below the rapids, is also full of rocks. The soil is sandy, swampy, and rocky; such is the nature of this spot, a stain of the finest country in the world. Immediately after you have passed this vein of stone, the land is again as beautiful and fertile as before.

For these three years past, the people have been busied in constructing a canal,

canal, which runs along the banks of the rapids, and is intended to remove the impediments, that interrupt the navigation. A company of gentlemen of considerable property, supported by a great number of subscribers, have entered upon this undertaking, and but very lately obtained a powerful aid from the Legislature of the State of New York, which has subscribed largely for this enterprise. The canal, it is asserted, is to be finished this year; and we are assured, that it will be accomplished very soon. The work is, however, in my judgment, but little advanced; although the whole length amounts to no more than three quarters of a mile; the progress is very slow; and a rock is to be cut through. The stones, which are dug out, are partly made use of for erecting a wall three feet in height on both sides of the canal. This wall is again covered with earth, which is also thrown against it on both sides, so that it forms a dam, the top of which is eight feet in width, and the slope about thirty. As neither mortar nor any other cement is used in erecting the wall, it remains with me a matter of doubt, whether the water will not find its way through the dam, and do mischief. At the beginning of the canal two locks have been constructed, which are completely finished, except that the doors are not yet hung. These locks are built all of wood, the foundation as well as the sides, and the workmanship, as far as I am able to judge, is very good, but I am at a loss to conceive, why no stones are made use of in the construction of this work, as they abound in the surrounding country. Two hundred and fifty workmen are constantly employed at the canal, who receive each six shillings a day, without board. These workmen are divided into certain companies; a great number of them are inhabitants of the neighbourhood, but many are also Irishmen newly arrived, my Irish convict, whose conduct is far from being beneficial to the country.

The town of Little Falls consists of about fifty well-built houses. A corn-mill of an excellent construction, and a saw-mill, have been erected on these rapids.

After a navigation of twenty miles, our 'Squire stopped near a house, which, by his account, was fully adequate to indemnify us for the inconveniences

conveniences we had sustained the preceding nights. But nothing at all was to be had; a whole hour elapsed before we were able to obtain a bed for Dupetitthouars, whose illness grew constantly worse. The floor was assigned to us for a resting place; there we could not obtain. This place belongs to the township of Palatine; it is seated on the left bank of the river, possesses the same soil, and the same honest, slow, and dirty Germans for inhabitants. This settlement was formed about seventy years ago.

### SKENECLADY.

My patient felt much relieved after an emetic I had given him the preceding evening; we were obliged to wake him at four o'clock, as we wished to arrive at an early hour at Skeneclady. The day passed, in regard to our patient, better than we expected, as we entered the port without his having been attacked by another fit of the fever. We had, therefore, ground to hope, that the dreadful fits, which he had sustained, were merely the consequences of excessive fatigue. We stopped at Canalmen, which is another German settlement. The information above detailed applies likewise to this place, even in regard to the prices of commodities. Water-melons and gourds are here also sown, either with Indian corn, or by themselves, and are employed to great advantage in feeding the cattle, during the five or six months in which they must necessarily be kept in the stable. The Hessian fly is yet unknown in this fortunate country. The land is so good, as not to stand in need of manure. The present occupier has lived thirty-four years on this estate, and never had dung on more than five acres of his lands, which he manured thirty years ago very slightly.

After having passed the settlement, which formerly belonged to W. JOHNSTON, ancient English Director-general of Indian affairs, whose estates were confiscated at the time of the Revolution, because he declared himself against the Americans, we at length reached Skeneclady, the end of our navigation. Johnstown is the capital of the county of Montgomery, which contains about thirty thousand inhabitants. Ske-

nectady is a small town, as old as Albany, and containing mostly old houses, built in the Dutch style, which give it altogether the appearance of an ancient European city. The Mohawk River, which is here closely hemmed in, takes a large sweep in the vicinity of this town; and a cataract renders the navigation impossible. You here quit the vessel, and proceed by land to Albany. The possibility of constructing a canal, by which the falls as well as other impediments of the navigation of the Mohawk River may be avoided, is acknowledged on all hands; and plans, it is asserted, are in contemplation, to facilitate the painful passage we have just made, and to supersede the necessity of occasional land-carriage. This would be a great and useful undertaking, equally honourable and advantageous for the State of New York. Vessels of fifteen or twenty tons burthen, it is said, might be employed in this navigation, which would thus become an outlet, far preferable to that of the River St. Lawrence, which admits of only boats of three or four tons burthen. We heard it reported in Upper Canada, it is true, that with an expence of one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling an uninterrupted navigation might be opened from London to Niagara. But independently of one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling being a pretty large sum, the whole project is the work of an adventurer, whose wishes are easily converted into hopes, and whose hopes speedily mature to opinions, the cronecroticism of which frequently time only develops.

The information, which I was able to collect respecting Skeneectady, is as follows. The settlement was originally formed by Brabanters, in the year 1662: but in later times most of the colonists arrived from New England; and so they do at present. Two thirds of the territory of Skeneectady, which comprises one hundred and twenty-eight square miles, are already cleared; the good soil is five feet, and on eminences two feet in depth; good land yields from twenty-five to thirty bushels of wheat an acre; land of inferior quality from twelve to fifteen; agriculture, as well as the price of provision, is much the same as in the more advanced parts; winter lasts, in regard to agricultural operations, from November till April; the grain suffers but very seldom, and in a trifling degree,

degree, from the Hessian fly, and from blights; the climate is healthy; the usual mart for the production of the country is Albany. The Episcopal is the prevalent religion; although the town contains also a church for German Lutherans, and one for Presbyterians. The Germans were also the most liberal benefactors to the institution of a college, which was incorporated last year (1794), and the property of which, raised by subscriptions and other means, amounts already to forty-two thousand two hundred and twenty-two dollars, and one thousand six hundred acres of land, given by the states\*.

Skenectady is the emporium as well for the provision, which comes down the Mohawk River, designed for Albany, as for the merchandize, which from the stores at Albany is transmitted to the countries, intersected by the Mohawk River and other streams, flowing into the former as far as the district of Genesee. The township of Skenectady contains about three thousand five hundred souls†. It is the frontier-town of the county of Albany towards Montgomery. The capital of this county is Albany; the county of Albany contains about thirty thousand inhabitants, of whom two thousand five hundred are slaves.

In Skenectady we took our leave of Mr. Vanallen, who, in addition to the civilities shewn us in the whole course of our voyage, declined also to accept any money for our passage, on the ingenious pretence, that, as we carried our provisions with us, we had not in the least increased his expence. We remain, therefore, in many respects, under great obligations to this gentleman.

#### TOUR TO ALBANY.

Mr. Vanallen had business to transact in Skenectady, and we wished to reach Albany as soon as possible. A stable-keeper engaged to carry us

\* The college, alluded to by the Author, is Union College, which took its name from the union of various denominations of Christians in its establishment. The faculty of this college consisted, in 1797, of the president and one tutor, and the number of students was thirty-seven.—*Translator*.

† By the State Census of 1796, the township of Skenectady contains three thousand four hundred and seventy-two inhabitants, of whom six hundred and eighty-three are electors, and three hundred and eighty-one slaves.—*Translator*.



the same night to Albany, though it was already late; we took accordingly our seat in ~~the~~ wagon, bolstered with straw. About four miles from Skeneclady, the driver informed us, that he could not proceed farther. Grumbling, we submitted, therefore, to the necessity of taking up our night's lodging in a bad inn, where, as soon as Dupetitthouars had occupied the only bed which was in the house, I entered into a conversation with the landlord and our driver, which turned upon politics, the universal topic in this country. Since we have set foot in the territory of the United States, we find newspapers in every village. My new acquaintances were people of uncouth manners, and without the least education; but their opinions were just and sensible, and their judgments extremely correct. They manifested a strong attachment to France, and most earnestly wished her success. They hate England, confide in their President, and speak of DE LA FAYETTE with tears in their eyes. This universal attachment of the Americans to De la Fayette, and the grateful sentiments of him expressed by all without exception, though in the course of the French Revolution he acted a part not approved by all, refute in a forcible manner the charge of levity and ingratitude frequently preferred against the Americans. "May he come," said a man to us this morning who was riding on horseback by the side of our carriage, "May the Marquis come, we will make him rich. It is through him that France made us free; never shall we be able to do so much for him, as he has done for us."

After a three hour's journey through a country, which is much like the woods of Anjou, sandy, covered with fern, and bearing none but sickly trees, we at length arrived at Albany.

#### MINERALOGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

The minerals between Fort Oswego and Albany, and the earth, with which they are covered, are much the same as in the district of Genesee, and in Upper Canada. The rocks about the fort, as well as near the rapids and water-fall, consist of an imperfect granite, seldom interspersed with mica; from time to time you meet with slate of a coarse grain.

On the banks of Wood-creek I scarcely saw any stones at all; the

ground is immerfed in water to fuch a degree, that during this tedious and winding paffage none come in view. The water-fall in Mohawk River (Little Falls) breaks through a chain of granite rocks, that are obfervable in all parts of this fmall barren fpot, which, as has already been remarked, is a difgrace to the rich furrounding country. In the townfhip of Palatine lime-ftone is found of a very good quality. Two wide terraces of earth, which bound the channel of the Mohawk, and form its banks, are the moft remarkable appearance upon that river. The banks of the Connecticut, it is affirmed, offer the fame ftriking profpect.

As to the different fpecies of trees, I have had but little leifure to obferve them, not having been on fhore oftener than twice or thrice a day, and never but for a few moments. They feem to be much the fame as in the diftrict of Genefsee.

#### ALBANY.

Albany is one of the moft ancient fettlements in North America; it was formed in the year 1660; and the town incorporated in 1686. The hiftory of this city, which occurs in all descriptions of the United States, I fhall pafs over in filence. It is feated one hundred and fixty-five miles from New York, has a harbour, and a very extenfive trade. Ships of eighty tons burthen fail up to the town; and the trade is carried on in veffels of this fize. A fort of fand-bank, three miles below Albany, renders the navigation rather difficult; yet it is eafily cleared with the affiftance of pilots acquainted with it, and no fhip arrives without one of them on board. This impediment, it is affirmed, might eafily be removed at a trifling expence; and fhips of a much larger fize might then anchor near the city. The navigation of the river from the North country is open from the middle of April until the middle of November. The trade of Albany is chiefly carried on with the produce of the Mohawk country, and extends eafward as far as agriculture and cultivated lands expand. The ftate of Vermont, and a part of New Hampshire, furnifh alfo many articles of trade; and the exports chiefly confift in timber and lumber of every fort and description, potatoes, potafh and pearl-afhes,

ashes, all species of grain, and chiefly in manufactured goods. These articles are, most of them, transported to Albany in winter on sledges, hauled by the merchants, and by them successively transmitted to New York, where they are either sold for bills on England, or exchanged for English goods, which are in return sent from Albany to the provinces, whence the articles for exportation were drawn. Business is, therefore, carried on entirely with ready money, and especially in regard to pot-ash; not even the most substantial bills are accepted in payment. The trade of Albany is carried on in ninety vessels, forty-five of which belong to inhabitants of the town, and the rest to New York or other places. They are in general of seventy tons burthen, and make upon the average ten voyages a year, which, on computing the freights outwards and homewards, produces a total of one hundred and twenty-six thousand tons of shipping for the trade of Albany. Every ship is navigated by four men; the master is paid twenty dollars a month, if he have no share in the ship, the mate fifteen, and a seaman nine. There is also generally a cabin-boy on board, or more frequently a cook, as few ships have less than eight passengers on board, either coming up or going down. The freight of goods is usually one shilling a hundred weight; but this varies, according to their value, or the room they occupy.

The trade of Albany is very safe, but seems not to be very profitable. The neat proceeds of a voyage amount upon an average to about one hundred dollars, which makes for the whole year one thousand dollars for a ship, a profit by no means considerable. If you add to this the money paid by passengers for their passage, which amounts to ten shillings a head, making from seventeen to twenty dollars a voyage, and from one hundred and seventy to two hundred dollars for the ten voyages, which are made in the course of the year, the whole yields but a very moderate profit, which is however increased by the sale of the goods. This is as yet the usual way in which trade is carried on by this city; it deprives the merchants of Albany of a considerable profit, and throws it into the hands of those of New York. Some of the former undertake indeed voyages to England, Holland, and other countries; but, for this purpose they charter New York vessels. These are the bolder people;

people: and are called **men** of the new notions, but their number is small.

The ancient customs and confined views of the timid, yet covetous, Dutchmen, have carefully been preserved in this city. No ship sails from Albany directly to Europe; and yet provision is sent thither from this place. It is evident that, if the inhabitants would take themselves the trouble of exporting their produce, they would save useless interest, the return-freight, and double commission, and would obtain employment for their ships during the time, when the navigation to the north is shut up by ice. Ideas of this complexion begin to dawn upon the minds of some merchants, and will, no doubt, produce advantageous changes. From the same habitual apathy the merchants of Albany relinquish the trade in horses and mules, great numbers of which are reared in the neighbourhood, to the Connecticut merchants, who purchase and export them with considerable profit to the Antilles.

The building of ships costs in Albany about twenty-seven dollars and half per ton. The ships are all fir-built, and last about ten years. Experiments have been made, which prove, that ships built of dry and well seasoned timber, last thirty years and upwards. The trade of Albany grows daily more extensive; and the number of shops and ships is increasing fast. Two new towns, built five or six years ago, a few miles above Albany, on the northern bank of the river, share in this trade. These two towns, which have rapidly raised themselves to a considerable degree of importance, and are but three or four miles distant from each other, carry on the same trade as Albany with about twenty-five or thirty vessels, which belong to them, draw from the back country the productions of these fruitful provinces, transmit them to New York, take in return European goods, and supply with them those parts, which were formerly supplied from Albany. The greater distance, however, and less depth of water, are circumstances unfavourable to these new towns. The freight thence to Albany is two-pence per barrel; their largest ships are only of sixty tons burthen, and generally cannot take on board more than half their cargo, the remainder of which they receive from

lighters, which attend them for that purpose in the vicinity of Albany. Yet, they continue their trade, encrease daily, and will probably animate Albany to greater boldness and activity. *New City* contains about sixty or seventy stores or shops, and *Troy* fifty or sixty. These new-settled merchants all prosper, and their number is daily encreasing. The merchants of Albany, it is reported, view this growing prosperity of their neighbours with an evil eye, and consider it as an encroachment upon their native rights. If this be true, the jealousy of the merchants of Albany must be the result of their ignorance and confined views. The provinces, which contribute their produce to support this trade, are yet far from having attained to the highest degree of cultivation; many parts, equally proper for that purpose, are but little cultivated; and others yet uncleared. Towns will be built still farther northwards than *Troy* and *New City*; others will be erected even on the western side of the river, while, at the same time, the greater number of settlements and encreased population, will augment the produce and wants, and every town, whether ancient or new, experience an increase of business beyond what it will be able to do.

Albany contains six thousand inhabitants, two thousand of whom are slaves, as the laws of the State of New York permit slavery. The old houses are built in the Dutch style, with the gable-end to the street; the pyramidal part rising in steps, and terminating in a chimney decorated with figures, or in some iron puppets. All the buildings, which have been erected within these last ten years, are constructed of brick in the English style, wide and large.

The revenue of the city amounts to about thirty-five thousand dollars a year. It possesses a great quantity of land in the neighbouring country, and also sells the quays on the river at two dollars and half per foot, and a ground-rent of one shilling, which is irredeemable. This revenue is partly owing to the economy of the administrators, who have hitherto endeavoured rather to enrich the city than to embellish it, and render it more convenient. The senate is, at present, composed of young men, who promise to take care of these articles. But, from the ignorance.  
apathy.

apathy, and antiquated ideas, which prevail in this city, it is much to be apprehended, lest the results of their exertions should prove but very trifling for a long time to come. I almost incline to think, that young people here are old born.

A bank, which was instituted here four years ago, promotes the trade of Albany; it consists of six hundred shares of four hundred dollars each, only half of which have hitherto been paid. The yearly dividend is nine per cent, besides what is deducted for the expence of the building in which the bank is kept.

There is in Albany a Dutch Lutheran church of a Gothic and very peculiar construction; the Episcopalians, Presbyterians, German Protestants, and Methodists, possess also churches in this town.

The price of land, in the vicinity of Albany, is from sixty-three to seventy-five dollars per acre. Some lands near the river are still dearer. These are remarkably good; but those, which are situated more backwards, are but of a middling quality. Agriculture is not attended to with peculiar care; the farms lie half in grass and half in corn. No country had ever stronger incitements to perfect its agriculture and industry; for none was ever furnished with outlets more safe and less expensive.

Some manufactories have been established at a small distance from the town, among which is a glass-house, in which both window glass and bottles are made. The former is pretty smooth, and the manufactory is carried on with much activity. Mr. CALDWELL possesses also near the town extensive works, where tobacco, mustard, starch, and cocoa-mills, are turned by water, and even every accessory labour is performed by the aid of water machinery\*. The tobacco-mill is the most important part of these works; about one hundred and fifty thousand pounds are yearly

\* These valuable works, which are decidedly superior to any of the kind in America, are situated one mile north of the city, in the suburbs. The ingenious proprietor, whose true name is JAMES CALDWELL, has obtained a patent for the invention of the water machinery, which is truly admirable.—*Translator*.

manufactured. Last summer (July 1794) a complete set of similar works having been consumed by fire, Mr. Caldwell's friends immediately opened a loan of twenty thousand pounds at the bank, and the legislative body of New York resolved also last session to assist him with a sum of the same amount. I am to add in honour of Mr. Caldwell, with whom I am not acquainted, that nearly all the labouring people in the city, in consequence of this unfortunate accident, subscribed several days' labour, as a voluntary contribution to the re-construction of these works, which are truly grand and beautiful. They give employment and subsistence to fifty persons, some of whom receive one hundred dollars a year; children, nine years old, can earn from six shillings to one dollar a week. Tan-yards, corn, oil, paper, and fulling-mills, have also been erected in the surrounding country; and labourers are found in abundance. The wages of common day-labourers amount to four shillings and sixpence a day, and to seven shillings in harvest.

Hospitality to strangers seems not to be a prominent feature in the character of the inhabitants of Albany; the few, with whom we got acquainted, looked extremely dull and melancholy. They live retired in their houses with their wives, who sometimes are pretty, but rather awkward in their manners; and with whom their husbands scarcely exchange thirty words a day, although they never address them but with the introductory appellation of "*my love*." Exceptions, undoubtedly, exist in regard to the charms of the ladies, as well as to the conduct and conversation of the husbands; but, it is asserted, they are very few.

The Schuylers and Rensselaers are the most respectable families in point of wealth and interest: having intermarried with each other, their influence is altogether irresistible in the county. The Schuylers are endowed with more talents and knowledge; but the Rensselaers possess more riches; and money is a powerful spring in the management of a state. General Schuyler bears the character of a man of much acuteness, and uncommon abilities. He is frequently employed in state affairs; and it is his earnest wish, to promote and raise the navigation, industry, and prosperity of his country. He is father-in-law to the celebrated Mr.

Hamilton.

Hamilton. General Schuyler, who generally accommodates his daughters with rich husbands, gave one of them in marriage, five years ago, to that famous orator, from respect for his talents, though he was poor. I should not omit observing, that I speak of General Schuyler without having ever seen him. During my residence in Albany he had gone to assist at the negociation with the Indians; I merely know him from his correspondence with me, which is highly polite and elegant. The General ranks among the most considerable men in the United States.

### SARATOGA.

I have seen JOHN SCHUYLER, the eldest son of the General; for a few minutes I had already conversed with him at Skenectady, and was now with him at Saratoga. The journey to this place was extremely painful, on account of the scorching heat, but Saratoga is a township of too great importance to be passed by unobserved. If you love the English, are fond of conversing with them, and live with them on terms of familiarity and friendship, it is no bad thing, if occasionally you can say to them, "*I have seen Saratoga.*"

Yes, I have seen this truly memorable place, which may be considered as the spot, where the independence of America was sealed; for the events, which induced Great Britain to acknowledge that independence, were obviously consequences of the capture of General Burgoyne, and would in all probability never have happened without it. The dwelling-house of John Schuyler stands exactly on the spot, where this important occurrence took place. Fish-creek, which flows close to the house, formed the line of defence of the camp of the English General, which was formed on an eminence, a quarter of a mile from the dwelling. The English camp was also entirely furrounded with a mound of earth, to strengthen its defence. In the rear of the camp the German troops were posted by divisions on a commanding height, communicating with the eminence on which General Burgoyne was encamped. The right wing of the German corps had a communication with the left wing of the



the English, and the left extended towards the river. General GATES was encamped on the other side of the creek, at the distance of an eighth of a mile from General Burgoyne; his right wing stretched towards the plain; but he endeavoured to shelter his troops, as much as possible, from the enemy's fire, until he resolved to form the attack. General NELSON, at the head of the American militia, occupied the heights on the other side of the river, and engaged the attention of the left wing of the English, while other American corps observed the movements of the right wing. In this position, General Burgoyne surrendered his army; his provision was nearly consumed, but he was amply supplied with artillery and ammunition. The spot remains exactly, as it then was, excepting the sole circumstance, that the bushes, which were cut down in front of the two armies, are since grown up again. Not the least alteration has taken place since that time; the entrenchments still exist; nay, the foot-path is still seen, on which the adjutant of General Gates proceeded to the English General with the ultimatum of the American commander; the spot, on which the council of war was held by the English officers, remains unaltered. You see the way, by which the English column, after it had been joined by the Germans, filed off by the left to lay down their arms within an ancient fort, which was constructed in the war under the reign of Queen Ann; you see the place, where this unfortunate army was necessitated to ford the creek, in order to reach the road to Albany, and to march along the front of the American army; you see the spot, where General Burgoyne surrendered up his sword to General Gates; where the man, who two months before had threatened all the rebels, their parents, their wives, and their children with pillage, sack, firing, and scalping, if they did not join the English banners, was compelled to bend British pride under the yoke of these rebels, and where he underwent the twofold humiliation, as a ministerial agent of the English government, to submit to the dictates of revolted subjects, and as commanding general of disciplined regular troops, to surrender up his army to a multitude of half-armed and half-clothed peasants. To sustain so severe a misfortune, and not to die with despair,

despair, exceeds not, it seems, therefore, the strength of man. This memorable spot lies in a corner of the court-yard of John Schuyler; he was then a youth, twelve years old, and placed on an eminence, at the foot of which stood General Gates, and near which the American army was drawn up, to see their disarmed enemies pass by. His estate includes all the tract of ground, on which both armies were encamped, and he knows, as it were, their every step. How happy must an American feel in the possession of such property, if his bosom be anywise susceptible of warm feelings! It is a matter of astonishment, that neither Congress nor the Legislature of New York should have erected a monument on this spot, reciting in plain terms this glorious event, and thus calling it to the recollection of all, who should pass this way, to keep alive the sentiments of intrepidity and courage, and the sense of glory, which for the benefit of America should long be handed down among Americans from generation to generation. The English would not have suffered a similar occasion to pass unimproved. John Schuyler at least should have relieved the modesty of government, were it only by marking the spot with a plain, simple stone, which no American would behold but with those brave and glorious feelings, which might be turned to the greatest advantage to the state.

John Schuyler possesses an estate of about fifteen hundred acres, five hundred of which are completely cleared of wood. The land near the river is excellent, and costs from thirty to thirty-eight dollars the acre; the price of that, which lies more remote, is from ten to twelve dollars. The produce consists in grain, chiefly Indian corn. He possesses one corn-mill and two saw-mills, which are turned by the stream of the creek. In this creek, which is very wide, and contains plenty of water, are several falls, lying behind one another, which might turn works of any extent. John Schuyler makes more hay, than is necessary for the use of his farm; but by a calculation, founded on indolence rather than mature deliberation, it appears to him more profitable to sell the hay, than to fatten cattle. Although possessed of three mills and fifteen hundred acres of land, yet the aggregate amount of his quota of taxes, poor and county-

county-rates, exceeds not thirty-five dollars a-year. The county-rates comprises this year the expence for building a court-house and a jail. I cite this instance, as it may serve to enable a person to form a judgment on the amount of taxes in the state of New York, of which I shall, no doubt, find an opportunity of speaking more fully.

John Schuyler received me in a manner extremely hospitable and polite. He is a young man of good sense, and mild, amiable manners, constantly engaged in the management of his affairs, which, we understood, he conducts with prudence and punctuality. He is married to a daughter of Mr. Rensselaer, who passes all her time at their own house, which is a very handsome mansion, but without any neighbours. She sees no company, but her relations, who now and then pay her a visit. Her husband, on whom she doats, is frequently absent; she complains with much meekness of this solitary life, yet bears it, occupied with her children and the management of her household. She is charitable, good, and universally respected.

Labourers may be procured here in great abundance; their wages are three shillings a day, if they be wanted; but the usual daily labour is performed by negroes, who are very numerous, so that there is scarcely a house without one or two of them; John Schuyler keeps seven. The negroes, it is generally asserted, enjoy more happiness, as slaves, than if they were free. This might be the case, if liberty were bestowed on them, without their knowing what to do with it. But upon the whole, such maxims of morality fall with an ill-grace from the lips of a free people. The negroes, it is true, are kindly used in the state of New York; but it is also true, that the convenience of having them constantly at hand for any work set apart, the labour of white people is less expensive, than that of negroes. To keep slaves is, therefore, a bad system, even in this point of view.

When I took leave of young Schuyler, he was indisposed with the fever. Having made the same tour as we, he became an additional victim to the contagious air, breathed in the pestilential country, which we have traversed. I learned afterwards at Boston, with the ut-

most

most concern, that he is since dead. The youngest brother of Mr. Rensselaer was also seized with a fit of the fever, as well as another inhabitant of Albany, who travelled in our company. All the people, who were on board our vessel, are sick, and one of them is dead. We have, therefore, but little reason to extol the comforts of a tour on Wood-creek.

The banks of the northern branch of the Hudson, from Saratoga to Albany, have been long settled, and the country, lying more backwards, is also considerably peopled from five to thirty miles from the shore. Connecticut and all New England people these settlements. The land, to speak of it in general, is good, and estates of five hundred acres of cultivated land are not rare along the river. I have seen many of this sort; the farms were chiefly designed for the rearing and fattening of cattle; they are managed but very indifferently; the land received little or no dung, and was ploughed only three or four inches deep. Estates generally consist here of two hundred acres. The whole of the bank of the northern branch of the river is truly pleasant; the mountains, which bound the stream, without contracting its channel, are almost throughout covered with luxuriant corn-fields. It was through these narrow passes, that General Burgoyne proceeded to Albany, where he hoped to be joined by General Clinton; this is the only road which leads thither. Here he encountered General Gates, who, after he had been defeated and sustained a considerable loss, retreated into the camp at Saratoga, leaving behind his whole train of heavy ordnance. I have seen the field of battle, where this important action took place, and viewed the height, where Brigadier-General FRASER made so many gallant attempts to break in upon the Americans; I have seen the hillock, under which he is buried. The inhabitants show with conscious pride every corner of this district, and you discern in their countenance, that their ancient energy and vigour would easily be raised by any pressing emergency. This action happened at Stillwater. It was here Burgoyne resolved upon his decisive retreat. But under the appellation of Stillwater, as, under that of Saratoga, a large extent of country is comprised. The township of Stillwater is

twenty, and that of Saratoga thirty-one miles in length, and yet every point of these townships is called Stillwater and Saratoga.

I have omitted to state, that the county of Saratoga contains many natural curiosities, among which are crystallizations of peculiar beauty, and two medicinal springs, known by the name of the Balltown and Saratoga springs. Both are in great repute, especially the medicinal waters of Balltown, where the accommodations in point of lodging and other conveniences far exceed those of Saratoga. The springs are both impregnated with *fixed air*, and, in the opinion of some persons, communicate with each other. The Saratoga waters, as is asserted, are stronger than the Balltown springs.

I must not pass over in silence Justice THOMPSON, who resides at Stillwater. We met with his eldest son, who intends to become a surveyor, and made the last passage with Mr. Vanallen, on board the vessels in which we returned from Oswego, and travelled in his company. I had promised him not to pass his house, without paying him a short visit; I fulfilled this promise, and was invited by the family in so plain and frank a manner to stop for the night, that I could not give a denial. The family are good, plain, and genteel people, of mild, pure, and uncorrupted manners; a residence with them is extremely pleasant. Justice Thompson possesses a great quantity of land in different parts of the state of New York, which for the most part is yet uncleared. He inhabits an estate of one hundred and fifty acres, one hundred and twenty of which are under cultivation; he rears a great many cattle, especially mules, which, when two years old, he sells to Connecticut traders for fifty or sixty dollars a head. He also rears many horses, and carries on with them a trade of tolerable importance, which the Albany merchants have not yet learned to improve. In these parts, it is asserted, two thousand mules are yearly sold. I have this information from Squire POLL, an opulent farmer, for the exactness of which, however, I cannot pledge myself; for there are not four persons in this county, able to draw up accounts and estimates of the general produce and supplies of a district.

Good

Good wishes for the success of the French, a detestation of their crimes, and decided hatred against the English, form here the universal sentiments, as they do in general throughout the United States.

The land near the river is good, and yields, however badly it is cultivated, from twenty to thirty bushels of wheat per acre. The price of land is from fifty to seventy-five dollars an acre. I am now travelling here on the fifteenth of August, and yet little hay has been housed, for which reason it is mostly as hard as wood.

On my journey to Saratoga I had passed the new bridge, constructed across the Mohawk-river. This bridge is erected on the spot, where the Cohoez-falls appear to the greatest advantage.\* But the river contains not at present sufficient water to support the falls. In many places the rocks are quite dry; but in others they afford a fine prospect. The perpendicular height of the falls may amount to about fifty feet, and the river is about an eighth of a mile in width. But upon the whole, the view is not strikingly wild, romantic, or pleasant, though the falls are much celebrated throughout America. The bridge is constructed of timber, and rests on stone pillars, about twenty-five or thirty feet distant from each other. The masonry is not remarkable for solidity or neatness; but the carpenters'-work is exceedingly well done.†

On my return from Saratoga I crossed the northern branch of the Mohawk river by Halfmoon, to see the two new towns, New City and Troy, which, as has already been observed, were built a few years ago, and are already carrying on a considerable trade. The houses are very neat and numerous; almost every house contains a shop; the inns are excellent; vessels are moored near all the keys; tan-yards, potash-works, rope-walks, and mills, are either already in full work, or building. The sight of this activity is truly charming. A Mr. TAYLOR, who possesses

\* The Cohoez-falls, which the author misnames Xohos-fall, appear most romantically from Lanfinburgh hill, five miles east of them, although they likewise offer a good prospect, when viewed from this bridge.—*Translator.*

† The bridge is eleven hundred feet long, twenty-four feet wide, rests on thirteen piers, and was erected in 1794, at the expence of twelve thousand dollars.—*Translator.*

about one hundred acres near **Pontenkil-creek**, has erected here two grist-mills, two saw-mills, and one paper-mill. He does business, it is said, with New York by water. The place is finely situated, well distributed, and may, if managed with skill and prudence, become very profitable. We were told, that the proprietor intends to sell it; and this is one of the places which I would buy in preference to all others, if I had any idea of settling in America, and had wherewithal to pay for it. There are a variety of things, with which a man may occupy himself every day, nay every moment of the day, with benefit to himself and the country at large.

The land between Saratoga and Albany is upon the whole sandy; especially the hills about Saratoga consist of an indurated sand. The stoney matter, on which lies the stratum of sand, is slate of a dark colour, and coarse grain, with veins of white quartz. On fragments of this slate impressions are found of a peculiar and very curious appearance. In the vicinity of the medicinal springs of Balltown and Saratoga are several veins of lime-stone. Ferruginous and cupreous pyrites are also found in the neighbourhood; mines of these minerals, it is asserted, exist in the environs, but they are yet neglected, as in fact are nearly all the mines in the United States. You meet with few or no rocks, until you reach the Cohoez-falls. The rocks, which form this cataract, consist of an argillaceous schistus, some of which may easily be reduced to powder, while other parts are harder, have a conchoidal fracture, and resemble basalt. Near the falls are several veins of feldspar of a reddish colour.

Between these falls and Albany, the soil of the mountains consist of indurated clay; the stones, which are found there, are a species of slate. In the intervening space between the mountains and the present bed of the river was an uninterrupted chain of small sand-hills, rising on both sides of the river, nearly at equal distances from the shore, and which undoubtedly are the remains of the ancient bed of the river, after it had formed the present channel.

In the township of Saratoga you find the last plane-trees, acacias and white cedars, for these trees do not grow more northwards. The red cedar,  
Virginia

Virginia cedar, and poplar of Carolina, you first meet with at the cataracts of the Mohawk river. Several miles around the medicinal springs of Balltown and Saratoga you find only white pines, small sickly oak-trees, and fern.

### THE TREATY OF COMMERCE.

Since we left the English dominions, and have reached the territory of the United States, we have found, that the treaty of commerce, concluded between Great Britain and America, forms the universal topic of conversation, and the principal subject of discussion in the newspapers. I shall not presume to decide, whether the majority of the inhabitants be for or against it; but this I know, that the number of non-contents is sufficiently considerable, to render the friends of peace uneasy on this subject. I am not yet acquainted with America in a full nor have I yet studied this treaty with the necessary attention, to form a correct judgment on its advantages, and probable results. Yet I shall record in this journal the impression, which it made upon me at first view, were it only for the purpose of reviewing my opinion again, when time shall have decided on its merits.

In my judgment, it is extremely prejudicial to America; the mutual relations of the contracting parties are not perfectly poised; and the commercial interest of the United States is in many respects injured. More ancient treaties with France are clearly violated by this treaty; and it evidently clashes with the repeated professions of friendship, which America has so loudly and repeatedly made to France, even under the sanguinary reign of Robespierre. America cannot but be aware of the unfavourable sentiments, nay hatred and ill-will, which the English government entertains toward the Union. These sentiments will remain unalterably the same, as long as the principles of the British ministry shall be unchanged. England will ever consider the inhabitants of the United States as revolted subjects, who must be punished for their independence, if they cannot again be subjected to the English yoke; and though Great Britain condescends at present to enter into temporary negotiations with



with America, it is because her present situation allows her not to wage war against the Union, and because she hopes to derive signal advantages from a treaty, which cannot but considerably encrease the sale of her manufactures, displease France, alienate her from America, and injure her trade. She hopes, by means of this rupture, to render America dependent on the English government, and in this state of dependence to force her to conclude another alliance; a design, perfectly answering the sentiments, which Great Britain has constantly manifested since the peace of 1783. The truth of these observations is obvious to all, who are acquainted with the policy of the cabinet of St. James's, and must be more strikingly so to him, who has lived, for any length of time, with the British agents in America, who take not even the trouble of concealing it. To conclude a treaty of amity on such a foundation, is to deceive America; as it clearly presumes, that she must break off all her former connections with France, *her true and natural ally*,\* who, as soon as she shall have obtained a regular, settled government (at present the obvious aim of the generality of the French people), will become more powerful than ever. Should it be America's secret intention, to break off the former connexion with France on the first favourable opportunity, such a design would not only be the result of an erroneous, mistaken policy, but would also prove a breach of the principles of duty and gratitude, which, however they may be despised by the cabinets of kings, should never be disregarded by an infant people, in the management of public affairs, and the conclusion of alliances and treaties.

One of the greatest pleasures, I hoped to enjoy on my journey to Al-

\* The translator was lately assured by an American gentleman, acquainted with the author, that it is his most anxious wish, to make his peace with the Directory. It is, no doubt, from this motive, that proceed the virulent, unsupported animadversions on the British cabinet, which, the translator is sorry to observe, disgrace the interesting narrative of the Duke's Travels, and which in no place of this work betray their origin in a more conspicuous manner than in this passage, where he charges the English government with *deceiving* America into a treaty, the beneficial results of which he soon experienced, when she saw her trade protected by English convoys from the unprovoked piracies of *her true and natural ally*.—*Transl.*

bany, was to see Mr. and Madame de GOUVERNET, and to spend a few days with them. They were not at home on my arrival, but at New York, whence, however, they were expected back every day. As Dupetitthouars's state of health rendered it necessary to continue longer in Albany, than we should otherwise have done, we determined to wait the return of Mr. Gouvernet, who at length arrived on the evening of the day, beyond which I could not conveniently defer my departure. Yet I now resolved to stop twenty-four hours longer, to spend them in their company.

If you possess a correct idea of a handsome Parisian lady, who with a fine figure unites all the charms of a well-formed mind, and, of consequence, possesses ample means for conquest, and then see this handsome young woman on a small estate of about one hundred acres, managing herself the most trifling concerns of her household, with an air of simplicity and serenity, which would warrant a belief, that she is pleased with this strange mode of life; you cannot but consider it as an additional ground, to praise and admire the female character in general, and especially that of French women. In the course of this dreadful revolution, females have displayed more courage, more attachment to their duty, and more constancy in their sentiments, than has ever been evinced on similar occasions. They have inspired the courage of their husbands, who, but for their support, might have sunk under their misfortunes. They have soothed their sufferings. Under the severest trials they have shewn as much of energy and virtue, as they displayed of elegant and entertaining manners in happier times. These observations apply to a great number of French ladies, at whose head stands Madame de Gouvernet; her husband being indebted to her for the preservation of his life, for his escape from France, and for what little money he has saved. It is to her he owes his present happiness, and the fortitude, courage, and satisfaction he manifests in regard to a mode of life, equally foreign to his taste and habits. They reside five miles from Albany on a small estate, which they have purchased for fifteen thousand livres French money. The land is not of the best quality, but it may  
be

be converted into very good meadows, and thus answer their well-conceived project of rearing and fattening cattle, and keeping a good dairy, until they shall be able to return to France. They lead a solitary life, without any company but that of a young man, who followed them on their emigration from France, who joins in their labours, and shares in their society. In this respect they derive but little benefit from the vicinity of Albany. The circumstance, that most of the inhabitants of rank are ignorant of the very existence of Madame de Gouvernet in their neighbourhood; and still more the indifference, manifested by those, who are acquainted with the uncommon merits of this distinguished couple; form the strongest evidence against the hospitality of the inhabitants of Albany.

Some French families reside in the town and its vicinity; that of **Mr. LE COUTEUX**—a highly interesting name—is the only one, whose acquaintance I wished to obtain. They who are acquainted with this family, know that it has long been distinguished for rectitude and talents, as well as for a consummate knowledge and punctuality in commercial transactions; qualities, which have been, as it were, hereditary in it. Mr. Couteux of Albany is, by the unanimous testimony of all, who have had any dealings with him, worthy of his name. His ideas, as well as expressions, carry some air of peculiarity; but he is good, obliging, honest, and universally respected. He is engaged in partnership with Mr. QUESNEL, a merchant of St. Domingo; this house is again connected with the firm of OLIVE in New York, and through this, it is asserted, with the great and respectable house LE COUTEUX in France.

### POTASH-WORKS.

Potash, forming a considerable branch of the trade of Albany, as well as of other American cities, the back country of which has been lately cleared, I shall here insert such information as I have collected on the manner of preparing this salt, which is generally observed in the United States. This alkaline salt is extracted from common ashes, after they have

have been previously purified from all heterogeneous matter. It is obtained by solution and evaporation. Large tubs, with a double bottom, are filled with ashes; the uppermost bottom, which contains several holes, is covered with ashes, about ten or eleven inches deep, while the under part of the tub is filled with straw or hay. Water, being poured over the ashes, extracts the particles of salt, and discharges all the heterogeneous matter which it may yet contain on the layer of hay or straw. The lie is drawn off by means of a cock, and if it should not yet have attained a sufficient degree of strength, poured again over the ashes. The lie is deemed sufficiently strong when an egg swims on it. This lie is afterwards boiled in large iron cauldrons, which are constantly filled out of other cauldrons, in which lie is likewise boiling. If the lie begin to thicken in the cauldron, no fresh lie is added, but the fire is well-fed with fuel, until all the aqueous particles are separated, and the whole is completely inspissated and indurated. This salt is of a black colour, and called *black potash*. Some manufacturers leave the potash in this state in the cauldron, and encrease the fire, by means of which the oil is disengaged from the salt in a thick smoke, and the black potash assumes a grey colour, in which state it is packed up in barrels for sale.

The process of preparing the potash requires more or less time, according to the quality of the ashes and the lie, and to the degree of strength of the latter; the medium time is twenty-four hours. The ashes of green-wood, and especially of oak, are preferred. No potash can be prepared from the ashes of resinous trees; and ashes, which are five or six months old, are better than those that are new.

Some manufacturers use only one cauldron for boiling, which they fill with cold lie, as it comes from the tubs; and others put the salt, as soon as it begins to coagulate, into smaller cauldrons, to complete the crystallization.

In many parts of the State of New York, especially in the North, and in the vicinity of Albany, the inhabitants, who sell the wood, prepare the potash. But there are also large manufactories, where from thirty to forty tubs are used for preparing the lie, and from ten to twelve caul-

drons for its evaporation. The manufacturers buy the ashes from private families. The tubs and cauldrons are of different sizes in proportion to the greater or less extent of the manufactory. By a general estimate from five to six hundred bushels of ashes yield a ton of potash.

The barrels, in which the potash is packed up, must be made of white oak, or if this cannot be had, of wood, which is but little porous. The staves ought to be far more durable than for casks, in which other dry goods are packed; the hoops also must be more numerous; for the least fissure would expose the potash to humidity, to the air, and, consequently, to deliquescence and dissolution. Instances have occurred, when barrels, badly made and hooped, and which had been filled with potash, were soon after found to be half empty.

**Pearlash** is potash purified by calcination. To this end the potash is put into a kiln, constructed in an oval form, of plaster of Paris; the inside of which being made otherwise perfectly close, is horizontally intersected by an iron grate, on which the potash is placed. Under this grate a fire is made, and the heat, reverberated by the arched upper part of the kiln, compleats the calcination, and converts the potash into pearlash; which is taken out of the kiln, and, when completely cooled, packed in barrels. The process of calcination lasts about an hour. Pearlash is proportionately more heavy than potash, on account of its greater compactness; and the loss of weight, experienced by the latter through the calcination, is very trifling. Although pearlash is less liable to deliquesce by the air than potash, yet the barrels, in which it is packed, are of the same sort and structure as those in which the latter salt is barrelled. They are of different sizes, and contain from two to three hundred pounds. Potash as well as pearlash are sold by tons in the course of trade; and it is not lawful to export either before it is duly inspected by the public searchers, who are appointed for this purpose in all the states, where pearl or potash is manufactured.

Dupetitthouars's strength having been considerably impaired by his illness, he thought it prudent to return home. I parted from him with the utmost concern. To travel alone is extremely unpleasant, and more

so when you are indisposed. I had yesterday a fit of the ague, which I presume is the beginning of a tertian fever. I was seized with it at Mr. DE LA TOUR DU PIN'S. But, nevertheless, I will proceed to Boston, where I expect to find letters from Europe, which I much desire to see. For these last three months I have not heard a word from any of my friends or relations.

### DEPARTURE FROM ALBANY.

I was by no means displeased at leaving Albany. Young Mr. Benselacr and Mr. Henry are the only gentlemen, from whom I experienced any civilities. The Albanians, to speak generally, are a set of people remarkable neither for activity nor politeness; they are the most disagreeable beings, I have hitherto met with, in the United States. In every other respect Albany is a place where, with a small capital, you may make money, and with a large capital acquire great wealth. The trade of this place suits any amount of property, and is attended with less risk than any other species of commerce carried on in this part of the globe. An industrious and enterprising man might improve the trade of this place to a very considerable degree.

We experienced here this day, Friday the 7th of August, an uncommon heat. My thermometer stood at ninety-six degrees of Fahrenheit, or twenty-eight four-ninths of Reaumur. We were told, that the thermometer of Mr. Lewis, who is esteemed here a very accurate meteorologist, stood at one hundred degrees of Fahrenheit or thirty two-ninths of Reaumur. This excessive heat continued several days, and was not the least allayed in the night.

My horse, which was to be sent after me by Captain Williamson, was not yet arrived. I took, therefore, a seat in the stage waggon, that is, a waggon without springs, but covered. You cross Hudson's River on leaving Albany. The road to Lebanon, where we stopped for the night, lies over a mountainous country. Nearly the whole of the district is in the first stage of settlement. All the land, within an extent of twenty-

five miles, belongs to Mr. Van Rensselaer, Lieutenant-governor, and one of the richest proprietors in the State of New York, perhaps in all the States of the Union. Much of this land was granted to his ancestors by letters-patent, at the time when the Dutch settlement was formed. He has also purchased much more. A considerable part of this estate has been sold; but he sells none without reserving a ground-rent. This forms, no doubt, a very pleasant sort of income; but which, in my opinion, cannot be of long duration in this country. A man, who is obliged to pay every year a ground-rent, soon forgets the moderate terms on which he obtained possession of his estate, feels only the unpleasant compulsion of paying money at a fixed time, and eagerly seizes upon the first opportunity of freeing himself from this incumbrance. An aged Quaker-woman, who did not speak a word, but went no farther than Philipstown, and a Mr. MAC-ELROY, were my companions in the stage. The latter is a land-holder in Pennsylvania, on the Delaware, without any business or trade. He resides on his estate, when he is not travelling for his amusement, and is unmarried. His sister manages his household. He possesses a considerable quantity of land, especially on Fish Creek, in the district of Mr. Schreiber. He seems to be a worthy man, but is constantly dull and morose.

The fever, which seized me near Philipstown, prevented me from collecting the information, which I might have otherwise been able to procure, at the different places where the stage stopped. What little intelligence I have been able to gather is, that the medium price of land is here from five to eight dollars an acre. The last place, before you reach Lebanon, is Stephentown, situated on a fine large creek. It belongs to the Patron: this is the general appellation of Mr. Rensselaer, at Albany, as well as in its environs. The face of the country is sad and melancholy; it is mountainous and rocky, and bears no trees but hemlock-fir and white pine. On the road from Stephentown to Lebanon, the country expands into an amphitheatre, formed by numerous mountains of various size and shape, most of which lie in grass up to the very summits. At the

the end of a very circuitous journey through this vale you reach the inn of Mr. Stow.

Lebanon possesses a mineral spring, close to which stands the inn of Mr. Stow, on the declivity of a mountain; most of the invalides, who drink the waters, board therefore at the inn. From this point the prospect of the vale, or rather of the low grounds, is most pleasing. A number of small houses, scattered over the fields, and several villages, enhance the charms of this delightful view, which, on my arrival at the inn, I was too indisposed to enjoy. I was obliged to creep into my bed, although it was scarcely five o'clock, to sustain my fit of the ague, to take an emetic, and to renounce whatever remarkable objects this place itself, or its vicinity, may contain.

#### SHAKERS.

In America, or at least in some States of the Union, no stages are suffered to travel on Sundays; this is the case in the State of New York. Mr. MAC-ELROY and myself spent, therefore, the morning in visiting the society called Shakers, who have formed a settlement, three or four miles from the inn. Had I not been indisposed the preceding evening, I should have seen them at work, and, by means of my continual queries, might have obtained some accurate information concerning their origin, their regulation, the mode of husbanding and distributing the common wealth of the society, the manner of purchasing estates, of recruiting and preserving the society, and especially on its present state. We were now obliged to content ourselves with viewing their villages, the inside of their houses, their gardens, and their religious worship, without any guide, and to rest satisfied with what intelligence we could obtain from our landlord and another man, who said that he was well acquainted with the society.

As to their form of government, the society is a republic, governed in a despotic manner. All the members work for the benefit of the society, which supplies them in clothes and victuals, under the direction of the Chief Elder, whom they elect, and whose power is unlimited. Subordi-

nate



nate to him are inspectors of all classes, invested with different degrees of authority. The accounts reach him in a certain regular order and gradation; and in the same manner are his orders carried into effect. It would be high treason to address the Chief Elder himself, unless the addresser belongs to a class which enjoys this privilege; in any other case this offence is severely punished, or censured, if it be committed by a stranger, ignorant of this law. Marriage is prohibited in this society, which is recruited merely by profelytes; who are, however, far less numerous at present, than eighty years ago, when they first settled in this country. Married men and women are admitted into the society, on condition that they renounce each other. They frequently bring their children with them, who in this case become a common property of the society. It sometimes happens, that, in spite of the prohibition, the flesh will have its way; but, in such cases, a severe, exemplary, and corporal, punishment is inflicted on the offenders; and this punishment is not mitigated, if they effect their escape to join in lawful wedlock, for, on their being apprehended, they are punished with the same severity, as if they were not married. Although the members of this society do not bind themselves by vows, yet, in close adherence to their tenets, men and women live in separate apartments, though in the same house. The village contains four such houses; all the other buildings are stores or shops, in which all sorts of trade and manufactures are carried on. They make cloth, gauze, shoes, saddles, whips, nails, cabinet-work, in short, ever article which is sure to find a ready market. They sell their commodities either here or in the neighbouring towns. The women perform such business as is generally allotted to their sex.

This frame of society has attained, it should seem, a high degree of perfection. The emulation among the members is uncommonly great, and the society possesses considerable property, the amount of which is, however, known to none but the Chief Elder. The Shakers are an honest, good natured, set of people; they perform their engagements with the utmost punctuality, are excellent neighbours, faithful workmen, and very moderate in their prices. This is the whole stock of information

tion which I have been able to collect on the absurdities and peculiarities of the Shakers.

In regard to the form of their religious worship, I can speak from my own observation. On our arrival they were already assembled in the place where they held their meeting. This is a hall, about seventy feet in length by forty-five or fifty in breadth, with eighteen windows, by which light and a free circulation of air is procured. At each end of the hall is a fire-place; benches are placed all along the walls, and some on the right of the fire-place. The doors, by which the men and women enter the hall, are in one of the long sides. The inside is overlaid with plaister of Paris; the ornaments of wood, and window-frames, are painted light blue, and the benches red. Whoever could find room, sat down; and the rest, by far the greatest part, were standing. The Chief Elder was seated nearly in the centre, on a bench opposite the door, and a place between the two doors was assigned to our party. The most profound silence was observed. The men were dressed in a blue coat, black waistcoat, and pantaloons of blue and white spotted cloth. The women wore a long white gown, a blue petticoat, an apron of the same cloth of which the men's pantaloons were made, a large, square, well plaited handkerchief, and a plain cap, tied under the chin, such as the portereffes of nunneries are accustomed to wear. The hair of the men is combed straight down; the hats were all hung on nails. When a man or woman is tired of sitting, or wishes to make room for another member, they get up, and their seat is occupied by others. Every eye is fixed on the ground; every head is bent downward; and stupidity is the characteristic feature of every face. The women hold in their hand a blue and white handkerchief, and they stood all, like the men, with their arms folded.

The first act of divine service lasted nearly half an hour; on a signal of the Chief Elder, all the members present arose from their seats; and men and women formed two distinct rows opposite to each other, in form of a fan, the central point of which was occupied by the Chief Elder, standing in the same place, where he was seated before the rows opened towards the corners of the hall, and their position was studied in such

such a degree, that they were long deliberating on the place, where they had to put their feet, before they began to move. After a silence of several minutes observed in the same position, during which the hands and faces of many of the members were strongly convulsed, and their knees and legs shook and trembled, the chief made another signal, without which nothing is done. They fell all on their knees, and arose again a few minutes after. The Chief Elder now commenced a chaunt, in which both the nose and throat bore an equal share, and which was confined within the compass of four deep notes; no words could be distinguished. The whole meeting repeated the chaunt; and again ceased, on a signal from the Chief Elder. After a short silence, and upon another signal, the position was changed. Men and women, who are constantly separate, drew up in nine or ten ranks, facing the chief elder, by whose side two or three men and as many women, the elders of the society, had taken their seats. The troop of women was disjoined from that of the men by a small interval of one or two paces. I have omitted mentioning, that the men, previously to their drawing up in rank and file, pulled off their coats, which they hung up by their hats, and appeared in their shirt-sleeves, tied with a black riband. The women changed not their dress. The Chief Elder commenced another chaunt, much the same as the former, accompanied by the elders, and the first part sung by the women, which rendered it tolerably melodious. This chaunt was no sooner begun, than the whole assembly started into a sort of dance, made a spring and a bow forwards, a spring and a bow to the right, a spring and a bow backwards, a spring and a bow to the left, twelve springs and twelve bows forwards, and then began the same motions again, until the Chief Elder ceased to sing, which is the signal of silence for the elders, and of immobility for the dancing members. The courtesies both of the men and women consist in a genuflection; the head is bent downwards, the arms are open, and the feet advance with a sort of light caper. The women make the same courtesies as the men, but they glide along rather than caper. All these motions are made to the tune, with a precision and exactness, which would do honour to the best disciplined regiment. When  
this

this ceremony is over, they first resume their former position in rows, and afterwards their seats near the walls. The Chief Elder at times utters a few words, but they are unintelligible to a stranger. When all these different scenes have been acted, two women appear, each furnished with a broom, and sweep first the place occupied by the men, who draw up in close order, to make room for the sweepers, and then that occupied by the women, which being done, the same courtesies, chaunts and capers recommence again. The whole service lasted about three hours. I had armed myself with a sufficient share of patience, to wait the close of the ceremony, in hopes, that I should be able to converse either with the Chief Elder, or another member of the society; but in this I was disappointed. Upon a signal from the Chief Elder the meeting was broken up; the members took their hats and sticks, moved off two and two; and the Chief Elder followed, conducted by one of the Elders. The women, after having covered their flat cap with a hat equally flat, went out of the hall by a separate door, and brought up the rear, at an equal step, and their arms folded.

We were told, that they were going to dinner, but could not learn any farther particulars. On Sundays no strangers obtain admittance to their garden; we could only view it over the railings, and found, that it was large, beautiful, and kept in good order. All the culinary plants, which are not wanted for their own consumption, shoot up into seed, of which they sell considerable quantities. All their railings and doors are painted with as much care, as in the best kept English garden. The former run along the streets, to separate them from the houses. Neat little posts, painted with equal care, mark the foot-way. The whole forms the neatest, prettiest, and most pleasant sight, I ever saw. I repeat it once more, that what little I have seen of this society is sufficient to convince me, that with the utmost absurdity in point of religious principles and worship, the Shakers unite much order, activity and good sense in their business, and uncommon abilities in the management of their affairs.

Among the sisters were some very handsome girls, but the major part were rather advanced in years. The number of young men is compara-

tively much greater. This society, which has nothing in common with the Friends or Quakers, was transplanted, twenty-two years ago, from England to America. The first and principal settlement was formed in 1774, at Nisqueunia, in the state of New York, a few miles above Albany; since that time, one or two more have been instituted. The chief leader of the sect is a woman; the first was one ANN LECOQ, who, it is reported, had been kept by an English officer. She died in 1784, and was succeeded by another, elected by the sect, from an opinion, that, like her predecessor, she is infallible and allied with the Deity; she resides in Nisqueunia. The chief elders are her deputies and substitutes in the different settlements.

The medicinal waters of Lebanon spring in a tolerable quantity behind the inn of Mr. Stow, and are collected in a basin, six cubic feet in extent, for the convenience of the drinkers. At the extremity of the basin stands a miserable hut, which contains the bath, filled by means of one cock, and emptied by another. About one hundred paces below the bath, the same waters turn a grist-mill with two courses. Their use is prescribed in almost all distempers; whether they be of any service, I know not, but they seemingly enjoy less celebrity, than the medicinal springs of Balltown and Saratoga, and in point of taste differ not in the least from common water. From the great number of bubbles, that are constantly rising from the bottom to the surface, the Lebanon waters appear to be impregnated with fixed air. Dr. CRAIG, of Boston, the proprietor of this spring, is to erect, next year, the necessary buildings for the accommodation of the valetudinarians, who repair to this place for the use of the waters.

The price of land is here, according to its variations of quality, from six to twenty-five dollars an acre. Mr. Stow, as well as his whole family, nursed me with the utmost care, during my illness.

The stages being permitted to set out as soon as the afternoon's service is over, we proceeded on our journey to Pittsfield, which you generally reach the first day of your departure from Albany, unless it be a Sunday. On the summit of Hancock-mountain, to which you turn on leaving

ing the low grounds, the boundary of New York joins that of Massachusetts. The country on the other side of the mountain widens into a more open prospect, although some small eminences continue yet in view, which are cultivated and adorned with houses. You see Pittsfield five or six miles before you reach it.

It is a small neat town, built about twenty-five years ago. The houses are mostly of joiner's work, large and handsome; the price both of land and labour is much the same as in Lebanon, but the currency is of a different standard. A dollar is here worth six shillings. Pittsfield lies in the county of Berkshire, which contains about thirty thousand inhabitants.

Being much weakened by my yesterday's fit of the ague, and expecting another fit this morning, I lay down as soon as I arrived. My rest was however interrupted by a love-scene, acted in the passage, by Mr. Mac-Elroy and a niece of the landlord, a tall, buxom lass with fine eyes. "Give me a kiss, my dear—do, give me a kiss," I heard a whole hour together. I congratulated my travelling companion the next morning on his amorous adventure, which, however, had been confined to the most tender and ardent kisses on both sides; any thing more having been constantly refused. I relate this trifling anecdote, as it may serve to give an idea of American manners. Adventures of this description are said to be very common, without the least disparagement to the honour of the amorous lasses, although at times they are carried somewhat farther.

Having arrived yesterday in a covered cart, we were promised a better carriage for this day's journey; and yet this better carriage consisted in an open cart. On considering that I was to sustain my fit of the ague in this cart, I could not but find it extremely inconvenient; but the law of necessity supercedes all deliberation. I was at considerable pains to obtain a little hay, on which I might rest; and thus shaking with the cold fit of the ague, and broiled by the scorching sun, I passed over the Green Mountains, a wild, rocky tract of country, but cultivated up to the summit of the mountains; a scene, which frequently recalled to my mind the prospects of Switzerland, and especially the mountains in the Pays

de Vaud. The road lies over a chain of rocks. Midway from Northampton our cart stopped. Utterly unable to proceed any farther, I lay down to sustain my fit of the ague, and continued in bed two hours. Through the compassion of the driver, we obtained here a covered post-coach, suspended upon springs, and thus reached at length Northampton, a neat town, situated in a pleasant country, and containing many handsome and convenient houses, among which is an inn, scarcely equalled by any other in America. The building is spacious and neat, the apartments are well distributed, the family consists of well-bred people, and the articles of provision are good and in abundance. The situation of Northampton is extremely pleasant. The banks of the Connecticut, on which the town is seated, offer a delightful prospect, and lie almost entirely in grass. The houses are well-built and neatly painted. The number of the inhabitants amounts to sixteen hundred. It is the capital of the county of Hampshire, in the state of Massachusetts. The town carries on some trifling trade with Hartford, to which it transmits, in vessels, the produce of the surrounding country. Great numbers of cattle are fattened in the county, which contains about sixty thousand inhabitants.

Massachusetts is as much cultivated as France. I certainly did not pass through the most fertile part of this state, it being covered with stones and rocks, and yet it is throughout cultivated. The houses lie close to each other, and stand in the midst of the fields and farms to which they belong. They are extremely well built, consist of joiner's work, and are very neatly painted white. The stables and barns are painted red. Nearly all the fences are made of stones collected from the fields. The harvest is completely housed, and the farmers are busied in mowing the after-crop of grass. Six or seven mowers are at work in the same meadow. This carries an appearance of activity and prosperity, which is extremely pleasing, and keeps alive the remembrance of Europe. Numbers of horses are seen in the fields, which, however, are not remarkable for beauty. The cattle are of a fine breed, and all the pasture-grounds are covered with them.

On leaving Northampton, you cross the beautiful river Connecticut.

The

The banks, being well-wooded, and sloping gently towards the bed of the stream, secure the country from inundation. While crossing the river, I learned, that vessels of fifteen or twenty tons burthen sail fifty miles farther up the river, and that ships can come up as far as within forty miles of Northampton. We halted in Bellytown, where the New York road meets that of Albany. Our travelling party had this morning already been encreased by a dirty little boy, and was now augmented by the passengers, who arrived in the New York stage, and by two other travellers, a Mr. WILLIAMSON, a land-holder of Georgia and pleasant companion, but a violent partizan of the Anti-federalist party; and a young man of New York, whose name I did not learn. Continually the same sort of land, but better roads as far as Spencer, where the two waggoners of the old and new Boston roads waited our arrival, to try to prevail upon us, each in his turn, to give the preference to his road. I was determined to choose that, which the others should not. I wanted further rest and convenience, as I had not passed the day, on which I was free from the fever, quite so well as the first.

### THE FAMILY OF WILLIAMS.

We made our arrangements in such manner, that four persons only obtained seats in our stage-coach; I procured a back seat. In Worcester three ladies joined our party, who, on perceiving my sickly appearance, would not accept my seat. But, notwithstanding their politeness, and in spite of my firm determination to bear up as long as possible, I was obliged to stop at Marlborough. Unable to endure any longer the jolting of the coach, I was necessitated to entreat my travelling companions to set me down at an inn, where I was certain of an opportunity of pursuing my journey in the mail-coach. And well had I done to stop here, for I was no sooner in bed, than I was seized with a very violent fit of illness, in addition to the ague. Although excessively ill, I was sensible of my dreadful situation, being thus laid on a bed of sickness among people who had never seen me before; and this idea threw me into an agitation of mind, which bordered on despair. But, fortunately the family,



in whose house I had stopped, were the best people in the world." Both men and women took as much care of me, as if I had been their own child. Especially the women, young and old—for the family is very numerous—nursed me with the utmost solicitude and attention. Having observed, that I was attacked by a diarrhoea, which lasted two days, and was probably the effect of heat upon an emaciated constitution, they insisted upon sending for a physician. I was obliged to yield to their remonstrances; the physician came, and, as he could not possibly leave me without prescribing something, he gave me pills. I was under the necessity of continuing four days longer in this house, where I experienced the best treatment; and which, from my uncommon weakness, I was not able to leave. I had there another fit of the fever, which rendered me delirious, and afforded me additional grounds to praise this excellent family.

Their name is WILLIAMS. The great grandfather of the Williams, who at present keeps the inn, arrived here with the first settlers from England, and, which is peculiarly remarkable, built the house which is now inhabited by his great grandson. The room, which I occupied, has not since that time undergone the least alteration; all the descendants of the first Williams, the present landlord included, were born in this room. The brothers of the landlord, the sisters of his wife, their children, and his own, live all together, and form one family.

Beside the inn, which being much frequented cannot but yield a considerable profit, Williams possesses an estate of two hundred acres, nearly three-fourths of which are under cultivation, or, to speak more properly, lie in grass, which is the general custom in Massachusetts. Meadows, which are mowed very early, yield a second crop, and produce from two to three tons of hay per acre. Such land as does not lie in grass is sown with Indian corn. They also sow a little oats and barley, but no more than is necessary for the feed of the horses and the consumption of the inn. The prejudice in favour of Indian corn is deeply rooted in this country; but the state of agriculture is, upon the whole, far better here than in any part of America, which I have hitherto traversed. The dung

is carefully preserved, and even the street-dirt is made use of as a manure, and in spring laid on the fields. Agriculture is not so well understood here as in England; but they think of the most proper means of carrying it to a higher degree of perfection, and converse on agricultural improvements with good sense and judgment. Cattle are here in great abundance, and of a very fine breed. Boston offers a certain and ready market for all the productions which can be sent thither. The breed of pigs is remarkably fine; they grow uncommonly fat. Day-labourers may be procured in great abundance; their wages are four shillings and sixpence a day, or from ten to twelve dollars a month.

This part of America displays in every respect true European industry. In every village the streets along the road are lined with shops. Cabinet-makers, shoe-makers, saddlers, coach-makers, and tanners, are very numerous. My friend Williams was not sufficiently versed in the political economy of the country to inform me of the exact proportion of the taxes and other public burthens. All he was able to tell me on this subject was, that the aggregate sum of his assessments, taxes, county and parish rates included, amounts yearly to about forty dollars, besides four dollars and half for his licence to keep the inn. Doctor COTTY, a surgeon, who attended me, and possesses an estate of eighty acres, pays no more than twenty dollars. He is also a very worthy man, whom I have every reason to praise.

All these people busy themselves much with politics, and from the landlord down to the house-maid they all read two newspapers a day. Mr. Williams and Dr. Cotty are by no means friendly to the treaty, because they do not like the English, and contend that no reliance can be placed on that nation. But they say, at the same time, that it must all be left to the President, who will make every thing right. I must repeat it once more, that I cannot bestow too much praise on the kindness of these excellent people. Being a stranger, utterly unacquainted with them, sick, and appearing in the garb of mediocrity, bordering on indigence, I possessed not the least claim on the hospitality of this respectable family, but such as their own kindness and humanity could suggest; and yet,

yet, during the five days I continued in their house, they neglected their own business to nurse me with the tenderest care and unwearied sollicitude. They heightened still more the generosity of their conduct by making up their account in a manner so extremely reasonable, that three times its amount would not have been too much for the trouble I had caused them. May this respectable family ever enjoy the blessings which they so well deserve ! This shall be my constant, fervent wish until my last moment.

Having at length recovered somewhat more strength, to bear the fatigue of a journey, and being desirous of reaching Boston, as soon as possible, as I hoped to find some letters in that city, I took a seat in the mail-coach, which stops at Williams's house. It is the same sort of carriage as a stage-coach, except that it is lighter, better suspended, and takes but six passengers, its chief destination being to carry the mail. I had scarcely proceeded three or four miles, when we were met by a coach and four. It was General KNOX, who, during a temporary residence in Boston, on account of private business, having accidentally learned, that I lay ill at Marlborough, came to take me to Boston. My satisfaction and gratitude for this uncommon kindness may be easily conceived. I had frequently seen him at Philadelphia, in the course of last winter, ; had often been at his house, which I found extremely pleasant ; but had not the least right to expect such a distinguished act of kindness. I was too weak to express my feelings, but was the more overwhelmed by them.

The road from Marlborough to Boston is a continual village. Twenty miles from this city begins an uninterrupted line of handsome houses, cleanly and pleasant buildings, neat gardens, and fine orchards, which form all together a rich and delightful prospect, the charms of which are still more enhanced by numberless horses, cattle, and sheep, which enliven the landscape, and are sheltered from the scorching sun by clumps of trees, planted for that purpose. You see every where numerous churches, of a simple construction, but neatly painted, and furnished with fine spires. They are surrounded with open stables, in which the country-people put up their horses during the service. This is a pretty general custom

custom throughout America, unknown in Europe, but which is more carefully attended to in Massachusetts, the most opulent and populous of these states I have hitherto seen.

At last you pass through the handsome village of Cambridge, and reach Boston by a wooden bridge, which was finished last year, and which, including the causeway leading to it, is a mile in length. This bridge was constructed at the expence of a company, who receive a toll, which yields nearly twenty per cent interest on the capital spent in building the bridge. I was too much indisposed fully to enjoy the view of this delightful country, which reminds a man of England on many accounts, but was not altogether insensible to its charms.

### BOSTON.

The towns, which are most populous, most ancient, and most flourishing in point of trade and industry, and which on these grounds interest most the curiosity of foreigners, are exactly those on which a traveller has least to remark. All the observations, which he might make in regard to them, have been anticipated by others, and he will frequently waste his talents in repeating, with less accuracy, what historiographers, gazetteers, nay directories, have said before him. This is exactly the case with Boston, Dr. Morse's American Geography, and a variety of directories, published in that town, give a more minute, and probably a more exact account of it, than all the information which the most active foreigner can collect in the space of six months. I shall, therefore, forbear entering into any details, which would be useless, and which my friends may easily procure.

The town of Boston is situated on a peninsula. The isthmus, which connects it with the continent, is but a few yards in breadth, so that it might easily be cut through, should the safety of the place demand it. Boston is so completely girt by the sea, that the shortest bridge, by which you can reach it, is a third of a mile in length.

The harbour is four or five miles in depth, of a still greater breadth, and interspersed with numerous islands, which form a most pleasing prospect from none of them being perfectly flat and level.

Several of these islands are situated at the entrance of the harbour, which from one side to the other may be five miles in breadth, but the navigable part of which is scarcely half a mile wide. The passage between most of these islands is inaccessible for ships of more than two hundred tons burthen. The only channel, passable for ships of a larger size, lies between two islands, one of which is called Castle Island, and the other Governor's Island, half a mile distant from each other. This channel is still more narrowed by a third of it only having sufficient depth of water, especially for ships of a deep draught, which are obliged to steer along Castle Island at the distance of two hundred yards from the land. If these islands were fortified in such a manner, as to be able to cannonade ships with effect long before they could draw near, and even after they had reached the port, the town of Boston would be most powerfully protected from any attack, that might be made on it.

General Knox, who but very lately resigned the place of Secretary at War, told me, that not only are plans drawn up and approved of for erecting these fortifications, but that Congress has also resolved to bear the expence, estimated at one hundred thousand dollars, forty thousand of which were already granted two years ago, that the work might immediately be commenced; but that the legislature of the State of Massachusetts opposes the execution of this plan.

As many of my readers may be at a loss to conceive the possibility of such an opposition to the resolution of the Congress, and to the positive orders of the President, I think it necessary to explain this matter.

If a place is to be fortified by the Union, the State, in the territory of which it is seated, must previously cede it to the Union, which takes it under its immediate protection, and the cession of the above islands has hitherto met with so strong an opposition on the part of the legislature, that it has not yet been possible to obtain it. The true cause of this opposition is the general aversion of the States against subjecting any part of their territory to the supremacy of the Union, and the pretence alleged in the case under consideration is, that Castle Island is the only safe place for  
 " convicts,

convicts, who are kept here to hard labour, and who cannot be sent to any other place equally safe and convenient.

The legislative power has, however, made the proposal of fortifying this island, without ceding it to the Union. Sixty soldiers, paid by the state, form the garrison of this island, which violates the spirit as well as the letter of the constitutional act, enacting, in express terms, "that in time of peace no single state shall maintain any regular troops."

The anti-federalist party are charged as being the chief authors and abettors of the above opposition; but it does not appear, that the opposers belong all to that party. Their number, it is asserted, begins now to decrease, and the whole senate is favourably disposed for the fortification, so that it probably will soon be commenced.

In this probable manner, the otherwise inconceivable opposition to the joint will of the Congress and President, in a matter of so much importance, has been explained to me.

All the inhabitants, with whom I have conversed on the pressing necessity of erecting these fortifications, manifested a sort of indifference, for which I can only account from their attention being entirely engrossed by their private affairs. If you observe to them "That the English, in the present state of things, may easily run three or four frigates into the harbour, burn all the shipping, set the houses on fire, and retreat without the least danger"—they grant all this, but add, "The English will not come; we have no war, and shall wage none; we have nothing to fear." They seem to forget, that the spirit of revenge against revolted subjects constantly animates Great Britain; which will never consider the Americans but in that light; though circumstances may force the English cabinet to enter into public negotiations with the United States, and that this spirit of revenge is peculiarly directed against Boston, where the revolution began in so decisive a manner\*. They seem not to consider, that the  
wealth

\* The futility of this reasoning precludes refutation, but it is a circumstance, worthy of remark, that the President of the Union, under whose administration the relations of amity and friendship between Great Britain and the United States have been so fully established, is the man who bore the most conspicuous part in the decisive measures which

wealth and importance of Boston afford additional reasons for strengthening its means of defence, and that the importance of ~~the~~ state is increased in the estimation of its enemies, and of all foreign powers, in proportion as it is rendered less vulnerable, by the adoption of the most proper and most vigorous measures of defence.

These are all principles of acknowledged truth; and these maxims so evidently apply to the United States, and especially to Boston, that even the circumstance of the attention of the inhabitants being entirely absorbed by their private interest falls short of satisfactorily explaining the indifference, which they display in regard to fortifications, of the necessity of which they are perfectly aware.

The present state of Castle Island, garrisoned by sixty armed soldiers, and where on the ruins of an ancient rampart fifty pieces of cannon are lying, most of which are destitute of trunnions, would be a matter of sincere regret even for him, who should have the interest of America and the *humiliation of England* less at heart, than I have.\* I lament it most sincerely, inasmuch, as setting apart the consideration of danger, it bespeaks a degree of national indolence, which, I am sorry to say, is truly disgraceful.

Governor's Island is still less fortified than Castle Island; a block-house, erected on an eminence, forms the only means of defence. In France three hundred pieces of cannon would be mounted in these islands, and the most parsimonious administration would not repine at this expence, to whatever sum it might amount.

The soldiers, who form the garrison of Castle Island, have a very dirty and mean appearance, which does not seem to be an inseparable attribute of republican troops.

commenced the revolution at Boston, the man who in BRISSET's judgment "*has the excesses of republican virtues*," and who of consequence must be thoroughly convinced of the wisdom of the political system which he has pursued with unshaken firmness.—*Transl.*

\* The candour, with which the author here points out the source of his invectives against the British government, and the origin of the sarcastic censure, which on all occasions he passes on the English cabinet, deserves much praise. He inveighs and censures, because he anxiously desires *the humiliation of England*.—*Transl.*

The

The convicts of the state of Massachusetts are sent to this island, where they are kept at hard labour. They are chiefly employed in making nails and shoes, and are confined by day; so that, in this respect their fate is not worse, than that of the garrison. But no effectual measures have been adopted to improve their morals, or provide for their welfare at the end of their imprisonment. The machinery, introduced into all other nail-manufactories of America, to shorten and ease hard labour, are *here only* excluded, so that the convicts work to great disadvantage, if compared with other workmen, and are not able to lay by any savings during the time of their captivity, which they might usefully employ, when restored to the enjoyment of liberty. This heedlessness contrasts, in a striking manner, with the admirable attention and order which prevail in the prisons of Philadelphia, the excellent state of which will furnish just grounds of censure against all the other states, as long as they imitate not the laudable example of Pennsylvania.

The English laws, called in England the common law, are observed in the state of Massachusetts in regard to all such points as are not decided in a different manner by a positive law, which is frequently the case. Fathers possess the right of disposing of their estates by a last-will, in its utmost latitude, on condition of their leaving to every one of their children some part, however small, of their property. This right, which prodigality, revenge, paternal displeasure, and the imbecility of old age, would frequently abuse in our European states, is here attended with no inconvenience. "No father has yet made an ill use of it," answered they, with whom I remonstrated on the plenitude of this right, vested in the testator. This answer, worthy of Spartans, has, however, not convinced me, that the manners of the inhabitants of Massachusetts are as remote from an ill use of unlimited power, as those of the Spartans were from parricide at the time of Lycurgus; nor has it reconciled me to a law, which, at least in some measure, is unjust.

The penal code is composed of English laws, somewhat mitigated. Mr. SULLIVAN, Attorney-General of the state, takes peculiar care, that justice is administered with mercy; he is a zealous partizan, it seems,



of the criminal law of Pennsylvania, and is now engaged in endeavours to get it adopted by the legislature of Massachusetts.

The state levies a tax for the support of government, amounting to forty thousand pounds sterling, or one hundred and fifty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three dollars. The quota of each contributing inhabitant towards this tax, as well as the county and parish-rates, is very trifling, though more considerable than in the states of New York and Pennsylvania. Property, both *personal* and *real*, is taxed; and such parts of it, as are not evident, are rated by commissioners, against whom bitter complaints are preferred at Boston, relative to the arbitrary manner, in which they frequently proceed. These grievances, it seems, are not altogether unfounded. No recourse can be had against an unjust valuation on the part of the commissioners, as, in order to obtain redress, the complainants would be obliged to disclose the real amount of their property; which, as they are generally men of great wealth, unjustly taxed from motives of jealousy and envy, they wish to avoid. Several of them have left Boston, and settled in other states or towns, where they enjoy security from arbitrary proceedings of this kind. Mr. BRECK of Philadelphia left Boston on this account, and Mr. THOMAS RUSSEL, a merchant, generally respected in America, intends, it is asserted, to settle in Charlestown, a small town, separated from Boston only by a bridge. His assessment, under the sole head of capitation or poll-tax, amounted to fifteen hundred dollars.

Out of the parish-rates, among other articles, the schools are supported, of which, according to the laws of the state, a certain number must be kept in each township, proportionate to its extent and population. In addition to these schools, many colleges have been instituted in this state, which are scattered through its whole extent, for the convenience of those who possess sufficient property, and wish to pursue their studies beyond the instruction, which common schools can afford. The University at Cambridge offers also ample means for acquiring extensive erudition. This university, which is modelled after the English universities, has professorships for every branch of the sciences. It possesses a fine library, a tolerably

tolerably complete philosophical apparatus, and a museum, which is yet rather incomplete, but will, no doubt, soon be improved. The whole instruction is apparently managed on very good principles. The funds, assigned for its support, not being sufficiently considerable to instruct the scholars *gratis*, they are obliged to pay quarterly the moderate sum of sixteen dollars. They also pay six dollars a month for their board, and are admitted after a previous examination by the professors. They remain here four years; if they desire to continue longer, for the purpose of taking a degree, they pay no longer the above sixteen dollars, but merely for their lodgings. Mr. WILLARD, president of the university, from whom I learned these particulars, is a man of uncommon merit, versed in all the sciences, which are taught here.

The town of Boston, seated on two or three eminences, and in the small intervening vales, is but of little compass. It has no regular streets, but is nevertheless very pleasant. The houses are neat and cleanly; a great number have gardens adjoining to them, and all afford delightful prospects. The manners of the inhabitants are mild and hospitable; they are much like the English.

The opulent inhabitants have, most of them, country-seats at some distance from the town, where they reside in summer. A foreigner easily obtains an extensive acquaintance, and is everywhere invited, in a manner so extremely obliging, as to preclude all doubts of the sincerity of the invitation. My state of health, which was but slowly recovering, prevented me from accepting the invitations I received.

I must mention in this place, that in the vicinity of Boston I found again Mr. Adams, Vice-President of the United States, a man of such uncommon merits, abilities, and talents, that he has few equals in America, and is not everywhere sufficiently esteemed. He is one of the most respectable men in the United States. No one contributed more to the American revolution, from the beginning to the end, than he. The agents of the British ministry entertain, therefore, much ill-will against him, although he has defended the English constitution in a book, full of profound researches, which he entitled "A Defence of the Government

ment of the United States." John Adams resides with his lady, remote from all intrigues, in a small house, fifteen miles from Boston, which no Paris advocate of the lowest rank would choose for his country-seat. Here he spends all the time, which his situation as Vice-president allows him to pass from Philadelphia, in reading, and agricultural employments. He sees but little company, since the very moderate fortune he possesses prevents him from receiving many visitors at his house. He is generally respected; his conversation is extremely agreeable, and tinged with a sort of sarcastic, yet courteous wit, which renders it highly pleasing.

The treaty with England is the constant and universal topic; it is discussed *pro et contra*, from one extremity of the states to the other. My opinion on this treaty is not altered from its having received the sanction of the President. I admire his letter to the select-men of Boston; in his position it is impossible to write any thing more beautiful, more noble, or more glorious. I blame him not for having acceded to the opinion of the Senate: pursuant to the constitution, and in the present conjuncture of circumstances, he was obliged to act as he has done. But, nevertheless, this treaty is, in my judgment, prejudicial to the commercial interests of America, which it renders, in some measure, dependent on Great Britain, and violates the duty and obligation of the United States, to assist France, their ally, with the necessaries of war. It is a monument of the weakness of America, to which it will prove productive of pernicious rather than advantageous consequences. The only momentary profit, to be derived from this treaty, will accrue to American merchants, who can be accommodated by the English with long credit, and who in America, as in fact in every other country, attend more zealously to the interests of their counting-houses, than to the political advantages of the state, which they inhabit.

I have perused every performance, written in favour of this treaty, without my opinion having in the least been changed even by CAMILLES. I possess, I think, sufficient knowledge of the political principles of Mr. Hamilton, to be convinced, that in this long and laborious enquiry he has rather served his party, than followed his own political opinion, and  
that

that, if he were freely to speak his mind, he would confess his grief at having publicly defended such a ~~state~~ paper. This treaty agitates, heats, and inflames the contending parties to such a degree, that you hardly meet anywhere with cool, moderate, and unimpassioned reasoning. I shall say no more on this subject, although I am far from having exhausted my arguments against a treaty, which I consider as extremely unfortunate for the tranquillity of the United States.

Boston trades to all parts of the globe. The enterprising spirit in point of navigation, which the Americans are on all hands allowed to possess, seems in a peculiar degree to animate the inhabitants of New England. Although the trade of many ports in the state of Massachusetts, north and south of Boston, has of late years considerably increased; and although it is of the same nature as that of Boston, yet I have been assured, that the trade of this town, so far from suffering by it, has, on the contrary, never been in a more flourishing condition, than it is at present. Several gentlemen, having promised to supply me with comparative tables of the exports and imports of Boston, previously to my leaving this town, I shall until then defer all calculation on this interesting subject.

Anxiously desirous as I was of collecting information relative to the trade with the South-Sea Indians, and to the nature of the navigation off their coast, I could not but feel extremely happy at getting acquainted with Captain ROBERT, who returned from this voyage but a fortnight ago, and who has communicated to me some particulars respecting this subject, which, I think, will not be deemed here out of place.

The object of the ships, which are trading to the western coast of North America, is chiefly the purchase of otter-skins, which they barter at Canton for Chinese goods, either consumed in America, or thence exported to Europe. The articles, which they ship for the purpose of exchanging them for the otter-skins, consist of iron, copper, tobacco, silver trinkets, collars, &c. This voyage, which is generally made from Boston in ships from ninety to two hundred and fifty tons burthen, takes up from fifteen to eighteen months. But its duration is frequently protracted, and its produce lessened by adverse events; which

was the case with Captain Robert. He spent three years and eight months in this voyage; he lost twenty men out of thirty-six, who composed his ship's crew, and a small vessel, which he had caused to be built during his voyage, and which, he thought, might be advantageously employed in this trade; his own profit, as well as those of his owners, could not, therefore, but be considerably lessened. By inserting here a brief account of his voyage, I shall communicate to my friends particulars, relative to the trade and navigation to the western coast, which, I trust, they will read with pleasure.

### CAPTAIN ROBERT'S VOYAGE TO THE SOUTH SEA.

He sailed from Boston on the 29th of November, 1791, on board the *Jefferson*, of one hundred and fifty-two tons burthen, mounting eight guns, and manned with thirty-six men. From want of provision, and the necessity of repairing some damage, which his ship had sustained in a violent gale of wind, he found himself obliged to put into Valparaiso, a Spanish settlement on the coast of South America, in latitude thirty-three degrees south, and longitude eighty-four degrees.\* He remained here a whole month, and sailed hence up the Pacific Ocean, where on the 5th of July he arrived off the Spanish island of St. Ambrose, which lies in twenty-six degrees thirteen minutes south latitude, and eighty degrees fifty-five minutes west longitude, from Greenwich. This island, which has the appearance of having had volcanic eruptions, abounds with seals, which lie on the rocks, and are easily killed by the seamen, who frequently kill from two to five hundred of them with bludgeons, in the course of one morning. During the two months and a half the Captain continued on this island, his crew collected and cured thirteen thousand seal-skins, which are sold in China for sixty dollars a hundred. The oil, which is

\* The author is misinformed in regard to the situation of Valparaiso. It lies in latitude thirty-three degrees two minutes thirty-six seconds south, and longitude seventy-seven degrees twenty-nine minutes west, and has a harbour, which forms the port of St. Jago. three hundred and ninety miles east of the island of Juan Fernandez.—*Translator*.

obtained in great quantity from ~~this~~ fish, is given in exchange for otter-skins, to the Indians of the western coast, who drink it like rum. The island of St. Ambrose affording no anchorage, the ships remain constantly under way, at a greater or less distance from shore, according to the weather. The ship's company sleep every night on board, and keep up with boats, such intercourse with the island, as is requisite for their fishery.

On his departure from St. Ambrose, Captain Robert stood to the westward, and made the Marquesas, or Marquessa islands; he put into the island Woahoo,\* which the Spaniards call St. Christian, in latitude nine degrees fifty-five minutes south, and longitude one hundred and thirty-eight degrees west. This island is inhabited by Indians, not of a very dark complexion, and, by Captain Robert's account, of very fine shape and regular features. The heat of the climate rendering clothes perfectly useless, they wear only a small apron, which they never put off. On festivals they dress in a light stuff, made of bark, and highly finished, both in point of colour and texture. In this island Captain Robert built a vessel of ninety tuns burthen, for the trade on the American coast, the chief materials for which he had brought with him. The four months he continued at this island, he lived, upon the whole, on very friendly terms with the Indians, great numbers of whom assisted him in his work. But one day they shewed a design of seizing upon his vessel, when it was half finished. A great number of these Indians, headed by their king, manifested so clearly an intention of attempting an attack, that Captain Robert was obliged to repel them by force. At the head of his thirty-six men he fired upon the Indians, killed several of them, wounded others, and routed them completely. On the next following day they came to sue for peace, and brought some of their wounded to be cured.

\* Woahoo being one of the Sandwich Islands, the author has probably confounded this name with Waitahū, the Indian name of the Marquessa Island, which by the Spaniards is called St. Christian, and lies in latitude nine degrees fifty-five minutes thirty seconds south, and longitude one hundred and thirty-nine degrees eight minutes forty seconds west from Greenwich.—*Translator.*

The Indians are furnished neither with fire-arms nor bows; their weapons consist of poles of very hard wood, and long slings, by which they throw stones, with great precision of aim, to a considerable distance.

At another time the Indians of a neighbouring island made up to Captain Robert's ship, lying at anchor in the road, with a fleet of about twenty boats, ninety feet in length, to take her; but a lucky shot sinking one of the boats, the rest retreated with the utmost speed, and never made their appearance again. These Indians are, by Captain Robert's account, engaged in continual warfare with the inhabitants of Waitahù, and offer their daughters, nay, sometimes their wives, to foreigners, with whom they are on friendly terms. You may keep them as long as you please, and return them when you want them no longer. The Indian ladies, so far from objecting to this sort of civility, commence, on the contrary, as early as the age of ten to do in this manner the honours of their island.

The Indian inhabitants of the Marquesas drink nothing but water, and are not fond of spirituous liquors. The king and chiefs of the island only drink a beverage called *hary*, and prepared from a yellow root, which is gathered by their slaves, and cut into pieces, which they chew, spit into large vessels filled with water, and afterwards squeeze with their hands to obtain the juice. This liquor, prepared in so uncleanly a manner, is held in very high estimation by the Indian chiefs, who mix it with water; less diluted it is taken against the scurvy. They also use it as a remedy against the venereal disease, which has become very frequent here, since the first visit of the Europeans, and with which the whole crew of the Jefferson were infected.

The marriages among these Indians last no longer than the wedded couple chooses, and especially as long as it pleases the husbands, who assert great prerogatives over their wives, and never dine with them. Father, mother, and children frequently live in the same house, even when the latter are married.

Beside the royal dignity, and that of the chiefs of the villages, which are hereditary, there also exists some inequality among the families, all which

pay

pay great respect to the king and chiefs. Property is known and respected in this island, and the number of servants and slaves is proportionate to the amount of a man's property. Potatoes, nay, sugar-canes are cultivated in this island. Thefts are severely punished, and the punishment is determined by the chiefs. Fowls, which, however, are very scarce, and pigs of the Chinese breed, which are tolerably abundant, are eaten roasted; but fish they eat raw. Both men and women are handsome.

The new vessel being finished, and manned with ten men, Captain Robert set sail for the Sandwich Islands. By his assertion, he discovered, on his passage thither, a cluster of islands, never mentioned before by any other navigator, and situated in latitude eight degrees forty minutes south, and longitude one hundred and forty degrees west. He circumnavigated them without going on shore, called the whole group Washington, and named some of the islands, Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, &c.

Captain Ingraham, master of the ship Hope, of Boston, saw these islands last year, but he merely saw them, and noted their bearings.\* By Captain Robert's account, he found in one of these islands, called by the Indians Novheva, which he named Adams' Island, an old man, seventy-five years of age, who had been there a great many years. This old man was born in Oohoona, which Captain Robert named Massachusetts Island. Having coasted along the shores of some of them, he sailed for Owhyhee, the largest of the Sandwich Islands, which unfortunately derives much celebrity from the death of Captain Cook, and where he arrived on the 27th of March.

\* Captain Joseph Ingraham, of Boston, commander of the brigantine Hope, of Boston, discovered these islands on the 19th of April, 1791. They are seven in number, and lie between eight degrees three minutes, and nine degrees twenty-four minutes south latitude, and between one hundred and forty degrees nineteen minutes and one hundred and forty-one degrees eighteen minutes west longitude from Greenwich. Before Captain Ingraham's discovery was known, Captain Josiah Robert, of Boston, sailed for the north-west coast, saw the same islands, and gave them the names mentioned by the author. But the whole group is named *Ingraham's Islands*, in honour of their first and true discoverer.



The manners in the Sandwich Islands are much the same as in the Marquesas Islands. On account of the great number of ships, which touch at this island, fowls and pigs are kept here in such plenty, that ships may be easily supplied with them. Captain Robert intended to sail hence for the north-west coast of America, and on his return to rendezvous in this island, with his other vessel. After having taken in fresh water, and what provision he could obtain, he proceeded to the above coast.

Nootka Sound lies in forty-nine degrees thirty-six minutes north latitude. The coast, commonly designed by this name, extends from forty-eight to fifty-five degrees north latitude. As soon as a ship comes within sight, the Indians appear on the shore, and, if she cast anchor, bring peltry in their canoes, which they know is the object of the voyage. The canoes are, on their return, accompanied by the ship's boats, with a certain number of seamen and an agent, appointed by the master, to conclude the bargain with the Indians. Ships are frequently obliged to remain several months off the coast, before they can obtain their full cargo.

Captain Robert first dropped anchor in Berkeley's Sound, whither Indians from the Straights of Fuca brought a great quantity of furs. His other vessel, which drew less water than that on board of which he himself sailed, he ordered to sail into the bays, to approach nearer to the coast, and to send the produce of her trade to his ship. The small Charlotte Islands, which lie but a few miles from the coast, contribute also to this trade, which is carried on with great safety, though very slowly, as the inhabitants are of a mild and honest disposition. They are not yet very fond of spirituous liquors; they prefer copper and iron, especially copper in sheets. They live by hunting and fishing, are of the same complexion as the Indians, who inhabit the sea coast, but apparently less hospitable than the inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands.

After Captain Robert had continued six or seven months off this coast, he lost, in a violent gale of wind, his second vessel, which was less distant from shore than that on board of which he was, and less able to weather the tremendous storm. Twelve men went to the bottom with the vessel,

fel; together with considerable quantities of peltry and articles for exchange, and also with the plans of the coast, which Captain Robert relates he discovered.

From Owhyhee Captain Robert set sail for Canton, where, in the manner peculiar to this place, but now generally known, he bartered his otter-skins for tea, rice, silks, indigo, and nankeens. The Chinese merchants are not, by his account, remarkable for honesty, but very artful, so that you may be easily overreached by them, if you be not on your guard. The otter skins, which, off the north-west coast of America, you obtain for about six dollars, fetch in Canton twenty dollars. But Captain Robert assured me, that the price encreases on the coast, whence they are procured, and decreases in China. Otters are found between forty and sixty degrees.

The English, French, and American ships proceed no farther than Norfolk Sound, in fifty-five degrees north latitude; the Russians trade to the more northerly parts. After having traversed the Siberian deserts in numerous caravans, they stop in Kamtschatka, where they build ships, and then sail to the Fox Islands, double Cape Providence, and commence their trade in Loak River. They treat the Indian possessions as Russian provinces, impose contributions, and flog or kill the inhabitants, if their proposals of exchange be not immediately accepted. Their articles for barter are rum, copper, and tobacco; the peltry which they obtain, they sell to merchants of Kamtschatka, who supply them with merchandize. They frequently return three times, to fetch peltry and import into Russia the commodities of China, with which they arrive in caravans, after an absence of three or four years.

From Canton, where Captain Robert continued from the 25th of November, 1794, until the 12th of February, 1795, he sailed back straight to America, after having lost some seamen through illness and indiscretion. He doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived at Boston on the 28th of July, 1795, without having touched at any foreign port since his departure from Canton. However dissatisfied Captain Robert is with this voyage, yet he entertains, it seems, the project of setting out soon

soon on another for the same destination. He bears the character of a brave, bold, and prudent seaman, and speaks of his voyages as a man, who is perfectly acquainted with those which were made before his, and who is able to improve his own experience, as well as that of others.

## JOURNEY INTO THE DISTRICT OF MAINE AND BACK TO PHILADELPHIA.

### DEPARTURE FROM BOSTON—JOURNEY TO THE DISTRICT OF MAINE.

On the first project I had formed to descend the river St. Lawrence, to visit Halifax, and to return into the United States through the district of Maine, I intended to visit General Knox, who, with exquisite politeness, had given me in Philadelphia an invitation to that effect, and whose mansion was situated on my way. On my arrival I entertained the same idea, although at that time the district of Maine lay rather out of my way; and the repeated proofs of friendship I received from the General confirmed me in my resolution. I accordingly embarked with him for St. George's River, whither he returned after a four months absence.

The house of the General is situated about two hundred miles from Boston, both by land and water. At this time of the year the passage is generally made in twenty-four hours; but peculiar circumstances prevented us for three or four days from availing ourselves of the favourable wind; and after these impediments had been removed, our captain wished, as soon as possible, to improve the first appearance of fine weather. This was very trifling indeed, when he set sail, for which reason we were scarcely able the first evening to clear the mouth of the harbour. On the second day we were forced by a thick fog, and strong indication of a heavy storm, to make the bay of Cape Ann. These measures of precaution, adopted by our captain, of which we could not but approve, removed us forty miles out of the straight road. As soon as the fog and indication of a storm had disappeared, we got again under way; but meeting with a dead calm, we were obliged to come once more to an anchor, within four hundred yards of our first anchoring place. The wind generally died away early in the morning,

morning, as well as the afternoon, for which reason we reached not the General's mansion till after a passage of seventy-two hours, and after having sailed fifteen miles up St. George's River.

### CAPE ANN, GLOUCESTER.

The circumstance of our being compelled to put into the bay of Cape Ann afforded me an opportunity of seeing the drying of cod fish. The whole coast of Massachusetts, and especially of the district of Maine, is inhabited by fishermen, engaged in the fishery on the great sand-bank; they bring all the fish on shore, where they receive the last dressing. The fish are washed as soon as they are taken out of the water, and laid first in heaps, that the water may run off. Then they remain for two or three days exposed to the air, after which they are placed on hurdles, about four or five feet in breadth, three or four feet above the ground, and as long as the field on which they are erected, generally about a hundred or a hundred and twenty yards. The fish are laid on these hurdles, first three or four, one upon another, and, after they have lost most of the water, every fish separately; they are frequently turned, that they may get thoroughly dry, which generally takes five or six days; at last they are packed in cases, pressed down, and exported either to the West India Islands, or Europe.

The best fish, that is, those which, caught in the first fishing months, are superiour to the rest from their being dried more slowly, are sent to Spain. They are sold at double the price of those, which are caught later in the year, when the heat is more intense, and which are exported either to the West Indies, or some part of the continent. But from among the fish of the better sort, which are destined for Spain, the best are picked out for those inhabitants of Massachusetts, who are peculiarly fond of salt stock fish; and there are in that county few families, who have not, every Saturday, a good dish of stock fish on their table. As to the usual partition of the proceeds of the fishery, it is as follows, viz.

The ships employed in the fishery, which are generally of seventy tons burthen, are navigated by a master, seven seamen, and a boy. The owner of the ship has a fourth of the profit; the dryer on the coast an

eight, and the rest is divided among the master and seamen, in proportion to the fish they have caught. The expence for candles, wood, bait, and salt is deducted, previously to the partition; every seaman takes care of the fish he has caught. A vessel of sixty tons burthen takes upon an average twelve hundred cod fish, which are generally worth two dollars and a half per hundred weight, but cost at present from five to six dollars.

The town of Gloucester, which is situated near Cape Ann, employs in the fishery, at the great bank, about forty or fifty yachts and brigs. These vessels are of the burthen of one hundred or one hundred and ten tons; make in general three voyages in a year, if they commence fishing in March, and continue until November, when the fishery terminates. Before the war, the town of Gloucester, though less considerable than at present, employed more vessels in the fishery than at this time. This decrease, which seems extraordinary, since the number of ships built in this port is much greater now than at that time, originates from the comparatively greater advantages, which the ship-owners derive from trade. But the number of towns, which share in the fishery on the great bank, is also more considerable than formerly; so that although the share of single places in the fishery may have decreased within these last fifteen years, yet the number of those that share in it has greatly increased.

Besides the fishery on the great bank, the coasts of Massachusetts, and the district of Maine, furnish also large quantities of stock fish. They are neither so large, nor so plentiful, as at the great bank; yet this fishery affords useful employment to a considerable number of ships, which proceed only five or six miles from the coast, return home every week, and are not exposed to the same danger as ships engaged in the other fishery, which mix their fish with those that are caught near Newfoundland.

The road of Cape Ann lies south-west from the Cape. It is capacious and safe. On a commanding eminence on the coast, a fort is now constructing, which will most effectually protect both the road and its entrance. Within the fort a block-house is built, the lower part of which serves for a powder-magazine; and that part, which is destined to be inhabited

habited by the garrison, is built with so much care, that in all probability it will be bomb-proof.

The town of Gloucester, situated at the bottom of the bay, is pleasant, though not regular. It contains a number of stores or shops, and a considerable proportion of good houses. Like all the other small towns around, it has an air of brisk and thriving industry.

In the year 1794, commodities to the value of two hundred and twenty thousand eight hundred and fifty dollars were exported out of Gloucester; but its exports for the present year will scarcely amount to one hundred and eighty thousand dollars. Its chief trading intercourse is with the West Indies.

We have obtained little new information in the course of our voyage thither. We came on board a vessel belonging to St. George's River, which usually takes in its lading there. The principal commercial business of the province of Maine consists in the exportation of timber to Boston. It is conveyed in small yachts from eighty to a hundred and twenty tons burthen: sometimes brigs and schooners are employed. The yachts are, however, preferred, because they are lighter than the others, and can be navigated by fewer hands. At times these yachts will proceed as far as New York, Philadelphia, Norfolk, Baltimore, or Charlestown. From these places they are always freighted back with a new cargo, by which the profits of the voyage are increased. From Boston they must return empty, and therefore less readily undertake that voyage. The clear profits of a single voyage were estimated at sixty-six dollars. One of these vessels made, last year, sixteen or seventeen voyages; and the owner's neat gains for that length of time amounted to between one thousand and fifty-six and one thousand one hundred and twelve dollars; while the cost of the vessel was from three thousand to three thousand three hundred and fifty dollars. When the timber is uncommonly excellent in its quality, the profits are greater. The returns are also unusually good from cargoes of lime, of which there begins to be abundance found in the province of Maine. When the population of this province shall have adequately in-

created, and its quarries shall be wrought in a due proportion, it will then find a very ample source of wealth in the exportation of its lime stone. The vessel in which we sailed was dirty and incommodious. Like the rest of this craft, it was fitted for the reception of goods, not for the accommodation of a few casual passengers. But the attentions of the captain made every thing as agreeable as possible to us. It is to be observed, that these vessels very often go without a lading, and many times return even without ballast; a condition of the ship, which makes prudence and vigilance in the captain peculiarly necessary. Our food, during the short voyage, consisted chiefly of fish, which we caught ourselves. Of these there is on the coasts such plenty, that before your line has been cast two minutes, you are sure to have a fish on your hook, which will weigh, at the least, two pounds, often not less than twelve pounds. They are of the species of the cod fish and the halibut; the cod fish are larger, and worse in their flavour than those of many other places. On these coasts, especially at the mouth of the river, lie a number of islets. At the mouth of St. George's River there appears a multitude of these of almost every diversity of size and figure: scarcely one of them is under cultivation. Most of them belong to the state. These coasts are all, more or less, inhabited. The tide is said to flow up St. George's River, for the space of two and twenty miles. To the distance of fifteen miles from its mouth, the channel of the river is three quarters of a mile broad. It there empties itself into a bay of nearly the same breadth; after which it is suddenly contracted into a bed scarcely thirty fathoms from one side to the other.

#### THOMAS TOWN.—GENERAL KNOX AND HIS FAMILY.

At the extremity of this wide bay stands the house of General Knox. From its front there is a truly interesting prospect of the river, for an extent of nine miles. The house is agreeably situated on a declivity, which rises with a gentle elevation from the river-side. Almost all the adjacent lands



lands have been, for a longer or shorter time, under cultivation. The natural fertility of the soil has been considerably improved, and it affords pasture to numerous herds of black cattle and flocks of sheep. The dwelling-houses around are frequent; and out of a hundred that may be seen at the General's residence, there are hardly half a dozen log-houses. The General's house is a handsome, though not a magnificent structure; neatly, if not sumptuously furnished; sufficiently spacious and convenient for the accommodation of a numerous family, with additional lodging for the occasional reception of seven or eight friends, or even more; who, however unexpected their coming, would not fail to find themselves as comfortably entertained as they could desire.

The General possesses, in right of his wife, a very extensive landed estate, which is known by the name of the Waldo Patent. The right of the property of this estate is derived either from a treaty with the Indians, which was made towards the end of the last century by the family of Waldo, from whom Mrs. Knox is a descendent; or from a subsequent agreement between the Indians and the same family of Waldo. This agreement was at that time ratified by the King of England, then sovereign of this part of America; and, since the revolution, it has been declared valid by the state of Massachusetts. The General has acquired likewise a large estate by purchase, which lies contiguous to the former. He enjoys both these estates, therefore, under every right of tenure by which property, can be rendered unquestionably secure. Of this great estate, a thousand acres have been inherited from the Waldos, the ancestors of Mrs. Knox; a family, of which the male line is now extinct: the rest is the acquisition of her husband, the General. But, besides this, a number of families have, at different times, established themselves on Waldo's Patent, without any authority, save that they met with no opposition in the attempt, at a time when the tract which remained undivided, was not kept under the particular inspection of any person, who might have protected the rights of the original proprietors. Most of these encroachers have settled near the coast. The advantage of a rich fishery first drew them hither, and



was long their only source of enjoyment. By degrees they cultivated some spots of ground, beside their huts. The soil was found to be fertile, and it afforded them an abundant increase. To the first simple huts succeeded houses of firmer structure, and a better appearance; the whole extent of the estate of Waldo's Patent, along the sea-coast and the shore of St. George's River, and for about half a mile inland, is now almost entirely occupied, and under cultivation. The richest part of this territory is in the possession of persons who have no just right to it. The value of the productions of the soil, and the advantages of a situation so contiguous to the river and the sea-coast, make their lot extremely desirable. The General's right to dispossess these intruders is unquestionable. But, this right is easier to be proved than to be made effective; for there are perhaps a thousand families who, if it were to be carried into force, would be stripped of their possessions. Most of them are well aware, that they came hither, and formed their settlements, without having acquired any previous right to the lands which they chose to occupy. They knew not then, indeed, that those lands belonged to General Knox or to the Waldo family; but supposed this to be an uninhabited territory, formerly of the Crown of England, and since, of the State of Massachusetts. The example of so many others, who had no more right than themselves, encouraged, and seemed to authorise them to settle at their pleasure. In so doing, they intended no incroachment upon the property of the General; and, since the commencement of their residence here, they have improved their ground by their care and labour, and have actually bestowed the better part of that which constitutes its present value, for the lands adjacent are by no means of equal fertility. These considerations cannot, indeed, invest them with a clear title to their possessions, yet give them, certainly, a claim to indulgence. A great proprietor, who should pretend to overlook these facts, would deservedly incur the blame of base and dishonest selfishness. He might expose himself, even while successful, in vindicating his rights before a court of justice, to the general resentment of the whole country. And by his success, even his own pecuniary interests

interests might be injured in consequence of the ~~operation~~, the ~~diffusion~~, the dispersion, and the clamours, which would, in such a country as this, ensue.

Of the importance of these considerations General Knox is fully sensible; and he has been guided by them in his conduct towards this numerous class of persons usurping the possession of his estates. None of them denies his title. Some are willing, on this account, to sell him a part of their plantations, at a very low price, and with them he comes to an easy compromise. Others wish to acquire a legal right to their possessions; and with them he agrees, that, for the payment of a small sum, they shall remain proprietors, each of a hundred acres of land, which is reckoned, in the State of Massachusetts, to be a farm sufficient for the support of a family. Thus complying with circumstances, he is careful neither to attack the interests of particular individuals, nor to set himself in opposition to the prejudices of the country; and the sagacity of his management cannot fail to be, in the end, productive of the most advantageous consequences.

In this territory, it seems to me, that no person can fail to thrive, who possesses so eminently, the qualities of intelligence, prudence, and activity, together with a sufficient capital, to lay out in improvements.

These necessary subdivisions of his estate can only serve to make it all one scene of prosperous husbandry and abundant population, sooner than the worthy owner could otherwise have expected. So much do I know of his character and talents, and so freely did he explain his plans to me, that I cannot but hope as warmly, as I sincerely wish, the happiest consequences to his affairs and to the country, to result from them both. At the same time, it seems to be indispensibly requisite to their success, that they be prosecuted with unwearied and unalterable perseverance. At the distance of Philadelphia, and amidst other business, it will be impossible to give the due attention to their advancement. A residence on the spot is absolutely necessary. But, with this, attention and activity cannot fail to surmount every obstacle; and the happiest event must infallibly ensue. General Knox is fully sensible of all this; and has, therefore

late, retiring from that public business, in which he was engaged, for five and twenty years of his life, with great honour to himself, and to which he generously sacrificed a part of his fortune. He has even resolved to decline attending the winter-meetings of the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts. Thus, from a successful career in political life, he turns himself to augment and improve a fair estate, in consequence of which he may probably leave immense wealth to his family. Can a man know a past life of more agreeable retrospect, in connexion with future prospects more fair and promising?

#### A MORE PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRICT OF MAINE.

At present, the trade of St. George's River is neither remarkably brisk, nor very gainful; and a dozen petty merchants resident in Warren, Thomastown, and Waldoborough, are proprietors of almost all the shipping. The captain of a ship has, commonly, a share in the property of her. The merchants have shops; and exchange their goods, with great advantage, for provision, with which they are supplied by the country-people, and wood for exportation, with which they freight their vessels. But, though the necessities of the people, and the advantage with which these merchants can dispose of their goods, might encourage them to a more extensive trade in wood, they rarely procure more of it, in spring, than will serve their domestic purposes, and load a single vessel. They scarcely ever freight any number of vessels with this commodity. Their profits arise chiefly from the retail sale of their goods, and from the freight which they sometimes receive, in consequence of having a share in a ship.

The rest of the trade is carried on by the small land-holders and the ship-captains. Every colonist sells, in winter, a certain quantity of trees, which he either chops up into billets, or carries to the saw-mill. These products of the country he delivers to the captain, to carry them to Boston, and sell them there on his account; if want of money do

not

not obliged to dispose of the merchandise on the spot. The freight on the timber, and of all other commodities, is fixed adjacent to St. George's River for exportation, as more or less according to the nature of the different articles. It is, however, no unusual thing for the persons shipping cargo, to agree, that the captain shall receive, as freight, a fourth part of the price, which the commodities shall fetch in the market. Thus the captain divides with his owners; reserving to himself one-half. Out of this he supports and pays the ship's crew, for the voyage. The owner of the cargo receives three-fourths out of its whole proceeds. It often happens, that the clear profit out of these three-fourths is not equal to that one-fourth which was paid for the freight. The prime cost of a cargo, for instance, shall be a hundred dollars; it shall be sold in Boston for a hundred and eighty dollars: out of this sum, forty-five dollars go to pay the freight; and the clear gain to the exporter, after the value of the goods is deducted, will, then, be no more than thirty-five dollars. It is, indeed, true, that the proprietors of these small cargoes supply their timber out of their own woods; convey it to the shore upon their own sledges, drawn by their own oxen, at a time when they are not necessarily employed in other work; and reckon nothing for their own labour, by all which their small profits are somewhat enhanced. It is likewise true, that, as the felling and removing of the trees clears the ground for agriculture, however little the timber may bring, its exportation is still to be regarded as considerably advantageous.

When the proprietor of the cargo is, at the same time, owner of the vessel, he then allows the captain one-half of the clear profit, over and above the prime cost of the commodity. But, of this, I believe, there is no instance in St. George's River. In that case, whether the goods be the produce of the exporter's own lands, or be purchased by him for exportation, he fixes a certain medium price, which must first be deducted before the captain can come in for his share. When the prime cost of a cargo is four hundred dollars, and it is sold again for six hundred, the captain then receives one hundred dollars, and the merchant and owner of the

the vessel, another hundred. Trifling as these accounts may appear, still they are by no means indifferent with respect to our knowledge of a country so new as this, and so highly calculated to excite our interest in what concerns it. But, the trade from St. George's River, as I have already mentioned, is not by any means brisk. The ships, which might take in a lading in the space of two or three days, often consume as many weeks, in an idle delay, and are, even then, not fully laden.

The causes of this slackness of business, are ; 1. The want of creeks sufficiently deep to admit the timber to be conveyed down them for exportation, after the lands more contiguous to St. George's River have been cleared of woods ; 2. The scarcity of good saw-mills, which is indeed a natural consequence of the former disadvantage ; 3. The want of sufficient capitals in the hands of their merchants, which being employed with intelligence and activity, might conquer any physical difficulties ; or might, at least, partially remove whatever is now very unfavourable.

General Knox has projected a canal to improve the navigation of St. George's River, which, by avoiding many rapids, will render the river navigable for seventy, or eighty miles further up than vessels at present go. A great quantity of wood, that cannot now be brought to be shipped, would, then, be easily within the reach of water-carriage. The canal is indeed already begun. At the rapids, which it will leave free from navigation, a number of saw-mills may be erected. These Mr. POPE, the ablest civil-engineer in all America, has engaged to form, and which, of consequence, will be constructed in the utmost perfection. Perhaps this canal, when cut, may open a communication with other streams, by which means navigation shall be facilitated, agriculture improved, and traffic enriched and enlivened. A magazine of wood, of all sorts, might then be formed, to lade the ships whenever they should arrive in the river, and to meet all the demands and speculations of the merchants. At present there is not a single trader in the country, who could supply a cargo of wood for a vessel of ninety tons burthen, in the space of less than two months.

Ship-building is, in this river, an unpromising branch of trade. The trees are so abundant in the neighbourhood, that there may long supply sufficient materials, without there being any necessity for having recourse to the more inaccessible interior parts. The common price for ship-building, in St. George's River, is ten pounds, or thirty-three dollars and two shillings a ton, all things being, for this money, supplied, and the vessels are sold at Boston, at the rate of twelve or thirteen pounds, or from forty to forty-three dollars, a ton. To the number of five or six vessels a year are built in St. George's River. Ships, of any number of tons burthen, can come as far up as the house of General Knox, but to Warren, the limit of the influx of the tide into the river, only vessels of eighty tons burthen can ascend.

Agriculture is, throughout this territory, but in a poor state, althou the land is every where sufficiently fertile. The people sow but little wheat, from a persuasion, that the climate is too cold for it, scarcely any Indian corn, and, on the whole, but little oats. The ground lies mostly in grass and affords excellent hay, among which is a wild clover, which grows thick, and is of a pleasant fragrance. Besides those things which are adverse to the improvement of American husbandry in general, the agriculture of this region lies under the following disadvantages peculiar to itself: 1. The success of the *fishery*, which affords abundant means of simple subsistence to those who choose to depend upon it. 2. The scope for employment in *wood-cutting*, which yields small but certain daily wages, and draws men from the plough, of which the profits return more slowly, and with less certainty. 3. The business of *lime-burning* affords certain, and not inconsiderable wages, and thus allures many of the people from the tillage of the lands, prematurely exhausts their strength, enhances their necessities, and leads them into the fatal habit of intoxicating themselves with strong liquors. Experience evinces, that these three classes of people are the poorest, the most profligate, and consequently not the happiest. The district of Maine might produce, any where, corn equal to that of the lands round Kingston in Upper Canada, where the soil is not better, and which lies under the disadvan-

traces of a more northern climate. The tracts of meadow are extensive and beautiful, in consequence of which vast herds of cattle may be kept in the country: as the cattle must be housed for six months in the year, great quantities of dung are accumulated; and the river affords also a rich and fertilizing slime, which might be successfully employed as manure. All these advantages tend to encourage agricultural improvements, and to render their success certain. But the present practices must first be abandoned; the predominant prejudices must first be relinquished; and, what is the hardest task of all, the people must be roused from their negligence. I was assured, that the people who live at the distance of fifteen or twenty miles inland, are better husbandmen, and raise large quantities of corn. I readily believe the fact. Fishing, the burning of lime, and the felling of wood, are a sort of employment very profitable to great companies, and to the possessors of large capitals. And provided these people may have their gains, they little care, whether men's morals be injured, and the general improvement of the country retarded, by the pursuits which they encourage.

A pair of oxen cost here sixty dollars; a cow, eighteen or twenty dollars. Although no pains are taken to improve the breed of the cattle, they are, in general, good. Land may be purchased very cheap, especially from those who apply themselves to the fishery; for these people are often in difficulties. Wheat costs seven shillings a bushel, and almost all that is here consumed, is brought from New York or Philadelphia. Indian corn is equally dear; ~~it~~ <sup>it</sup> costs a dollar, or six shillings a bushel, if bought on the spot; the price of oats is two shillings and five-pence a bushel; that of barley six shillings; a ton of hay may be bought for nine dollars. Labourers are not easily procured here; but they may be hired from the environs of Boston. Their wages, for the winter months, are seven dollars a month; for the summer-months, ten dollars a month. All the milch-cows here are of the best sort.

The mercury in the thermometer has not, in the course of the present year, risen above twenty-two degrees of Fahrenheit, or seventeen one-fourth of Reaumur, in the vicinity of St. George's River. Its ordinary variations



violations have been from fifty to fifty-five of the land, to the town and half of Reaumur. There has been much more land cut out than is now in the hands of the settlers.

# JOURNEY TO AND FROM THE RIVER OF PENOBSCOT.

As General Knox's business called him to a different part of his estate, I took the opportunity of accompanying him, in order to acquire a farther knowledge of the country. We travelled along the shore of the bay of Penobscot. This bay and the river of the same name are extreme limits of the trading manufactories of the district of Maine. The shore of the bay, along the west coast, and that of the river for miles, bound the territory of Waldo-patent. Almost all this tract of the shore is inhabited by persons, who have occupied their lands without any just title; so that the true proprietors are excluded from their own lands, by the usurpation of these unauthorised settlers. Wood-cutting is the great employment of the people who dwell along the coast; it is almost their sole employment. The wood growing contiguous to this bay is of excellent quality, and finds therefore a certain and ready sale. A hundred acres of land will, by the sale of the wood, afford sustenance to a family for a number of years. In those districts through which I have travelled during the last five months, the wood is cut down for the purpose of clearing the ground; and no sooner is the small wood burnt or removed, than the field is sowed in, and sown with grain. Here, on the contrary, the wood is suffered to spring up anew, after the old trees are felled: the turf is covered with a native clover, which grows very luxuriantly among the roots of the trees that have been cut down, and the small wood that lies scattered around. This clover affords forage for sheep and black cattle, which the owner of the ground turns out to graze upon it. A slight fence encloses his garden, the little potatoe ground within which his house stands. There is no other sort of enclosure in use among these people. Upon all these lands in general, there has been very little labour of cultivation employed; but the soil is almost everywhere fertile, and better in quality than that in the vicinity of St George's River. It is such, that these illegal occupiers, after cutting down the finest trees



on one piece of ground adjacent to the shore, frequently dispose of this first settlement; and removing to another, which they occupy without purchase, clear it in the same manner, by cutting down and selling off its wood. Purchasers give no great price for these lands, knowing, that the title to the possession of them is not valid, unless it shall be confirmed by General Knox. They buy the lands at less than the fair value, from those illegal occupiers who are willing to relinquish them, expecting to sell them again with advantage, after making some suitable arrangement with the General; and, in this expectation, they are rarely disappointed.

The view of the bay of Penobscot is one of the most agreeable prospects that the eye can enjoy. The bay is very extensive, and is interspersed with numberless islets of various magnitudes, most of which are inhabited. It is but seldom that any considerable number of vessels is to be seen in this bay.

Camden was the first stage at which we halted. By the Indians, and often even by its present inhabitants, this place is named Myganticock. Squire GLAVERY, at whose house we stopped, is one of those illegal possessors of lands, whom in strict justice General Knox might dispossess. But various circumstances concur to induce the General to confirm his right, and grant him a title to his possession, upon the payment of a shilling an acre. He lives near a small creek, at the mouth of a little river. He occupies both sides of this river, and has erected two mill upon it. By these he gets a great deal of money; though the whole establishments of his business stand upon ground, which he well knows do not belong to himself. He is now building a schooner of a hundred and twenty tons burthen, which costs him at the rate of thirty dollars a ton. He keeps, likewise, a shop; and is the only person in these parts that carries on any considerable trade; though even what he does, in this way, is, for the present, but trifling. Camden river is, with difficulty, navigable by vessels, for the space of three miles, from its mouth up to a certain pool of extraordinary depth, in its channel. For a small expence, the difficulties which obstruct its navigation might be removed, and it might be rendered navigable for the space of a mile higher up than the pool;

pool; though it is not there of such width as to admit of any great advantages being derived from its navigation. It is, however, probable, that, when this country shall be in a better state of population, what is now regarded as impossible, will appear to be void of difficulty; and when the river shall be rendered navigable for a greater distance up its stream, the improvement cannot fail to be in various respects highly beneficial to the adjacent inhabitants.

From Camden, we proceeded to the next stage at Ducktrap-creek, and there halted. Captain ALMA, who possesses both sides of the river, settled here about seven or eight years ago, with the General's permission. His brother and himself had served as officers in the army, without acquiring any provision for themselves, save the hope of obtaining a settlement upon some unappropriated lands. They are, at present, merchants, owners of lands which they have bought, proprietors of vessels, masters, in short, of a good fortune, which, in the progress of life and business, they will, doubtless, considerably augment. The intelligence and activity of these two brothers, have not yet been directed to the improvement of their estates. These, like almost all the other lands upon the bay, lie entirely without cultivation. The natural grass affords sufficient hay for winter-foilage to the few cattle which they maintain. They live in different houses, but are, in every undertaking, equally interested. Captain Alma, whom we saw, resides constantly in America, and manages all their joint concerns in this place. His brother undertakes voyages in a vessel belonging to them, to England, to the West-Indies, and in the coasting trade. He went lately with a cargo of wood to Liverpool. Its prime cost was six hundred dollars; and the price for which it may be sold at Liverpool, may amount to six thousand four hundred dollars. Beside this foreign trade, which the brothers Alma prefer to the coasting-trade, they are also engaged in the fishery, they build ships, and they speculate in land-jobbing. They introduce as many new settlers as possible into the district of Maine; and this they can do with the greater advantage, as they stand very high in favour with General Knox, the only legal owner of all this territory. I obtained the following particulars of information from

from Captain Alina, and another inhabitant of this district. 1. The price of ship-building for vessels of a larger size, at Ducktrap, is forty dollars a ton burthen for vessels exceeding two hundred tons; and from twenty to thirty dollars a ton, for such as are of smaller size. 2. The wages to the master-carpenter, are a dollar and a half a day; to the others, only one dollar; and they are all supplied with victuals, at a separate expence to their employer. 3. The fishery on the coast is carried on by almost all the merchants on the bay, with vessels of fifteen or twenty tons burthen. The captain has from the owners of the vessel, lines, ropes, provision, coffee, and receives one-half of the profits of the fishery. The fish are dried on the Fox-Islands, at the mouth of the bay of Penobscot. A sixteenth part goes to the people who have the charge of this part of the business. The fishing will yield, in a summer, sixty dollars of profit to the ship-owner. His vessel costs one hundred and fifty dollars. This fishery is altogether distinct from that of salmon, of which a great number frequent the bay in the beginning of the summer. Almost all of the stock-fish is purchased by the planters in the back-settlements, at the rate of five dollars a barrel; the remainder being exported to the West-Indies. Foreign trade is reckoned to be twice as profitable as the coasting-trade. 5. The price of wood of all sorts is nearly the same as in St. George's River: the only difference of price arises from there being a greater or a smaller quantity ready for exportation, at any particular time, in either of the two places.

In building vessels, they make the beams, which support the deck, from the trunk of the spruce-fir; taking care that these, and some other parts which are framed of this timber, have a sufficient thickness of wood, and be sufficiently rivetted together. The rest of the vessel is made of oak planks, procured from a different part of the country. It is but about three years since the spruce-fir was first used in building ships in this bay. The ship-builders affirm, that it is an improvement to the vessels: but I am inclined to think, that the want of oak, or rather a scarcity of this high-priced timber, has been the chief cause of this innovation. They here assure us, that the timber of the spruce-fir, when used in this

way,

way, is found to be very strong and lasting; and considering how little profit is, at present, to be derived from building with so expensive a timber as oak, the greatest advantages may result from employing in ship-building a species of trees, which have been hitherto left to rot neglected upon the ground. As a proof of the fitness of spruce-fir for ship-building, they farther mentioned to us, that some of these trees, which had been felled ten years ago, and had been exposed ever since that time to the sun and weather, were found at this time to be as fresh and sound, as if they had been but newly cut down.

The planks of the body of the ship, to the water's edge, are often made, instead of oak, rather of beech-wood, or of the wood of the black birch, which is reckoned equally hard and good. The keel is of the wood of the beech, of the sugar-maple, or of another species that is known by the name of the rock-maple. With these sorts of wood, there is not above a fifth part of the whole ship made of oak, in order that the expence may be as moderate as possible. When I speak of oak, I mean the grey oak; the red oak is not much esteemed for ship-building; and the white, the best of all, does not grow here. The ship-builders maintain, that the saccharine particles of the beech, the black birch or the maple, are very serviceable for the preservation of iron, which the saline particles of the oak are apt to consume. And instead of using tallow for those purposes in ship-building to which it has been usually applied, all the ship-carpenters in America, now rather make use of train-oil, very plentifully laid on. But this oil is a product of the fishery, and is, besides, one-fifth cheaper than salt; so that it may be doubted, whether the true reason be not rather its cheapness, than any superior fitness in the oil, which makes it to be preferred for these uses. By these means, however, the expence of ship-building has been reduced, within the last three or four years, to half of what it formerly was, to the great emolument of those persons who pursue this branch of manufacture. Yet, is this manufacture not carried on in all the extent which it might very well attain. The only cause of this is the present poverty of the inhabitants of these parts. When

this is considered, it must rather appear surprising, that there should have been so much already done in it.

A little river, which is navigable by small vessels, for a mile upwards from its mouth, empties itself into the creek of Ducktrap, and there drives a saw-mill of moderate size, the property of Messrs. Alma. I was not a little surprised to see men sawing great blocks of timber, close by this mill; but, such is the practice throughout America; and it is owing to the present imperfection of the saw-mills. Two or three other merchants, beside Messrs. Alma, are also engaged in the coasting trade; but the transactions of those others, is comparatively inconsiderable.

Draught-oxen cost, here, seventy dollars a pair; a cow, twenty-eight dollars; a sheep, ten or twelve shillings. They are purchased from the planters, whose necessities oblige them to sell. The breed of the cattle is tolerably good. Sheep are bought at a very low price, from the island of Marthawine, on the coast of Massachusetts; and these sheep, though of small size, are found to afford a very good breed, after they have had a year's keeping in the district of Maine.

After a poor supper, and an indifferent night's lodging with Captain Alma, who, however opulent, continues to live in a miserable log-house, without suitable supplies of bread, rum, sugar, or even flesh: we renewed our journey along a very bad road, which, however, was not quite so bad as the roads of the district of Genesee. We soon reached Little-river, another small stream running into Penobscot, which is not more navigable than that of Ducktrap, but, like it, drives a small saw-mill. A few solitaires dwell about this bay, almost every one of whom is owner of a small fishing boat, which is navigated, in the fishing, chiefly by himself or his children. Their land lies, like that of all their neighbours, totally uncultivated. The whole shore is occupied by such small fishermen, who are miserably lodged, miserably clothed, and miserably fed.

The township of Benast, adjoining that of Little-river, is better settled, than that through which we last passed. The houses are better, and are, even in some instances, painted: the lands have been brought  
into

into a better condition. This territory was sold thirty years ago, by the family of WALDO; and its present state of superior improvement seems to evince, that the uncertainty of the possession of those who have settled in other townships, must be the chief reason that occasions them to leave their lands so destitute of culture. A river, that is at the mouth about a mile broad, but navigable for only three miles upwards, here falls into a creek, much larger than any one that we had hitherto seen. We were to pass this river at a place where the access is extremely difficult. The ferry-boat is very small, and, for horses, very inconvenient. We were waiting for it a whole hour, and thought ourselves fortunate in reaching the opposite bank, when the wind became boisterous, the tide rose higher in the river, and our horses were growing very unruly. The General's negro conducted over two of the horses, swimming. Considerable mountains rise immediately adjacent to the bank of the river. These mountains were the highest I had yet seen in this tract of the country. The ground interjacent between them and the river's edge is cleared; not a stump remained, and trees lay scattered on the surface. I thought the meadows to be the best I had seen, for a long while. In this township of Belfast is a church, the only one in all the Waldo-patent. The roads become here better, both because the soil is firmer, and because they are more carefully repaired here, than elsewhere.

It is remarkable, that throughout almost all the district of Maine, the rivers and creeks flow with a straight course into the sea, with a longer or shorter length of progress, in which they are, in few instances, augmented by any auxiliary streams. The only exceptions from this general character are, as far as I know, the rivers of Kennebec, Penobscot, and Union: there are, I think, no other.

We stopped, at night, at the house of a person of the name of NICHOLSON, a farmer and landholder of some eminence. He has lived for these four and thirty years in Prospect, a township which lies along the coast, and is contiguous to Belfast. He possesses nearly eighty acres of land, that has been cleared, and five of these in a state of good cultivation.

tion. These are partly in tillage, and partly in the state of meadows. He, this winter, felled one hundred and fifty cords of wood, and between one and two hundred large trees; his sons caught cod-fish and salmon to the quantity of about one hundred barrels; his daughters spun the wool of the sheep, and made clothes for the whole family; they make shoes likewise of the hides of the cattle slaughtered for sale, for all who belong to the house. He is content with his lot, and is full of the ordinary prejudices of all the old, ignorant husbandmen of the district of Maine. But this is the worst that can be said of him. He thinks it impossible, that wheat should grow in his neighbourhood, and believes that even barley and rye will, at the best, grow but indifferently. He accordingly, sows as much rye and Indian corn as is requisite for the use of his household. Of this they make a sort of soft bread, which is the ordinary food of the people in this neighbourhood, but which, in other places, would be given to the dogs. Upon all that considerable extent of land, which he has cleared of wood, he keeps only twenty head of black cattle, including cows, calves, and bullocks; and from twenty to five and twenty sheep. One of his fine acres of meadow yields annually sixty hundred-weight of hay, which is rich with a mixture of natural clover, and is more than he needs for the use of his cattle, which for more than six months in the year must be kept in stalls in the house. He plants an acre annually with potatoes; the produce is often four hundred bushels, and even in less plentiful years at least two hundred and fifty bushels. Potatoes find a ready sale throughout the district of Maine, at the rate of one shilling and sixpence or two shillings a bushel.

His land is excellent. His sheep, of which he might keep ten times as many as he does, but which he is not desirous to augment, are fine, and afford, at the annual shearing, fleeces weighing each six pounds. That portion of it, which is not wanted for the use of the family, is sold at the rate of a shilling a pound, and though it were inferior in quality, would not fail to fetch an equal price. After all, it is not easy to see, how old Nicholson can have acquired the reputation of being a good farmer. To me he appears to differ from the rest, only in possessing a greater extent of ground

ground at a smaller price, without, however, making, in any degree, a better use of what he has.

There is no ship-building carried on in this township of Prospect; there belong to it only some of those decked yachts, which are used in the fishery.

The general business of the inhabitants is wood-cutting. An able woodman will cut down two, or even three, cords of wood in a day. The usual price is seven shillings a cord. It costs about a third part of the value for the conveyance of this wood to the shore. One who has no oxen of his own can earn, therefore, ten shillings a day; he may earn fourteen shillings, if he can convey the wood he cuts down to the shore. This is sufficient to make these people careless of agriculture and husbandry. More distant prospects of interest are too weak to engage them steadily in agricultural industry.

Those who neither sell their own wood, nor convey it to the shore, pay two shillings a cord to the labourers for cutting it down, and as much for its carriage to where it may be shipped. After this they have still to themselves a profit of half a dollar a cord. An acre of ground, that is well wooded, will afford sixty of these cords. So they pocket, even in this case, a gain of thirty dollars an acre upon their wood. This information will not be without its use, to persons who may think of purchasing lands in the district of Maine. The growing deficiency of wood, in the vicinity of Boston, and all along the coast, must soon enhance the market-price of that which remains to be cut in these parts.

Our next stage, after we left farmer Nicholson, was Brigadier's Island. This isle, with all the others which are not above three miles from the other shore, belong to the estate of Waldo-patent. It is inhabited by seven families, among whom it is parcelled out into so many different farms. These families have felled the wood around the whole shore of the island, and used that which covered the interior parts according to their domestic necessities and conveniences. To obtain full possession of this isle, General Knox has offered to the seven families, by whom it is now occupied, to the amount of three thousand dollars, in land and ready money, if they will peaceably relinquish it to him.

This



This island is accessible from the land by a passage not more than two hundred yards in length, which is dry, when the tide has ebbed. It affords excellent pasture for both great and small cattle; and is qualified to repay, in an adequate manner, all the pains that might be employed upon it by a skilful and industrious husbandman. The stones found at the surface afford reason for thinking, it contains marble, slate, and iron. The situation is favourable for trade. General Knox's interests draw his attention particularly towards this island, as being in the centre of his possessions. It is his object to clear this island for the purpose of maintaining in it a sheep-stock. For one month in the year these sheep must be housed; and he intends to build a proper stall for this use. He is of opinion, that by residing there he may obtain considerable sums of money, owing to him for land in the neighbouring country, which he is willing to cede to its present possessors at a price below its real value, to avoid all trouble and disputation.

Mr. GRIFFIN, one of the present inhabitants, is building a brig of eighty-five tons burthen, which he intends for the coasting-trade. It will cost, when fit for sea, to the amount of two thousand four hundred and fifty dollars, which is about thirty dollars a ton. He has bought almost all the timber necessary for his purpose in Penobscot River, as there was none of sufficient growth, for this use, remaining upon Brigadier's Island.

The township of Crankford was the last place in Waldo-patent that General Knox intended to visit. We halted at the house of an old farmer, named Colonel SCHULTZ. He possesses, with the permission of the General, three farms lying on Penobscot River, about ten miles inland from its mouth. Though but an indifferent farmer, he had set himself in opposition to the common prejudices against wheat. He sowed some acres with it, which yielded him a return of fifteen bushels an acre. This year his wheat is smutty; the grain is small, gray, and light, not yielding above a tenth part of the usual proportion of meal. He raises likewise good Indian corn, the return of which is at the rate of twenty bushels an acre. But his ploughing is slight; he lays on little manure;

nor

nor can the quality of the soil, nor the situation of his grounds, be commended. His potatoe-fields yield much the same increase as those of farmer Nicholson. He has been settled here for these eight and twenty years; yet, out of three hundred acres, which he possesses, has not brought more than five and twenty under culture.

But a small quantity of cod is caught at the bottom of the bay, or in Penobscot River. In the months of June and July, all hands are employed in the salmon-fishery. They are often taken with the harpoon, but more commonly with nets, while the tide ebbs. The inhabitants, in particular, of one small tract of land, which juts out into the sea, derive great profit from this fishery. It is there usual for a single family to take in a season from ten to sixty barrels of salmon, weighing, each barrel, two hundred pounds, and fetching in the market the price of eight dollars. The shore of Brigadier's Island is famous for the plentiful captures of salmons upon it. For some years this fishery has been less successful than formerly. It has hitherto been very little fortunate in the present year. For this failure the Indians are blamed, who live a hundred miles higher up, on the banks of Penobscot River. They are wont to fish every day in the year, which hinders the necessary annual renewal of the numbers of the salmons. The Americans, on the contrary, are accustomed to refrain from fishing for two whole months in the year together, and always upon Sundays.

These Indians dwell in a pleasant village by the river side. They live, like the rest of the Indians, without making regular yearly provision for the supply of their wants, but approach, in their manners, somewhat nearer to civility. They belong to a tribe, which the French Missionaries almost converted, or, at least, supposed, that they had converted, to the Catholic religion. This territory falling afterwards into the possession of Britain, and since, of the American States, the Catholic religion ceased to be preached to the Indians at the expence of the government. At present, there lives a French priest among them, from whom they have learned the doctrine of transubstantiation; but neither the duty and advantage of temperance, nor the principles and practice of agriculture,

ture, nor the injustice and folly of wasting the best means for the support of the country by destroying the salmon at an improper season. These Indians bring, every year, a large quantity of beavers, otters, foxes, and racoon skins, for sale to the merchants on the river. These skins are purchased at a very low price; and they receive rum in exchange.

Penobscot River is navigable as far as the tide rises, that is, for the space of thirty miles from its mouth. For small boats it is accessible to the distance of one hundred miles higher up. On its course it waters several beautiful districts of country filled with wood, and runs out into many creeks; all of which are sufficient to drive a number of mills. Up to the limit of the rising of the tide its banks are inhabited. After advancing along them to a certain distance, you enter the territories which still pertain to the Indians.

The vessels belonging to this river are not more than twenty, of which two are employed in the trade to Europe. These two belong to Mr. TREAT, a merchant, who has his principal place of residence near that part of the course of the river, above which the tide ceases to rise; and possesses several storehouses, at different distances, along the river's side. In the space of ten years, during which he has lived here, he has acquired, in trade, a considerable property. The rest pursue the coasting trade, or, in the years in which this does not promise success, a trade with the West India Islands. From all that I could learn, I am led to think, that timber of all sorts may be had cheap here, as well as in every other part of the district of Maine which I had occasion to visit. Ship-building is here at the rate of twenty-six dollars and two-thirds a ton. During this whole year there have not been more than five built in the river. The want of capital is the only reason why so little is done in this branch of business. It is true, that, on account of the present war in Europe, the expence is now much greater than it formerly was; but, in the preceding years, when the expence was smaller, the number of vessels built was not more considerable.

The whole township of Belfast lies within the county of Hancock. A

great

great part of it is still inhabited; and its whole population does not exceed ten thousand souls upon a district of eleven thousand four hundred square miles in extent. Penobscot is the capital town.

Washington, a county lying somewhat more to the north, and bordering upon the possessions of the British, possesses, on a wider extent of territory, a population of more than three thousand inhabitants.

Penobscot is still known by the Indian name of Bagadus. The exportation from it is not considerable. The value of these exports amounted, in the year 1791, to ten thousand eight hundred and fifty-four dollars; in the year 1792, to eight thousand three hundred and fifteen dollars; in 1793, to nineteen thousand three hundred and twenty-seven dollars; in 1794, to five thousand eight hundred and twenty-five dollars; in 1795, to four thousand nine hundred and forty-nine dollars; reckoning the year from the beginning of October, to the end of September.

I believe that Penobscot River is very justly deemed the most favourable situation for the commerce of this province. It may be safely affirmed, that any company or individual possessing a considerable capital, and knowing how to lay it out in improvements, and in the trade naturally connected with this situation, might settle here with no small advantage. A considerable number of vessels might be built, if all the wood from the lands were appropriated to this use, and if every day were carefully dedicated to incessant industry. The saw-mills would render the wood of great value; and it would quickly be seen, that the present saw-mills are susceptible of improvement, which would render them much more profitable than they now are: particularly in the cutting of shingles, and in breaking the bark of the spruce-fir, as is now done in the vicinity of Boston for the use of the tanners, there might be great improvement made. In winter the vessels might be freighted with mules and horses, reared here, for the use of the West India isles; for these animals will be bred here in very great numbers, when example, and a certainty of advantageous sale, shall have duly encouraged the planters to attend to this branch of farming. Salt-fish, too, either procured by purchase from others, or by keeping fishing vessels, would find a good market in the West India isles. These isles might be supplied also with cattle from this province.

vince, as it is capable of producing prodigious numbers of them. Another product for the same exportation is corn, which will infallibly afford great profits to this country, when once a spirit of agriculture shall have been fully exerted throughout it. In this manner might such a company or individual, as was above alluded to, gradually clear the land of its wood, and bring it into a good state of cultivation, while its exportable products would afford a good income, and the example would be of infinite utility to the whole country. Beside all this, there should be a shop or two furnished with the usual articles for the consumption of the country; for such shops as I have already had occasion to notice, prove extremely lucrative to those who employ a number of labourers. The consequence would be the speedy acquisition of a large fortune by the company or individual by whom these measures should be pursued. The increase of their means would naturally enlarge their concerns, and render them more profitable.

Exportation, the grand source of profit to a great landholder, both on account of the present advantage which it yields, and because it tends to enhance the prices of all commodities, is more necessary in the province of Maine, than in many other places. The emigrants make little resort to this province. The district of Genessee, and the back parts of Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and all the western parts where the climate is milder, the soil more fertile, and the land cheaper, are naturally preferred. The difference between the abundant population of Genessee, which was within these last ten years, in the possession of the Indians, and the few number of families, scattered throughout the province of Maine, of which the greater part was, an hundred years since, reduced into a colonial territory, is an undeniable proof of the truth of what is here affirmed, which ought certainly to have its weight with the great landholders of this province. It may, indeed, be reasonably expected, that there will be a gradual influx of settlers into this region, from the great increase of the population of Massachusetts. The wilds of Maine may be thus at length inhabited; and then the value of land will rise, and there will be an increase of manufacturing and commercial industry, to the great advantage both of the land-owners and the merchants.

In some places, labourers are procured pretty easily; and the wages, for

any considerable time together, are there at the same rate, as in the districts beyond Boston, already described.

The country is healthful, though much colder than the great landholders are willing to allow. Fogs and rains are more frequent here than in the more southern parts of America. The maritime situation of the province of Maine, contributes, no doubt, to increase the humidity of its atmosphere. The perpetual dampness on the sea coast produces a greater occasion for warm and constant fires there, than in the interior parts. But, however rigorous the climate, it is sufficiently favourable to the production of maize, and of excellent hay. Nor is there any just reason for supposing, that wheat and other grains would not thrive in it, if carefully cultivated.

Life is usually long and healthy in this province. It is not uncommon to meet with old men of the age of eighty, or ninety years, though the general condition of the people be but miserable, at least in that part of the country through which I accompanied General Knox. Save the brothers ALMAS, we found none who could be said to be even moderately intelligent. They are universally poor, or at least live as if they were so in an extreme degree. The habitations are every where poor, low huts. Every where, you find a dirty, dark-coloured rye-meal, and that not in sufficient quantity. The sort of fresh meat to be seen on any table, is that of lambs, which are killed, not so much for the sake of procuring a good dish, as to prevent the sheep-stock from becoming more numerous than is desired. In short, of all America, the province of Maine is the place that afforded me the worst accommodation. And, considering how little reason I found to praise the accommodations of many other places; what I have now said of Maine must be regarded as an affirmation, that the condition of human life in that place is exceedingly wretched.

The common drink here, and throughout all America, is grog, or a mixture of water with rum or whisky. It is made also with gin or brandy, but not in these parts.

A sort of beer, made from the twigs of the spruce-fir, is likewise drunk here. Molasses, and occasionally maple-tree sugar, are joined with the spruce twigs, in brewing this beverage.

Here is also another sort of beer, much like the former ; but it is brewed from the young twigs of the birch, instead of those of the spruce-fir.

Both these liquors are very common in Massachusetts and in Canada. Many people are fond of them ; to me they are disagreeable.

All the settlers in Waldo-patent, a very few excepted, occupy lands to which they have no just right. But they are of two different classes ; of which one consists of persons who have settled here by the permission of the General or his stewards, and are to pay a certain purchase-money at a future time ; but the others neither asked nor obtained any such permission. The condition of the former may appear to be more secure than that of the latter. But then this last class is so much the more numerous, that the General will probably find it necessary to treat them all alike. All acknowledge that they must pay a certain rent or purchase-money ; but neither do they offer ready money, nor fix any precise time for payment. The General encounters all the perplexity and difficulties of this business with the firmest steadiness, and the most extraordinary patience.

#### PRICE OF WOOD IN THE PROVINCE OF MAINE.

I was induced to form the following table of the prices of different sorts of timber in different places of this province, by considering that it might become hereafter a matter of some curiosity to compare the future variations in the price of wood, with that for which it is sold at this present time.

I have added a view of the prices of other products of this province, according to the most complete and accurate information that I could obtain. This also will serve for a fixed point in the scale of the variations of price, which these products may hereafter undergo.

I have given likewise a view of the expences and the returns of a late voyage of a schooner to England, which was communicated to me by Colonel Schultz.

## PRICE OF WOOD IN THE PROVINCE OF MAINE.

BY THE DUKÉ DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULT LIANCOURT.

	Warren.	Myersville.	Buck-trap.	Perry's River.	Wilket.	Branswick.	Portland.
* Boards	for 1000 feet of } fir oak	36 fh.	—	—	—	—	—
† Planks	1000 feet of } fir oak	60 72	36 fh. 54	36 fh. —	36 fh. 66	36 fh. 66	45 fh. 90
‡ Shingles	1000 of them	80	12 doll.	72	72	72	90
§ Claw-bards	1000 feet	25	20	20 doll.	132	132	180
Clear-bards	1000 feet	12	12	12	12 doll.	12 doll.	12 doll.
¶ A smaller species of boards } for the ton of } fir oak	—	—	9	10	12 doll.	12	—
‡ Mats from } 24 to 22 inches } every foot }	—	18	12 fh.	—	11 to 12 p.	18 fh.	11 to 12
*** Coopers' stores, 1000 of them	—	3	18	10 fh.	11 fh.	24	24
		10 doll.	8 doll.	4	5	—	—

## PRICE OF OTHER ARTICLES IN THE PROVINCE OF MAINE.

Lime, the barrel of 50 gallons	10 fh.
Hay, for 2000 lb.	9 doll.
Barley	—
	8 doll.
	4 to 6 p.
	8 doll.
	8 doll.

All these were the prices in 1795.

- Wood for fuel costs one dollar a cord.
- \* These boards are one inch thick, and eleven inches broad.
- † The planks are twice the thickness of the boards.
- ‡ The shingles are either of oak or fir.
- § Claw-boards are fir-deals, four feet long, and four inches broad. They are useful to cover framed wooden houses.
- || Clear-boards are deals without knot.
- ¶ The ton of these is forty feet long, and one foot thick; if less thick, it must be longer.
- \*\*\* These are of oak, but in Penobscot River of ash.



Expences and returns of a voyage performed by the Dolphin schooner, of Cushing, in the province of Maine, one hundred and twenty-two tons burthen, Captain BAYENTON, commander, in the months of May, June, and July, 1795, in the space of three months wanting five days; from Camden to Liverpool, and from Liverpool back to Boston.

			Dollars.	Dollars.
Expenditure by the merchants freight	—	—	440	
Captain's wages for the voyage	—	—	166	
Pilot's wages, twenty dollars a month	—	—	60	
Four failors, eighteen dollars a month	—	—	192	
Provisions	—	—	120	978

*Prime Cost of the Cargo at Camden.*

100 tons of oak, at three dollars a ton	—	—	300	
14,000 oak staves, at eight dollars a thousand			112	
2000 feet of deal, at six dollars a thousand feet			12	
Duties paid in England	—	—	225	
Occasional expences	—	—	156	1783

*Purchased in England*

42 tons of salt, at three shillings and four pence sterl.	331		
272 bushels of pit coal, at three pence sterl. a bushel	11	—	345
Duties on the salt at Boston	—	—	420
Total expenditure			2518

*Receipts of the Merchants Sales at Liverpool.*

4000 feet, or 100 tons of oak, at three shillings a foot, or twenty dollars a ton	—	—	2000
14,000 oak staves, at forty-three dollars a thousand	630		
2000 feet of deal, at forty-five dollars	—	—	90
			2720

*Sales*

at Boston.

				Dollars.
420 tons of salt, at four dollars,	85	—	—	2008
272 bushels of pit coal	—	—	—	90
				<hr/>
Total receipts				4884
Total expenditure				2548
				<hr/>
Cleat profit to the merchant				2336

This great profit is not to be so surely reckoned upon, as if the same cargo for the returning voyage were always to be easily obtained in England. Yet it affords certain data, from which may be inferred what a considerable benefit this foreign trade affords in return for a moderate expenditure.

But I repeat, that this country is still in its infancy, and in a languid and cheerful state. The taxes are much heavier than in any newly settled country I have as yet visited. Mr. Schultz, by whom I am informed of the fact, pays twenty dollars a year. Among these taxes is one for the support of schools, though no schools have hitherto been established.

#### FARTHER OBSERVATIONS

#### CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF MAINE

There is no house for religious worship in this province, neither in the district of Belfast, nor in Penobscot. Penobscot is the only town in these parts, and it consists of near a thousand houses. A poor preacher lives in these parts, who has only a very few hearers, to whom he preaches at certain places every second Sunday, and who pay him, at the rate of four dollars each. Throughout all America, the building of a new church, for every parochial district, is considered as a very burthensome expence. Here, therefore, the people rather pay a certain consideration, leaving

leaving the preacher to find a house for himself. The young people of both sexes, however, especially the young women, are very desirous of a church, in which they might have an opportunity to assemble every week, and to display their persons and their dress. In New England they refrain, on Sunday, with weak superstition, even from the most harmless sports. But, it is, in truth, because it affords them an opportunity of going from home, and meeting with their neighbours, that these people are so fond of visiting the church.

There is, in this country, a great lack of medical practitioners, at least of persons whose skill is worthy of the name. The people are not here either sufficiently numerous, or sufficiently opulent, to make it eligible for skilful surgeons or physicians to settle among them. The surgeon's employment is exercised at present by people who are engaged in other pursuits, and therefore make this but their occasional business, and who are so ignorant as scarcely to know how to let blood with safety to the patient. In the state of Massachusetts, any person is at liberty to assume the profession of medicine at his pleasure; and it is certainly a disgrace to the legislature, that the health and lives of these simple and credulous people should be in such a manner exposed a prey to ignorance, impudence, and quackery.

When General Knox had accomplished his business, we went on board the schooner, which I mentioned above, hoping that, within four hours, we should reach the General's house. It was ten o'clock in the morning when we went on board, and the wind was favourable. But the wind shifted on a sudden, the weather became stormy, our progress was considerably interrupted, and we lay-to till the storm was over.

Next morning we found that we could not yet make way, and therefore retired again to another creek, about six miles nearer than the former to the place to which we were going, but still fifteen miles distant from where we were to take our way for St. George's River. The weather was now fair, and General Knox, who is not at all fond of navigation, thought it would be better to go on shore, assuring me that we should be  
able

able to procure horses from Captain Alma, which would quickly carry us to St. George's River. We were not far from Ducktrap. Upon our arrival at the Captain's house, we were encountered by new difficulties. We had to wait for our own horses, which were coming under the care of the post; and this happened to be the only place in all the province of Maine, in which the travelling of the post is somewhat retarded by the frequency of the plantations. The horses, whose arrival was expected to be about noon, came six hours later. We were thus obliged to pass the night in a dirty house; and, in the mean time, the wind had changed, and our schooner was gone on her way, much farther than would have been sufficient to conduct us to the end of our journey. These inconvenient occurrences were sufficiently disagreeable to me; for, having so far to travel, I had now rather too little time remaining for my subsequent journey; and I had wished to spend some short time longer with General Knox and his family.

#### DEPARTURE FROM THE HOUSE OF GENERAL KNOX.

On the 3d day of October, four and twenty hours after our arrival at St. George's, I was obliged to set out for Boston. I had experienced such friendly entertainment from General Knox and his family, that it was with real concern I left them. They did not treat me as a stranger, but with the kind and easy attentions which are paid to one who is at once a relation and a friend. Mrs. Knox is a lady, of whom you conceive still a higher opinion, the longer you are acquainted with her. Seeing her at Philadelphia, you think of her but as a fortunate player at whist. At her own house in the country, you discover her to possess wit, intelligence, a good heart, an excellent understanding. In the country, Miss Knox lays aside her excessive timidity, and you admire alike her beauty, wit, and cheerfulness. As for Mrs. Flunker, you find her interesting at a first acquaintance, and no less so upon a longer familiarity. I say nothing of the General. I have already said he is one of the worthiest men I have known; cheerful, agreeable, valuable equally as an excellent friend and an engaging companion. With a heart warmly

grateful for so much kindness, I took my leave of this worthy family; and gratitude is the most pleasing feeling of which my present situation leaves me capable. The whole family saw me depart, with the same kind concern, as if I had been a near relation; and perhaps nothing could be more interestingly affecting than this scene.

From St. George's to Warren the settlers are not numerous. This district extends to Thomastown, where the General resides. About twenty houses stand at the place, beyond which the tide ceases to rise. There are two or three sawing-mills, corn-mills, and waulk-mills, two or three shops, and two or three small merchants. The river there ceases to be navigable, on account of a number of rocks that rise in the midst of its channel. A canal is to be cut here, with the General's permission, by which the river will be made navigable for sixty or seventy miles farther than at present. It may be cut without any very considerable difficulty, and will prove of the greatest advantage to the General and his posterity. The soil is moderately good, but its cultivation is neglected. The back-parts I have not seen; but all the settlers who live contiguous to the river, if they can sell their wood, think not, any more than the rest throughout the province of Maine, of applying themselves to the tillage of their grounds, and the improvements of husbandry.

#### WALDOBOROUGH; BROADBAY; NOBLEBOROUGH; NEW-CASTLE.

The next district is Waldoborough. It is a German settlement, formed forty years ago by Brigadier-General Waldo. Three years afterwards, he brought hither some German families, and assigned to each of them one hundred acres of ground. It is in a state of prosperity. The families, which were, originally, forty in number, have increased to two hundred and fifty. Fifty other planters, Irish, English, and Americans, live also here. But, it is requisite for these to understand German, as this is the language commonly spoken throughout the district: though all the German inhabitants read English, and have the laws and the proceedings of their

their courts of justice in that language. The German is, however, the common language of trade, and of familiar intercourse.

Broadbay is formed by an arm of the sea which here advances inland. A small river, the course of which is for some thirty miles, falls into this bay. Like the other rivers of this territory, it is not navigable. Trees may be floated, singly, down the stream, but in no other way, from the distance of ten or twelve miles above. The interior extremity of the bay lies about ten miles inland. Three or four vessels are annually built here. To this place belong eight ships, of which only three carry three masts. These are almost all, either the property of the merchants of Wiscasset and that neighbourhood, or else are, at least, annually freighted by those merchants. An Irish merchant, who has resided for these several years in Waldoborough, does business in this way, on his own account, and with good success. A cargo of wood can be quickly procured at Waldoborough; but the price is here somewhat higher, than in St. George's River, or the Bay of Penobscot.

The buildings are situated on the declivity of the hills; on the edges of the bay; and are pretty numerous; but are small, and make as sorry an appearance as any I have lately seen. The quality of the soil is moderately good. From fifteen to eighteen bushels of maize, twenty bushels of barley, fifteen bushels of rye, is the ordinary produce from an acre of ground; three hundred bushels is the usual increase of potatoes from one acre. Each family keeps from fifteen to twenty head of cattle. The fear of the bears and wolves, which are numerous in these parts, does not hinder these people from driving out their cattle to feed in the woods. Though one part of the herd should be, to-day, devoured by the beasts of prey; the rest would, nevertheless, be driven out, to feed in the woods, to-morrow: but such accidents are rare. There is no instance of children having been attacked. I myself, in my journey of this day, and at the distance of a mile from Waldoborough, saw a bear of a considerable size, running across the road. I pursued him on horseback, without leaving the road, and he ran away with great speed.

Broadbay is the boundary of Waldo-patent, and the centre of Waldo-

borough. The houses of this last place lie scattered around the bay, the environs of which are much more populous than the territory through which I had travelled hitherto. I was told, that, some miles inland, both the soil and the husbandry are better, and the settlements more numerous.

Waldo-patent lies in the county of Lincoln, which contains about thirty thousand inhabitants. The county-courts are held at Hallowell, Pownalborough and Waldoborough. Thomastown, where General Knox resides, lies also in the county of Lincoln, which, however, does not extend beyond Belfast.

Nobleborough, the next township, is much more populous than the last, and exhibits great diversity in the appearance of its houses, and the wealth or poverty of its different inhabitants. This district has likewise its Bay of Damascobay, which extends ten or twelve miles inland. A few toises from the inmost point of this bay, is a lake of fresh water, not less than fifty miles in the extent of its area. Such lakes are frequent throughout this part of the country. They abound in fish, of which, however, the inhabitants make no use. The quantity is not sufficient, to make it an object of trade, to salt, and carry them to market; and these people are too negligent, to fish for the supply of their own tables. There are some ships built in Damascobay; and of these the greater part are employed by the merchants of Wiscasset.

The district of Newcastle has, likewise, a bay; or rather, is intersected by the river Steepent, which runs by Wiscasset. At Newcastle, this river is accessible for ships of burthen: it admits small vessels, for some miles farther up. There are two ships at present in building at Newcastle. You cross the river by a ferry, which is convenient and safe. A bridge is about to be built here; and the ferryman is much less concerned for the probable loss which it will occasion to him, of his present income, than pleased, that he is to be thus released from that incessant watchfulness and toil of the ferry.

The road along which I, this day, travelled, was rugged, obstructed by rocks and roots of trees, often miry, passing over great inequalities of ground,

ground, and worst in the woods, through which a great part of it led. Worthy General Knox conducted me, eight miles on my journey, and directed me to the dwelling of an honest German, a surgeon, who, in favourable years, gains from sixty to eighty dollars by his practice, and who told me, that, for twenty miles round, there is no other medical practitioner. This honest man accompanied me, till I was no longer in danger of wandering from the way; and refused to receive money for my dinner, which I earnestly offered him. He has six children, all married, and a small farm of forty acres, which, as he told me, is not very well cultivated. But, he says, he has enough, and does not covet riches. He, on a former year, remitted three hundred dollars to Philadelphia, to procure a German minister, to whom he now pays thirty dollars a year, besides his just share of the congregational contribution. On the whole, this man is an eccentric character.

#### WISCASSET.

Mr. LEE, whom I saw at the house of General Knox, had asked me to take my lodging at his house, when I should come to Wiscasset. I did so. He is a lawyer; and he appeared to me, to be one of the best employed ones in the whole country. He has an elegant house; is a very worthy man; gave me a kind reception; and expressed his concern that his wife, who went lately on a visit to Boston, was not at home, to make my entertainment better.

Wiscasset, situated on the bay of Penobscot, is the first place in the province of Maine, in which any considerable business is transacted. The merchants are not very rich, but they are very numerous; and, as I have already mentioned, proprietors of almost all the vessels which sail from the neighbouring creeks and bays. Some individuals among them possess to the number of six or seven ships. They hire out for freight, those which are not required for the carriage of their own traffic; and the present situation of Europe affords great scope to this carrying-trade of the Americans, which they find to be very profitable, though not without its risks. Mr. SWAN of Boston has hired a great quantity of tonnage, for the purpose of exporting corn and flour to France.

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There belong fifty ships to Wiscasset. Ten of these sail to Europe, on account of merchants living in this place. They export the products of the country, and bring back, in return, to Boston, foreign goods, for which there is no sale in the province of Maine.

Wiscasset lies at the distance of twelve miles from the sea; and for this reason, there live but few of ship-masters at this small port. These people have their dwellings along the coast. They would lose half their present gains, if they settled at any distance from it. This town is pretty compact, and consists of about one hundred and fifty houses, some of which are very handsome. In the year 1789, the whole traffic of this district was carried on in thirty-five vessels, which did not carry, in all, above two thousand and ninety tons. In 1795, and not later than the 10th day of October, the number of ships registered was one hundred and two, and their tonnage, nine thousand nine hundred and forty-four tons. These facts evince, to what an extraordinary pitch, even the sole business of ship-building is capable of advancing the trade and opulence of the people of these parts. The exports amounted, in the year 1791, to thirty-five thousand five hundred and sixty-two dollars; in the year 1792, to thirty-nine thousand two hundred and fifty-three dollars; in 1793, to thirty-six thousand four hundred and eighty-three dollars; in 1794, to thirty-two thousand three hundred and thirty dollars; in 1795, to thirty-four thousand six hundred and fifty-nine dollars. The smallness of the variations in the amounts of the money-prices of the total exports, in these successive years; while the market-value of those provisions of which this exportation consists, has been continually rising; evinces the truth of what I affirmed concerning the ships of Wiscasset, as being employed chiefly in the carrying-trade, and taking in their loadings at other ports.

#### KUNNEBECK RIVER.

The road lies along the interior extremity of the bay. As it advances towards Boston, the appearance of industry and business increases; the houses become larger and handsomer. Volwick-bay lies not far from Wiscasset. One or two small vessels have been built in it; several corn  
and

and sawing-mills stand upon the small rivers which fall into it; and in these the upper rocks form a sort of natural dam to accumulate the water for the use of the mills. The land between Kennebeck-river and Wiscasset, is stony, yet fertile. It is everywhere inhabited, yet but in a moderate state of cultivation. Of ten miles journey, by this way, scarce a quarter of a mile lies through woods. Kennebeck-river is to be crossed by a ferry. The river is here about half a mile broad; and the passage is said to be sometimes dangerous, though I found it safe and easy. Both the winds and tide were favourable; and, in five minutes, I reached the farther shore. Both the ferryman and his boat are very good.

Kennebeck is one of the great rivers of the province of Maine. Its source is two hundred miles distant from its mouth, and it waters the finest woodlands in this region. It is navigable to the distance of fifty miles upward from its mouth; but, this navigation is greatly obstructed by rocks and sand-banks. There are ships built at Hallowell, which stands at the distance of forty miles up the river: but, these receive their lading at Bath, six miles below the ferry by which I passed. The wood felled at Hallowell and places contiguous to it, is conveyed down to Bath in sledges or boats, and is, then, received on board the ships. The entrance into Kennebeck-river is so dangerous, that ships sailing with this destination, if insured at London, pay a higher premium, than those bound for any other bay, harbour, or river, on these coasts; at least I was so informed.

There belong forty ships to this river. These are, for the greater part, the property of merchants who have their counting-houses in Bath, and their dwelling-houses in either Bath or Hallowell. The rest belong to merchants resident in Wiscasset or Portland. The banks of the river are inhabited to the distance of one hundred and thirty miles inland. That tract of land which is watered by no other river, is, in one direction, occupied to the extent of eighty or one hundred miles.

Hallowell is, as I was informed, a town consisting of two hundred houses. Another town of the same name, and not less considerable, is situate two miles higher on the same river. They afford, both, a market

ket for the produce of the lands; which is very abundant; for the soil is excellent, and wheat and other grains are cultivated upon it. There is also a great deal of wood brought down Kennebeck River; but the wood contiguous to the shores of the river, and adjacent to the plantations and dwellings, now begins, as may naturally be supposed, to be exhausted. The large wood is cut, as I am told, at the distance of twenty miles above Hallowell. Those who derive their principal means of support from the sale of this article, are wont to wander into the deep woods, in the month of November, with their families and cattle, often to the distance of from forty to sixty miles from their ordinary habitations. They are previously careful to provide hay in the summer, by going into these woods, mowing the grass, and putting it up in ricks, for the use of their cattle, when they shall return in the winter. They now rear huts for themselves; fell their wood; bring it, on sledges, to the river's side; and there reserve it, till the river is so much swollen by rains as to convey it, easily, floating down the stream. They mark, each his trees with a particular mark, before committing them to the stream, so that the property of every different wood-cutter can be distinguished at the place of shipping, without dispute or mistake. Unless the excessive severity of the winter drive them from the woods, sooner than they intended, they return not until April or May; and they then apply themselves to the cultivation of their lands. Bath is the seat of a custom-house, or a *port of entry* as they call it. Its exports amounted, in the year 1791, to the value of twenty-nine thousand four hundred and fifty-seven dollars; in 1792, to thirty-seven thousand and two dollars; in 1793, to forty-five thousand three hundred and fifty-one dollars; in 1794, to twenty-three thousand six hundred and forty-four dollars; in 1795, to thirty-four thousand six hundred and fifty-nine dollars.

In the district of Brunswick, which borders on that of Bath, the soil is, in general, poor, and almost everywhere a dry sand. It affords no trees, but the white fir, the white birch, and the silver fir, none of which is of any very considerable growth. It is but very imperfectly cleared and cultivated. Few habitations are to be seen. On the road, I found only two

or three small villages, or rather hamlets. The first of them, at which I dined, consists of thirty or forty houses. Of these, some are pretty neat. The people who live at such a distance from the sea-coast, have no employments but those of husbandry, and some occasional hunting. The land usually yields, an acre, twenty-five bushels of maize, one hundred and fifty bushels of potatoes, eighteen bushels of rye. The culture which it receives, is but little. There is a little wheat, and some barley, likewise raised here.

The vicinity of the sea, and the high wages which sailors have, for some time, been wont to receive, produces, among the young people, a very general preference for a sea-faring life. Labourers in agriculture are, consequently, more difficult to be procured, and demand higher wages; they expect ten or eleven dollars a month. The meadows yield a good deal of hay. This is an article of primary necessity; for the cattle must be kept, for six or seven months of the year, in the stalls; and during this time, hay is their only forage. Each cow or bullock consumes nearly six thousand pounds of hay, and seventy or eighty bushels of maize.

The other village in Brunswick, which I passed through, lies five miles farther. The thirty or forty families which live here together, at the mouth of the Amarefkoghin, are usually employed in ship-building, and some little traffic. Three ships have been lately built here; and other ten belong, also, to this small town. But, almost all the vessels built in these creeks, are the property of merchants who reside in the more considerable neighbouring towns. Most of the houses of this small place, stand on the shore of the bay of Casco. This bay, of which one arm is of great extent, advances, here, thirty miles inland. Ships built in Brunswick, or belonging to it, take in their loadings at Brick Islands, ten miles farther down the bay. The bay of Casco again attracts the traveller's notice near Trueport, a neighbouring township, in which the ship-building business is not carried on to greater extent than here, and of which the land is as dry and sandy as that of Brunswick, in those places where the two townships are conterminous, but becomes better at a distance from that border.

## NORTH YARMOUTH.

North Yarmouth has the appearance of a small town. A number of houses, and of labourers of all sorts, are here assembled upon one spot. It lies on a small creek of the bay of Casco, where it receives the waters of Royal River; a stream of which the course is only fifty-eight miles from its head to the sea, and which is navigable only by small boats. This little spot of earth is the scene of a great deal of business. Three ships, of which one was of one hundred and fifty tons burthen, were lately built here; not to reckon two others, which were begun in the present year, and are already in the water. Here are mills of different kinds. The land is somewhat better cultivated, in this neighbourhood. The sea is too far distant, to draw the people away from agriculture, to the fishery. The houses are of better structure than elsewhere, in that part of this district, through which the highway leads. Potashes are now becoming an article of trade. Some few merchants have their dwellings in North Yarmouth. Three or four agree to build a ship jointly, and trade with it: the captain adds his share: a cargo is shipped on board it, for the common account of the company: a voyage is then made, perhaps to the Antilles, or to Europe: and by the return of the vessel, a foreign cargo is imported to Boston. It is not, however, common for ships to sail for Europe, or the Antilles, from this port. For the most part, these vessels are employed in carrying wood to Boston or New York; though the price of wood be higher here than in the places before mentioned, and amount even to ten or twelve shillings a cord. The settlements extend about seventy miles backward from North Yarmouth, into the interior country.

## PORTLAND.

I came, on Sunday, to Portland; and was surprised to find the inns so decent and well kept, in a part of the country so remote, and so rarely visited by travellers. The inn at North Yarmouth is small, yet good; and few hostesses in France, are so attentive as Mrs. COTA. Between  
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North Yarmouth and Portland, the land is moderately fertile, and at the same time considerably populous. The many small wooden houses to be seen, being constructed, in no very strong nor elegant manner, of logs or deals, do not indicate, by their exterior appearance, either wealth or cleanliness. An European traveller is, therefore, not a little surprised to see a number of elegant women come out of these huts, all wearing fashionable hats and head-dresses with feathers, handsome cloaks, and the rest of their dress suitable to this. Such is the show which these females make, every Sunday morning, when the weather is sufficiently fair, to encourage them to go to church. The men go equally fine. But those females who are prevented from going abroad in the morning, by their cookery, the washing of their kitchen-dishes, the milking of the cows, or the feeding of the swine, attend the church only in the afternoon, and come less solicitously dressed out in their finery. They are almost all tall and good-looking; some of them, are even very handsome.

Portland is seated on a peninsula, which juts out into the bay. To reach it by the way of that isthmus which connects the peninsula with the land, you are obliged, in coming from North Yarmouth, to go more than three miles about. But, a bridge is now in building across that arm of the bay, which gives occasion for the present circuitous approach to the town. The bridge is built by subscription, and is half finished. When it shall be completed, and shall be found to have sufficient strength to endure the ordinary currents of the tide, its periodical overflowings, and the winds which often rage here with tremendous fury; it will then prove exceedingly useful. At present, I should doubt, whether sufficient solidity can be given to a bridge in this situation.

This town of Portland may be reckoned handsome. That part of it which is called the New Town, really consists of houses of a very good appearance. The Old Town, which was burnt by the English, in the war that ended in the freedom of America, is composed of mean houses, the habitations of the poorer people. The quays are few; and under them, ships receiving or discharging their ladings, can lie with safety:

adjoining are spacious store-houses for the reception of goods. The road is good and safe. This road makes a part of Casco Bay, a branch of which extends from Brunswick as far as Portland; and in any part of this branch, ships of any burthen may find good anchorage. The great inconvenience of this bay is, that it is accessible at six or seven different places, so that, in case of a war, ships lying in it, could not well escape being surpris'd by an enemy from one entrance or another. That opening into the bay, to which Portland is contiguous, is more than two miles wide. Of consequence, guns discharged from the two opposite sides, could not project their shots so far, as to make them cross each other; and the execution which could be done from forts would not be sufficient to guard the entrance.

They are at present, constructing, on the site of an old earthen breast-work, a fortification which they expect to command the town, and to render it, at least, secure from the invasion of an enemy. This new fortification stands at the extreme point of the peninsula on which Portland is situate, and consists of a battery of fifteen or twenty heavy cannon of large calibre, commanding that wide entrance of the bay which was above mentioned. This battery is to have, by means of a covered way, a communication with a small fort at the distance of four or five hundred toises, which it has also been thought necessary to erect on the highest part of this isthmus. The fort is sufficient to hold two hundred men. If Portland were a place of greater strength, inaccessible without very considerable difficulty, and if there were a strong garrison always ready for its defence; this fortress, or a more considerable citadel, in its situation, and communicating with the town, might then be of great importance. But, since the natural situation of the town is so little capable of defence, works like these can never become serviceable in any due proportion to the trouble and expence. Portland is, however, a place which an enemy can never have an interest to keep possession of. If seized by an enemy, it would only be set on fire, and then abandoned. Two or three ships crews would be equal to the enterprise. When the garrison are unable to maintain the batteries, they must then retire

retire into the fort ; and there, what more can they do, except procure for themselves the honours of a capitulation ? I cannot, therefore, see any use in these fortifications. In 1770, an English frigate burnt three-fourths of Falmouth, of which Portland was a part. In 1786, the state of Massachusetts united the other remaining parts of Falmouth with Portland, giving to the whole the common name of Portland.

The trade of Portland is carried on in seventy ships of various burthen, all belonging to the town. Many of them sail to Europe, though oftener to the Antilles. About twenty are engaged in the fishery of cod, which are taken among the islands at the mouth of the bay. The merchants in Portland are numerous ; but none among them possess great capitals. As Portland, and the parts adjacent, are not equal to the consumption of the cargoes which the ships import in return for the exports ; these are generally carried to Boston, which is the principal mart for foreign commodities. The want of money occasions a greater proportion of them to be sent to the capital, than is for the advantage of this place : and hence, while the store-houses of Portland are neglected, the goods, which might be here bought and sold at a more reasonable rate, are bought by the people of this neighbourhood, at an exorbitant price, in Boston.

In 1785, the tonnage of the united townships of Falmouth and Portland amounted to five thousand three hundred and forty-one tons in the foreign trade ; sixteen hundred and twenty-eight in the fishery and the coasting-trade ; in all, six thousand nine hundred and sixty-nine tons. In October 1795, the tonnage of the ships, registered for that year, was eight thousand four hundred and eight tons in the foreign trade, five thousand three hundred and ninety in the coasting-trade and fishery ; in all, thirteen thousand seven hundred and ninety eight tons. The value of the exports from Portland, was, in 1791, seventy-four thousand eight hundred and four dollars ; in 1792, one hundred and five thousand one hundred and ninety-two dollars ; 1793, one hundred and forty-six thousand nine hundred and twenty-one dollars ; 1794, one hundred and fifteen thousand



thousand six hundred and twelve dollars; 1795, one hundred and sixty-four thousand six hundred and eighty-two dollars.

There is, as yet no regular market for provisions in Portland. This small, though handsome, town consists of about three hundred houses, which may contain two thousand three hundred souls. The Presbyterians have here two churches; the Episcopalians one. Schools have also been established here, which are said to be pretty good. Lots of ground, for building in the town, are at a price which may be reckoned high; and land, within a mile of the town, costs twenty dollars an acre. Portland is the principal town in the county of Cumberland, which contains about twenty-four thousand inhabitants.

#### BIDDEFORD.—MR. THATCHER.

The nearer you approach to Boston, so much the more does the whole country appear to assume an air of business and industry. Not a creek but ships are in building, in it; not a river's mouth so small, but merchant companies are there in possession of ships, which they either hire out or lade on their own account: No situation where a mill could stand, on which there has not been a mill erected. Falmouth, Pepperborough, Saga, Biddeford, Kennebeck, Berwick, carry on a trade far superior to that of the small towns through which I had passed on my way hither. The land is, however, neglected; but the soil is worst in the immediate vicinity of the sea.

In Portland I lodged at the house of Mr. DAVRES, a young lawyer, whom, as well as Mr. LEE, I had seen at the house of General Knox, by whom he is much esteemed, on account of his agreeable manners, integrity, and skill in his profession. At Biddeford, I stopped to dine at the house of Mr. THATCHER, another lawyer, whom I had seen at the court-house in Penobscot. Mr. Thatcher is, likewise, a member of the Congress. He lives at the distance of two miles from the town, in a small and mean house, which would be disdained by the pettiest *avocat* in all France. Opposite to his house, on the other side of the

the highway, is another hut, not more than twelve feet square, very slightly constructed of boards, carelessly fixed at the foundation, and hanging over a declivity of the road, which is his consultation-room, his chamber for business, and his library. He has about two thousand volumes, books of law, history, morality, and general literature. He adds to it all new American publications, and procures from England every other new work, which he understands to be valuable, and cannot find in America. He reads a great deal, and is a man of extensive knowledge. There is a pleasing cast of originality in his conversation and in his whole behaviour: But his notions are excentric, and often false. He is singular in his exterior appearance, stiff and fantastic in his principles, but liberal-minded, hospitable, courteous, and kind. He cultivates a small piece of land, and lives with his numerous family in a hut in which they have scarce, all, room to breathe. His doors are never shut; even his study is always open; yet nothing is ever stolen from him. These simple, unsuspicious manners, have procured him the esteem of his neighbours, as being an honest lawyer. He is, in political principles, a federalist, but unconnected with the intrigues of that party; and, in the Congress, he endeavours always to give his vote to rectitude, not to party. He is not rich: yet has more than would be sufficient to make him live more elegantly than he does at present, if his humour would permit. His land is fertile. It has been two years in cultivation. He gives it no manure; yet it yields; an acre, fifty bushels of maize, or forty bushels of barley, and two hundred bushels of potatoes. The meadows, which are not in a very good state of preservation and culture, yield, from each, six thousand pounds of hay. His ploughs and harrows are of the same indifferent make as those throughout the rest of the country. Mr. Thatcher complains, that little progress is made in the institution of good schools in this country. When these shall be sufficiently numerous, he expects that every improvement will advance with astonishing rapidity.

Biddeford belongs to the same commercial district with Pepperborough. The value of the exports was, in the year 1791, twenty-six thousand six hundred and forty-four dollars; in 1792, thirty-seven thousand four hundred

dred and forty-six dollars ; in 1793, thirty-nine thousand and fourteen dollars ; in 1794, fifty thousand four hundred and fourteen dollars ; in 1795, forty-seven thousand six hundred and forty-three dollars.

The River Saga, on which Biddeford lies, is navigable above the bridge, but has in its course many rapid falls, by which a number of mills are wrought, and which present a diversity of picturesque and interesting views to the traveller. The way leads across some rivers, which, till we reach Berwick, are not very interesting. At Berwick, the River Salmons-fall is of considerable breadth ; and its channel is rendered much broader and deeper by the influx of the tide.

### BERWICK.

I arrived in this district, which is very extensive, on Tuesday. That part in which (to adopt the language of the country) business is carried on, in other words, through which the river runs, lies seven miles from the place where I took up my abode, and yet these are not the two remotest points. The town consists of about forty houses, which adjoin to one another ; a great number of detached houses skirt the road side, which I am told is the case throughout the whole district. The country, as far as I had an opportunity of viewing it, appears to be in a better state than that through which I passed before, although the soil is very shallow and stony. The cultivation of maize, with that of gourds in the intermediate space, constitute the chief objects of agriculture. Rye and wheat are raised in the more distant parts. Mr. ROGER, a Quaker, keeps a very excellent inn at Berwick. The guests who frequent his house are not promiscuously mixed together ; each different company has its separate sitting, eating, and sleeping rooms ; every thing bears the appearance of the utmost cleanliness, care, and attention ; the servants are numerous, and are employed both upon the extensive farm and the business of the inn ; the landlord and his wife are persons of good sense, and very obliging in their manners ; in short, this inn was a kind of phænonomenon of which I never yet saw the counterpart. Mr. Roger does not eat at the same table with his servants, and his wife never goes into the kitchen

kitchen, except to give instructions; without, however, doing any part of the work herself. They both preserve a proper authority over their servants, and these entertain a degree of respect for them, of which I never met with a parallel instance since I left Europe.

The county of York, in which Berwick lies, contains no more than four thousand inhabitants, and yet is considered, in proportion to its size, as the most populous, being the smallest in the whole province of Maine. Berwick is the last township in it. The entire tract of country from Portland is in the most flourishing state, and yet the soil, in the general opinion, is not accounted so good as that in the vicinity of Penobscot. But then this district has been longer cultivated and inhabited than any other part of the province.

If, undoubtedly, the troubles, which there is but too much reason to dread, do not retard the progress of cultivation in this country, its improvement will be rapid and very great. The more I reflect upon this subject, I am convinced of the importance to the prosperity of this particular colony, that persons of opulence, and those who possess a practical knowledge of agriculture should settle in it. A country so wretchedly and miserably cultivated, and the climate of which renders it necessary to house cattle in stalls six months in the year, stands in need of very great care and attention on the part of the colonist, and ought, by cultivation, to be made productive enough to yield the supply of forage for the winter, which is necessary to a numerous breed of cattle. The soil, therefore, must be well prepared, the labour maturely digested, and the planters must possess an adequate capital to carry their plans into execution. It is by these means alone that the disadvantage of the climate can be obviated; for climate alone is never the cause of great injury to the farmers; and those of the settlers who now possess little knowledge of agriculture, would profit from the example of the more experienced, and opulent.

#### GENERAL REMARKS ON THE PROVINCE OF MAINE.

Previously to taking my last farewell of Maine, I shall offer a few remarks on its history, and its present state.

Some attempts to settle a colony in this place, in the vicinity of New-

castle, were made by the Dutch in 1625, and even at the early period of 1607, but without effect. In 1635, a Spaniard, of the name of FERDINAND GEORGES, was presented, by the Council of the Plymouth Society, with a large tract of country between the Rivers Pucataqua and Kennebec. This was shortly after augmented by the English Government, which extended the limits of Georges's jurisdiction to a greater compass than it had hitherto done in the case of any individual. Georges formed a kind of democratical government, which continued till his death, when this colony voluntarily submitted itself to the dominion of Massachusetts. In 1691, under the reign of William and Mary, the whole of this district to Nova Scotia was incorporated with Massachusetts; the territories, which were then comprised under the names of Maine and Sagadahock, did not extend to a greater distance than one hundred and twenty miles from the sea. The more remote parts were reserved to the crown. The American revolution has annexed the whole to the Massachusetts. From the report of the committee appointed to deliver in a statement of the sale of lands since the revolution, as well as of those which still remain to be disposed of, it appears, that seven millions four hundred thousand acres have been already sold; that one million, which have been allotted, still remain to be purchased; and that, on an average, there are seven millions of acres which have not been measured, exclusively of a number of islands. Besides these lands, which are the property of the State, upwards of three hundred and fifty-six thousand acres have been given to the schools and public institutions.

The population of the province of Maine is computed to exceed, at present, one hundred thousand inhabitants. According to Morse, this province contains forty thousand square miles, or twenty-four millions six hundred thousand acres, which gives but a very small population of not more than two and a half inhabitants to each square mile; in all probability the great quantity of land, which is vested in the hands of the speculators in the town, is a great drawback upon the increase of population. The best part of the province lies between the rivers Kennebec and Penobscot, particularly in the district at the distance of ten or twelve miles from the sea.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE.—DOVER.

On leaving the province of Maine, the traveller passes through Dover into New Hampshire. The greater part of the houses in this very populous district, are situated on the River Cocheco, which empties itself a little below the town into the Piscataqua. Dover borders on a small ridge of mountains, extending between the Piscataqua and the River Back, which command a prospect of a great number of rivers, bays, cultivated and inhabited promontories, terminating at a considerable distance in the mountains of New Hampshire. This prospect is beautiful and grand; a fort erected on this spot would very advantageously protect the entrance into the country. It is currently asserted, that the original inhabitants, who came hither in 1630, established themselves on this eminence; but that commercial convenience induced them gradually to prefer their present residence at Dover to this charming spot. Dover is the capital of the county of Waterford, which contains twenty-four thousand inhabitants; Dover is reckoned to hold two thousand. There are two roads from Dover to Portsmouth; the one five miles shorter than the other, and bordering on the sea-coast. Those who travel this way cross the river in a ferry-boat. The other road runs further up into the country, and passes over a bridge across the Piscataqua, which was completed only last year, and is, beyond dispute, the finest in all America.

This bridge is built of wood, in the form of an angle, the two sides meeting together on an island in the centre, and it is two thousand two hundred and ninety-one feet in length. Notwithstanding its extent, it has nothing remarkable, excepting this great length, and a width of five hundred feet. It rests upon piles, but one part of it, near the island in the centre, has an arch two hundred and forty-four feet nine inches in width, the pillars of which on the sides do not stand on the ground, but are supported entirely by a scaffolding of wood. This arch, which gains great strength and stability from its pillars and supports, rises at its highest point one hundred feet above the bed of the river, and fifty feet above

the ordinary water-mark. The bridge, besides the ballustrade on each side, which enclose as well this as the other parts of it, is intersected in the middle by pallisadoes, which run parallel with the ballustrade, and add considerably to the strength of the arch, which rises ten feet above the level of the bridge, and of course renders the declivity on each side pretty steep. The bridge is unquestionably fine, but even the little architectural knowledge which I possess convinces me, that the engineers in France would be able to improve upon and beautify it, without any detriment to its stability. The reason for constructing this high arch is, to give the small vessels, which are built on the river, or which navigate it, the means of sailing through it, for which purpose it opens likewise in two other places.

### PORTSMOUTH.

Portsmouth is situated about five miles from this bridge, in a kind of bay, formed by the Piscataqua before it disembogues itself into the ocean. On the arms of the bay, or on the rivers which fall into it, lie Dover, Exeter, and Derham, little towns in New Hampshire, in which a few ships are built, and some trade carried on. Portsmouth is, however, the only harbour in New Hampshire; this province, on the side of the sea, has not a greater extent than from fifteen to twenty miles. The harbour is remarkable for its safe anchorage, and its great depth of water. The nature of its entrance, which makes it necessary for all vessels to sail into it through a very narrow channel, renders its defence very easy.

The commerce of Portsmouth has experienced very little increase since the American revolution; on the contrary it has visibly fallen off within these last five or six years. The very considerable number of ships it formerly possessed have been sold to other ports, and more than half of those, which are annually built here, have the same destination\*. The trade in ships constitutes one of the principal branches of the commerce

\* For a more circumstantial account of the trade, the tonnage and exports from Portsmouth, the reader is referred to the Diary of the Journey of 1796.

of Portsmouth, which is universally acknowledged to excel in the art of ship-building. Prior to the American war, many vessels were built here for England. Independently of the demand from the latter quarter being stopped, wood is now become much scarcer and dearer in Portsmouth, and the price of shipping is of course considerably advanced. Wood fetches now twenty dollars per ton from the timber merchants, and fifty-five dollars per ton when worked up into vessels.

Notwithstanding, however, this incontrovertible decrease of the trade of Portsmouth, the value of ground in the town is most extravagantly high. A lot of ground, forty feet in breadth, and eighty-four in depth (with a small quay), was lately sold for the sum of seventeen thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven dollars. In the vicinity of the town, land fetches, according to the nature of the soil, from thirty-three to ninety dollars per acre. The circumjacent country of Portsmouth is very fine; the estates well parcelled out into meadows, although the land which is the most appropriated to this use, is often encumbered with large rocks. In the remote parts, which, with the exception of a few districts, are said to be very populous, land fetches from two to three dollars per acre, and I am told it is very excellent. An inhabitant of Portsmouth, whose estate lies about one hundred and fifty miles from that town, assured me, that it produced the first year of its being cultivated, forty, and the succeeding year thirty bushels of wheat per acre. But as this person has a large quantity of land to dispose of, it may perhaps be no more than prudent to receive his assertions with caution. Wheat costs, in this distant country, from five to six shillings per bushel. In Hampshire, as well as in New England, the dollar is valued at six shillings.

The common pay of labourers in New Hampshire is from six to eight dollars a week, and they are procured without much difficulty. The price of cattle is the same as in that part of the province of Maine, which borders on this country. Provisions are very plentiful in Portsmouth, and are sold in a market, which is extremely well furnished. Fire-wood sells from five to six dollars per cord.

In the province only one paper is published twice a week, and that in  
Portland.



Portland. It has a pretty extensive sale, and is read with avidity. In New Hampshire a great variety of newspapers are printed. Portsmouth has three, Dover two, and Dartmouth, on the river Connecticut, where the college is established, has one.

In Portsmouth every man is a politician, and a very warm one too. The majority are evidently averse to the treaty with England. The advocates for that measure, ascribe this hostile spirit to Mr. LANGDON, one of the ten senators, who voted against its ratification. I cannot take upon myself to determine the extent of this gentleman's influence, and whether he has any control in this respect over the public opinion, as to his political transactions; but it is very natural to conclude, that the number of arguments, which have been advanced against it, must have made a strong impression upon those, who have no interest in the measure. The people of America are, in this point, exactly in the same predicament as the inhabitants of France since the revolution, and as the English are, since they have become apprehensive of its consequences. They consider each other, whenever they disagree in politics, as jacobins, or rascals; or as aristocrats, or rascals. Those who do not admire the treaty with England are looked upon by the one party as *guillotinishs*, whilst the opposers of the treaty, on the other hand, decry every man as an enemy of public liberty, and as a pensioner to England, who does not execute the measure, and vote for the hanging of Jay, who concluded it. This violence of opinion, these political extremes, are to be met with in a greater or less degree in all cities. The country people, of all ranks, are very quiet, and wish for peace, and the due observance of the laws and good order for the security of their harvests. The major part of the inhabitants do not bestow a moment's thought upon the treaty; and even among those who do take it into consideration, there are many, who, at the same time that they avow "their dislike to the measure; that they place no confidence in "the English," &c. never fail to add—"but if we had not ratified the "said treaty, we must, by all accounts, have been plunged into a war with "England, and, therefore, it is well the treaty took place." Still oftener do we hear: "Our aged father, the President, understands this matter  
"much

"much better than ourselves; we will, therefore, leave it entirely to his management; he will not suffer himself to be imposed upon." It must, however, be acknowledged, that the character of the President, which till very lately has never been attacked, is at present subject to much animadversion.

### MR. LANGDON.

I passed two days with this senator, who warmly opposed the treaty with England. He gave me an invitation, whilst I was in Philadelphia. He is a man of the first importance in Portsmouth. He was originally mate of a merchant ship, afterwards captain, and then merchant. He has acquired a very large fortune, in addition to his paternal inheritances. He is allowed to possess great knowledge of ship-building, in which he has speculated deeply. It was he who built the ship, which the United States of America presented to France. At present he has bade a farewell to trade, and invested all his property in land. During the revolution, he was a friend to Hamilton, Jay, and Madison; and in the debates, which took place on the subject of the new constitution, he went over, on the separation of the two parties, to the opposition. Be his political character, however, what it may, it is impossible for any man to display a greater attachment to his country, or better principles. He is extremely friendly, affable, and unaffected, and received me in the kindest manner, as a stranger ought to be received, without unnecessary form and ceremony. He is reputed to be very rich, and his stile of living proves it. He has been married twenty years, and his lady appears still as beautiful and sprightly, as if she were only eighteen years of age. His daughter, Miss ELIZA, is uncommonly amiable and pleasing.

General Knox had given me a letter of recommendation to Mr. SCHEEF, a merchant in the town. The known difference of their political opinions did not prevent Mr. Langdon from introducing me to that gentleman, with whom he afterwards breakfasted in my company. Mr. Scheef carries on more business than almost any merchant in Portsmouth; he was so deeply engaged, that I could only have his company for a few minutes.

There

There are a number of churches in Portsmouth, and, among the rest, a Quaker's meeting. Very few members of this sect reside in the town; they are almost all farmers in the circumjacent country, and, like all Quakers and farmers, honest, simple, and well behaved.

The continued rain occasioned my remaining in Portsmouth a day longer than I originally intended. Hamptonfall, where I passed the night, belongs to the province of New Hampshire, and constitutes the boundaries. Mr. Wells keeps an inn in this place, which stands in high repute for neatness.

### NEWBURY PORT.

Before you arrive at Newbury Port, you have to cross the river Merrimack, by means of a bridge, which, prior to the building of that thrown over the Piscataqua, was considered as the most elegant in all New England. It is at least shorter by one-third than the latter, and the arch, which measures only one hundred and thirty feet in width, is supported by a crooked piece of timber, measuring twenty feet, which gives the bridge, at first sight, a heavy appearance. Along the banks of the river, before you come to this bridge, lies Newbury Newtown, a pretty extensive village, where a number of ships are built, which are afterwards equipped, and freighted in Newbury Port. Mr. Langdon had furnished me with a letter of recommendation to his friend JACKSON, from whom I flattered myself with the hopes of receiving some information relative to the town and its trade. But this gentleman being absent in Boston, I was obliged to content myself with the intelligence I could procure from some inhabitants, whom I found in the inn. I learnt that the trade of this town, which, as well as that of Portsmouth, had decayed very much since the conclusion of the war, was, for the last years, considerably on the advance; that it was of the same nature with that carried on at Portsmouth, and other parts of Massachusetts; that the quantity of tonnage now employed by this town, amounted to sixteen thousand tons; that the exports were valued, in 1791, at two hundred and fifty thousand one hundred and ninety-three dollars; in 1792, at two hundred and seventy-three

three thousand five hundred and fifty-one dollars; in 1793, at three hundred and seventy thousand and forty-three dollars; in 1794, at four hundred and ninety-five thousand four hundred and five dollars; in 1795, at four hundred and ten thousand five hundred and eighty-six dollars; that it has very few fishermen; that the harbour and moorings are good, safe, and deep, the quays commodious and very extensive. The town is almost as large as Portsmouth. Unfortunately there is a shoal of quicksands at the entrance of the haven, which obstructs the navigation two or three times in the course of the year. To guard against the mischief, which otherwise might befall vessels, that have made long voyages, two light-houses have been erected on the coast, one of which is moveable, and capable of being always stationed behind the other, according to the actual situation of the pass. By steering their course direct against that point, at which the second light-house is concealed behind the first, vessels are enabled to sail day and night into the harbour, without running the risk of driving on the sand banks.

Newbury Port is built on the river Merrimack. It has ten public schools. A society of inhabitants of the town, known by the name of the Sea Company, have established a very benevolent institution, consisting of several small houses on Plumb Island, which lies in the mouth of the river, where persons, who have suffered shipwreck, find some provisions, fire-wood, and other articles of immediate necessity.

Newbury Port carries on a considerable trade with the Antilles, and receives molasses in return, which keeps from eight to ten boiling-houses in employ. There are likewise some breweries in the town, and a very large nail manufactory, which appeared to me to be very skilfully conducted. Newbury Port contains about four thousand inhabitants.

The road from Portsmouth to Boston is one continued series of houses, shop-booths, small manufactories and villages. It is an uninterrupted garden. The road is in every part better than any I have ever seen in America. It would be considered a delightful road, even in the most beautiful districts of France and England.

## IPSWICH.

Ipswich, one of the most considerable villages on this road, is situated on a river, to which it gives name, and on which some ships are built. This small harbour participates in the large trade carried on with Massachusetts, but not so extensively at present, as in former years.

Flax is pretty abundantly cultivated in all districts of the province, and seems to thrive well. But it is said to be in greater abundance at a greater distance from the coast, at least every where more so than hemp.

## BEVERLEY.

Beverley is another small neat village, through which the road passes to Boston. Its harbour lies on the South River. It is situated on a peninsula formed by that and the North River. The trade of this village is confined entirely to stock-fish, in which branch forty vessels are employed. The fish are cured in the village itself, which renders it very unpleasant to pass through. The number of vessels, which sail from this port to Europe or the colonies, is not considerable. Salem engrosses almost the whole trade.

## SALEM.—MR. GOLDHUE.

Salem is one of the handsomest small towns in the United States, and is separated from Beverley only by a bridge, fifteen feet in length. The number of its inhabitants, which increases yearly, amounts to ten thousand. The town, in reference to its trade, ranks with those of the sixth rank in America, and with those of the second rank in Massachusetts. The uncommonly active and enterprising spirit of its inhabitants is the sole reason which can be ascribed for the great extent and rapid progress of its trade. This town has no cultivated land behind it to supply its exports, which in America is with justice considered as one of the most essential articles of commerce. Its haven is but small, at ebb the quays are dry, and vessels of a larger size must even, at high water, unload a part of their cargo, in order to be able to reach these quays. Yet, notwithstanding

standing these inconveniences, the annual freightage from this port exceeds twenty thousand tons. The vessels employed in this service sail to all parts of the globe; twelve of them, for instance, are engaged in the East India trade, one of which arrived from Calcutta the day prior to my entering the town, after an absence of nine months and twelve days, of which thirty-two days were passed at Calcutta. The number of vessels, constituting the above mentioned rate of twenty thousand tons, amounts to one hundred and fifty, one hundred of which are in the foreign trade, twenty are coasters, and thirty follow the employment of fishing. The exports amounted, in 1791, to six hundred and ten thousand and five dollars; in 1792, to six hundred and fifty-seven thousand three hundred and three dollars; in 1793, to eight hundred and twelve thousand and sixty-six dollars; in 1794, to one million four hundred and fifty-two thousand four hundred and eleven dollars; in 1795, to one million five hundred and four thousand five hundred and eleven dollars. As Salem and Beverley have only one custom-house in common for both places, the exports from the latter form a proportion in this calculation, but it is very inconsiderable.

With the exception of two or three large fortunes of nearly three hundred thousand dollars, the opulence of the merchants is not very great; but all the inhabitants find themselves in a flourishing condition, which is the less subject to a reverse, as the mode of living is very frugal, and as luxury is hitherto little known amongst them. Hence all the profits acquired by trade, are re-imbarked in trade; and this accumulation of interest upon interest insures them a large capital, by which they are enabled to bear up against any casual losses. The major part of the shipping from Salem is freighted from Virginia or South Carolina. In these provinces of America, the land yields a greater abundance of produce, than the vessels employed in their ports will suffice to export. The industry of the northern ports, therefore, is here very valuable, the produce being in an inverse ratio to the shipping, compared with the southern states. Salem exports, however, annually from seven to eight thousand pounds of salt beef, and eighteen thousand barrels of fish. This latter

article has, for some years past, been greatly on the decline, the inhabitants of Salem, and the other ports, preferring the wholesale trade as more lucrative. The commodities imported from the East and West Indies, form likewise a branch of the export trade of this port. Hemp, iron, Russia leather, are employed in the coasting trade. Few foreign vessels put in here. The inhabitants of Salem say, that their own industry leaves no room for the speculations of strangers.

An European, who fancies that a man cannot be qualified to act as captain of a ship, till he has made a number of voyages, and passed through a regular course of study, is not a little surprized, when he is informed, that the merchants of Salem entrust their ships to young persons, who have frequently been only one year at sea. As they have grown up in the business of the compting-house, they are perfectly acquainted with the price, the quality, and the sale of each different commodity. The first year they are associated with a skilful steersmate, and act at once in the capacity of captain and supercargo. Their vessels, whatever may be the cause, do not suffer shipwreck more frequently than other ships, which are more cautiously navigated. In the course of a few years these young people become merchants themselves, the captain's profits being very considerable. As they generally are appointed from the families of merchants, they receive assistance from their employers.

The inconveniences which Salem experiences from the shallowness of its harbour, secure them against all hostile attacks. The entrance to the haven is not in the slightest degree defended, nor is it, indeed, capable of defence.

I was upon terms of great intimacy with Mr. GOLDHUE, a member of the Congress, whom I had seen at Philadelphia. The friendly reception that gentleman gave me, and the patience with which he resolved my questions, entitle him to the same praise, as indeed all the persons are entitled to, whom I met with in the course of my long journey. Mr. Goldhue is a man of strong intellect, of very plain manners, and is very well informed. In his political principles he is a federalist, and of course an advocate for the treaty with England. The town of Salem entertains

tains the same opinion as he does, in this respect, chiefly on account of their dread of a war, which they consider as the inevitable consequence of the non-ratification of the treaty.

Before I take my leave of Salem, I must remark, that the day previous to my departure, a vessel arrived in this port from Bourdeaux, which brought a great quantity of silver dishes and plates, in payment for flour, which had been sold to France. The plate was valued by weight, and constituted a part of the confiscated property of the emigrants.

Salem is the capital of the county of Essex, and contains, upon an average, sixty-nine thousand inhabitants. It is a handsome town, the houses are good, small, and neat, and perfectly accord with the manners of the inhabitants. The Senate House is a spacious, and even elegant building.

Salem has a sail-cloth manufactory, which employs a great number of skilful hands.

This town is the second settlement erected by the Europeans, in the Massachusetts. It was begun in 1622, and was the principal scene of the cruelties, which ignorance, superstition, and the persecuting spirit of the priests, and their deluded votaries, inflicted, in 1692, on the pretended forcerers.

### MARBLEHEAD AND LYNN.

On the same bay with Salem lies another small port, which, in respect to its shipping, is of greater consequence than Beverley. Marblehead, which is situated in the midst of rocks, trades only in stock fish. All the men are so entirely occupied in fishing, that the town, to a stranger, who passes through the streets, appears to be solely inhabited by women and children, all of whom have a most miserable and wretched appearance. Marblehead has a custom-house, and the exports from this place consist in a variety of articles, the value of which, in 1794, amounted to one hundred and twenty-four thousand dollars.

Lynn, which is dependent upon the former place, is another small haven, lying nine miles nearer to Boston. It is famous for its shoe manufactory.



nufactory. There is scarcely a house, which is not inhabited by a shoe-maker; four hundred thousand pairs, most of them women's shoes, are made here every year. This port carries on no other trade than the exportation of shoes to Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, from which places a great number are sent over to England. A quantity are even exported directly to Europe from Lynn itself.

## BOSTON.

THE MONUMENT ERECTED IN MEMORY OF GENERAL WARREN—  
TONNAGE OF THE SHIPPING OF BOSTON—MR. JEFFERY—DR.  
EUSTIS, &c.

At length, having passed through the fine and flourishing village of Charlestown, I arrived at Boston. All the roads leading to this town display the prosperity and opulence of the inhabitants in a greater degree than the austerity of republican manners.

I saw this day the simple and affecting monument of General WARREN, who commanded in the celebrated battle of Bunker's Hill, anno 1775, which cost the English so dearly, and taught their troops not to hold the courage of the republican legions in contempt, whilst it inspired the latter with a just confidence in their own prowess. It must here be remembered, that General Warren was by profession a physician, and had never served in the army. He had no opportunity of giving proofs of his great talents, this being the first action, in which he was engaged. But his courage and patriotism eminently distinguished him, and that at a time, when there were very few of his countrymen, who did not discover extraordinary energy.

This simple monument is erected on the spot where the fort stood, the taking of which cost the English ninety officers, and fourteen hundred men, and in which attack General Warren lost his life. It was built by the direction and at the expence of the free-masons, of which order the General was grand master.

The civility of General Lincoln, commissioner of the customs for the  
state

state of Massachusetts, furnished me with an opportunity of extracting from the register of the office the tonnage, belonging to the port of Boston, as likewise the amount of its exports. The tonnage will amount this year to ninety thousand tons; at least it amounted, according to the number of ships registered, for the first nine months, to seventy-three thousand five hundred and thirty-nine tons. The last quarter is not expected to run high, on which account I have estimated it at only seventeen thousand tons. In 1794, the whole year made but sixty-eight thousand nine hundred and sixty-seven tons; and in 1793, no more than fifty-three thousand and forty-two. Prior to this period, the law had not passed, which enacts, that all ships shall be registered in the ports to which they belong.

Of the seventy-three thousand five hundred and thirty-nine tons, which have been registered for the first nine months of the present year, sixty thousand two hundred and ninety-five tons are employed in the foreign trade, eight thousand four hundred and one tons are employed in the coasting-trade, and three hundred and nine tons consist of vessels under twenty tons each.

The exports from the port of Boston amounted, in 1791, to one million one hundred and fifty-nine thousand and four dollars; in 1792, to one million three hundred and fifty-five thousand and thirty-eight dollars; in 1793, to one million eight hundred and thirty-four thousand eight hundred and forty dollars; in 1794, to two million five hundred and thirty-four thousand and fifty-three dollars; in 1795, to four million two hundred and fifty-five thousand six hundred and eighty-eight dollars. In 1788, the exports amounted to one million one hundred and forty-seven thousand three hundred and fifty-seven dollars.

It is difficult to give the imports with accuracy, because the different commodities of which they consist, pay different rates of duty. The sum total of these duties will furnish but a very imperfect idea of the extent of the importation. The number of vessels from foreign ports, that is to say, from such as do not lie within the territories of the United States, will yield a better criterion. The vessels which put into Boston from  
foreign

foreign ports, were, in 1703, four hundred and thirty-six; in 1704, five hundred and sixty-seven; in 1705, seven hundred and twenty-five. In 1784, the number was four hundred and fifty.

In my first article relative to Boston, I have commented on the irregularity of the duties paid by the inhabitants of this town; of their dissatisfaction, and the mischief which results therefrom. The votes are taken on this tax, (which is intended to defray the expences of the streets, the pavement, the watchmen, the maintenance of the poor in the hospital, and the free-schools), in a public meeting of all the inhabitants, held the beginning of May every year. It produced last year upwards of forty thousand dollars, making ten thousand dollars more than the preceding year.

Of the one hundred and fifty-nine thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine dollars, which are collected in taxes to defray the expences of the government for the state of Massachusetts, Boston pays for its individual quota twelve thousand nine hundred and fifty-eight dollars.

Every male inhabitant of the state of Massachusetts is assessed in a tax, which is fixed throughout the whole state at twenty-eight centesimas, or the twenty-eighth of a hundredth part of a dollar. In Boston it amounts to eighty-seven centesimas. The rise in the price of every article, is the principal cause of this extraordinary advance.\*

Mr. JEFFERY, an English merchant, who has resided between fifteen and twenty years in Boston, in partnership with Mr. John Russell, requested, at the time of my first journey, that I would, on my return, take up my quarters at his house, where I passed my time very agreeably. He is an excellent, amiable man, a cheerful companion, who possesses the frank and friendly carriage, so natural to Englishmen. He is a bachelor, possesses a very large fortune, and entertains the best company in the town at his house, among whom Dr. EUSTIS deserves particularly to be noticed. The Doctor is a most amiable and well bred gentleman, possessing great cheerfulness and equanimity of temper; his political principles are

\* For a more circumstantial detail of the duties, the constitution, and laws of the state of Massachusetts, the reader is referred to the journey of 1796.

wife and firm; he is superior to prejudice, and his feelings are truly noble. Messrs. Jeffery and Ruffel have established a very extensive spermaceti manufactory, and employ two ships in the whale-fishery. They employ likewise forty labourers in their beautiful rope-yard.

Boston is one of the most agreeable of towns to live in, and its inhabitants are celebrated through all America for their hospitality to strangers. I met here again, to my great satisfaction, Mr. Cabot, Senator of the United States for Massachusetts. He stands in high estimation among the Americans, on account of his well-informed mind and amiable character. I experienced from Mr. GORE, Advocate-General of the United States, and a man of talents; from Mr. SULLIVAN, Advocate-General of the state of Massachusetts, a gentleman of great acquirements, whom the federal party accuse of differing from them in politics; and likewise from Mr. THOMAS RUSSEL, perhaps, the richest merchant in America, and who is justly celebrated for his great benevolence, a degree of attention, which I cannot refrain from particularly noticing, among even the distinguished civilities which I received from every person in Boston, to whom I was introduced.

#### HINGHAM.—GENERAL LINCOLN.

General Lincoln, on giving me the custom-house report of the amount of tonnage belonging to Boston, which I have inserted in my journal, stipulated with me, that I should, in return for this service, visit him in Hingham. In pursuance of my promise, I spent twenty-four hours with him, on Sunday the 18th of October. General Lincoln is one of the oldest Generals who served in the American war. He took a part in the whole of the contest, was present in every action of moment, and acquired among the Generals a great military name, and throughout all America the reputation of an excellent and honest man. After the conclusion of the war, he was entrusted with several negotiations with the Indians; and with the appeasing of the troubles, which broke out in Massachusetts in 1784. At length he has been placed at the head of the receipt of customs; and this office, the most lucrative in the gift of

the government, yields him an annual income of nearly five thousand dollars, he being allowed five-eighths per cent on the whole of the receipts. He has to keep five clerks, who do all the business; but for this drawback he is amply indemnified by other revenues which accrue to him from his situation. General Lincoln is a member of the Academy of Sciences of the state of Massachusetts. I have read a memoir, written by him, which contains remarks on the natural history of America, made by him in various journies, with an account of his expedition against the insurgents in the year 1787. They bespeak him to be a man of great clearness of head, studious only of the public weal. His family lives in Hingham; and he himself resides there, whenever his official business will permit.

Hingham is famous for a number of small schools, which are here placed together, in a sort of college. They are about fourteen in number, and are attended by about four hundred scholars.

The soil of the surrounding lands is almost all sandy. It yields, an acre, twenty-five bushels of maize, and barley and rye, in a moderate proportion. The meadows afford from the acre, not more than forty hundred-weight of hay, even at the best. This land, too, costs from twenty to forty dollars an acre. The business of this small village consists in the manufacture of tubs, pails, and all other vessels of coopers' work, which are in common use as domestic utensils. The packet-boat which sails between Hingham and Boston, conveys a considerable quantity of these vessels to Boston; and of these, a part is thence exported to England. The wood employed is chiefly fir, from the province of Maine. General Lincoln possesses very extensive estates in this province.

I cannot avoid doing myself the pleasure of here mentioning, with due respect, the name of Mrs. LINCOLN, the widow of the eldest son of General Lincoln: she resides in Hingham. I had an opportunity of being there in company with her, during my short stay with the General. I found her to be one of the most agreeable women in all America. She is no less admired for the excellencies of her mind, than for the charms of her person.

This

This district makes a part of the county of Suffolk. It contains a great number of mills for sawing timber, grinding corn, and waulking cloth. Some of these are put in motion by the flux of the tide.

The highway between Hingham and Plymouth opens to the view no interesting prospects. The dwelling-houses are pretty numerous, but are scattered between the rocks and the beach. Here is a want of money and agricultural intelligence to bring the county into that condition of improvement and opulence of which it is evidently susceptible.

### PLYMOUTH.

The colonists of this territory landed here in the year 1620. They were emigrants who had left England, on account of their religion, and were about an hundred in number. They arrived on this coast, without any certain determination, where to settle. It is said that their choice was fixed, when, on a morning, they approached Cape Cod, and observed a bay and a river, which reminded them of Plymouth in England. They landed, and obtained from the Indians the cession of sufficient territory; constructed huts for their habitations; cleared a part of their lands, and sowed corn for their sustenance. These fugitives from persecution, had not been here more than two years, when they declared war against the Indians, among whom they had been received, and threatened to expel them out of their possessions.

New emigrants, from time to time, resorted hither from Europe. Other settlements were formed. Force or artifice extorted from the unfortunate Indians, new cessions of territory.

The war with the Indians was not of long duration. These simple people made no great difficulty of relinquishing a few acres, from which they had never derived great advantage. And, without any prejudices against the colonists, or in favour of the natives, it may be reasonably believed, that the greater part of the enormities and crimes attributed to the Indians, originated primarily from the conduct of the European encroachers on their possessions.

The rock on which these first colonists landed, is still carefully

pointed out to strangers. The place they called Plymouth, in remembrance of their native land. The sea has, since that time, thrown up sand over the rock to the height of twenty feet. But the tradition of the first landing still preserved the knowledge of the precise spot on which it took place. At the dawn of the revolution, the sand was cleared away from it. With no little toil, they penetrated at last through twenty feet in depth of sand, to the very rock. The rock was split into two parts, as it was laid bare; and this circumstance was regarded as an unlucky omen of the political separation of America from England. The largest half still remains in its former situation; the other was, with great difficulty, conveyed to the market-place of the town of Plymouth, where it now lies. Both are in the state of rugged blocks, without inscription, or any thing of monumental form, such as might indicate what is peculiar to them, and distinguish them from the many other stones which lie around.

This rock which, from the high veneration bestowed on it, naturally attracts the curiosity of strangers, is, however, the only thing particularly remarkable in that place. Its trade is confined to the fishery. Seventy schooners, of from thirty to forty tons burthen each, and two or three of one hundred tons, go to the fishery upon the bank: some fish on the coast. The largest of these vessels carry their cargoes of fish to sale in Europe, or in the West India Isles. The road is scarce sufficiently sheltered from the north-east wind; and the harbour is left dry by the ebbing tides. In the beginning of the war of the revolution, all the vessels belonging to this port, were either captured or burnt by the English. Their number was greater than that of the vessels which belong to it, at present; and its trade was, then, more considerable. I know not but it may be the remembrance of what then took place, which now, so much exasperates the minds of the people of Plymouth against England. Artizans, labourers in husbandry, sailors, are all, here, in a rage, against the late treaty. Persons of high rank likewise declare against it, though with less of open and indecent fury. It is the general voice, that America ought to form an offensive and defensive league with France, and to declare

clare war against England. But, on the other hand, I have been assured that the richer class of the people are, for the greater part of opinion, that a treaty of commerce and political amity with England is indispensibly necessary to the welfare of America.

In addition to the fishery, the trade of Plymouth is in part produced by its forges and manufactures in iron. The works in which these manufactures are carried on, consist, in a considerable proportion, of mill-machinery, that is put in motion by the small river which here falls into the bay. As pit-coal and iron-stone, are plentiful; from eighty to an hundred men are kept constantly at work in these manufactures. The town contains about three thousand inhabitants; and their number is annually augmented.

The exports from Plymouth amounted, in the year 1791, to fifteen thousand eight hundred and forty-four dollars; in 1792, to twenty-eight thousand nine hundred and forty-five dollars; in 1793, to twenty-nine thousand four hundred and twenty-seven dollars; in 1794, to thirty-five thousand four hundred and fifty-two dollars; in 1795, to fifty-two thousand six hundred and thirty-eight dollars.

I had a letter of introduction to General WARREN, an old, grey-headed man, who was much employed during the war of the revolution, but rather for the economy of the army, over which he had great influence, than on account of any ability he could be supposed to possess for actual service in the field. He is now an old man, and very feeble. His wife is as old as himself, but much more lively in conversation. Like the other ladies of America, she has read a great deal on a variety of subjects. She has even published one or two volumes of tales, which are much esteemed; and has written a history of the American revolution, which her husband and she have, with great prudence, resolved not to send to the press while they live, but to leave for publication after their death: the truth may then, they say, be safely declared. In the mean time, this work has been read, in whole or in part, by several friends, who give it the character of an impartial and well-written work. This old lady, at the age of seventy, is truly interesting; for she has lost neither



ther the activity of her mind, nor the graces of her person; though she still laments the death of a son she lost in the war, with the same tenderness and earnest sorrow as on the day on which he fell. She still reads his letters, has his portrait constantly in her view; but notwithstanding all this fond attachment to his memory, is equally affectionate to her surviving children. One of these, I saw at the house of General Lincoln, who had likewise suffered, during the war, by the loss of his leg, in a sea-fight, on board a frigate. This respectable lady is descended from a family who are like herself distinguished for genius and literature. She is sister to Mr. OTIS, a lawyer of great reputation in Massachusetts, who had a considerable share in the revolution, and is said to be a man of great merit. He is father to Mrs. Lincoln, whom I mentioned above.

Plymouth is the principal town of the county of the same name, a district that contains twenty-nine thousand inhabitants. The soil is rugged, and not very fertile; but it is full of iron ores, which supply materials for very considerable iron manufactures.

#### DISTRICT OF NEW BEDFORD.

The road from Plymouth hither, is tedious and very imperfect. Plymouth lies at the distance of not more than thirty miles from New Bedford; and both these towns belong to the same state. Yet, so rare is the intercourse between them, that no person in Plymouth could inform me of the direction of the road to New Bedford, farther than for the first six miles. Amidst continual enquiries concerning the road which is little used, and intersected by many cross paths, I wandered out of my way. I was, besides, misled by the mischievous waggery of a dumb man, which sent me astray five miles farther. But few houses are to be seen in this tract, and these lie at wide distances from one another. The ground is rugged, and the soil sandy. The woods, which extend all the way, consist chiefly of firs and birches, most of which are likely to be burnt for charcoal. The burning of charcoal is the only sort of industry in which the people are seen to be engaged, along the whole road. There is abundance

abundance of iron-stone, sufficiently rich in ore for working, here as well as at Plymouth. There is every where an air of poverty, the effect either of a poor or of an ill-cultivated soil. I had great pleasure in falling in with two negro families, who live here on small possessions of their own, which they maintain in as good a state of culture, as those of their neighbours. Such instances are not rare in the state of Massachusetts. A heavy and incessant rain, by which I was wetted to the skin, obliged me to halt at Middleborough, at a small inn, the landlord of which was concerned in the iron-works. The iron-ore is found in Pond Allowamset, in great plenty, either at the surface or at the depth of a single foot under water. This red ore sometimes contains a fourth part, sometimes not more than an eighth part of pure iron. The ore is dragged from under the water, in nearly the same manner as oysters are raised from the bank. It is now, however, much less abundant than formerly. A man who, fifteen years since, would have been able to gather two or three tons in the year by his own labour, can now scarcely procure one ton. Another pond adjacent to Middleborough, yields this ore in greater quantity; but it is deeper, and consequently the ore is less easily to be raised from its bottom.

The masters at this work earn forty dollars a month; the common workmen are paid at the same rate as the labourers in husbandry, which affords them seven or eight dollars a month. Land costs two dollars an acre, unless when it is supposed to contain iron-ore; and in this case, the price is higher or lower, according to the degree of its richness in ore. This inn stands at eighteen miles distance from Plymouth. Its beds were full of workmen from the forges and nail-makers; but the landlord promised me a bed as soon as the rain should cease. The rain continued to fall, till it was too late to reach New Bedford that night; I was, therefore, obliged to halt, after travelling five miles farther, at an inn of mean appearance, which hunger and fatigue made me regard as comfortable.

Next day about noon, I entered New Bedford. It is not above thirty years since this town was founded. It was one of those places which suffered

suffered the most during the war of the revolution. Ships, warehouses, dwelling-houses, were all burnt by the English. The losses which the town suffered, exceeded three hundred and thirty thousand dollars. Trade did not soon revive; but is now, however, at a greater height than ever.

The district of New Bedford comprehends five small sea-port towns—New Bedford, Westport, Rochester, Wareham, and Dartmouth. The four last of these are, properly speaking, only docks for ship-building. Most of the ships built in them find immediate sale, either at New Bedford or in some other harbour belonging to the United States. There belong, at present, to those few towns, twenty vessels, of from thirty to eighty tons burthen each, which are employed in the coasting-trade, all except two or three, which go to the fishery upon the great bank. New Bedford is a place of greater trade than the others; builds more vessels; and has a good road, which is at least excellently sheltered from the east wind. The land round New Bedford is, in general, far from fertile; and there are many other sea-port towns on the coast of Massachusetts. The exports from this place are therefore confined to fruit, pulse, maize, salted flesh and fish, with some coarse iron-work. These vessels are not always freighted from this port, but are usually hired by the merchants belonging to it. Those from New Bedford are engaged chiefly in the whale-fishery, which is considerably successful near the island of Nantucket, at five and twenty miles distance from New Bedford.

New Bedford employs, at present, twelve vessels in the fishery, each from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and seventy tons burthen. Nantucket sends out thirty vessels; Boston, two or three; Rhode-Island, one.

### THE WHALE-FISHERY.

Whales are found on the coast of Brazil, and in the Pacific Ocean in the same latitudes, in the West Indian Seas, and as far eastward as to the Cape of Good Hope, from the eighteenth to the twenty-fifth degree of latitude.

side The mode in which they are taken, is well known; but I believe the information I am enabled to offer possesses some share of novelty.

The destination of the fishing-voyages is so settled, that the return of the ships is expected within the course of from ten to eighteen months after their departure. The fishing is not always alike successful. But, it never fails to afford the owners a profit of at least twenty per cent; the adventure, the expences of fitting out which are very con- Beside the cost of the vessel, there are also to be reckoned, the expences of two boats, of lines, harpoons, axes, kettles, barrels with iron, hoops and provisions for the crew, to the amount of five or six thousand dollars. The crew receive no wages, but have a certain share of the blubber. The captain has a fifth part; the pilot a five-and-fortieth, or a sixtieth part of what they take. A vessel of two hundred and fifty tons burthen will return with two hundred and ten or two hundred and twenty tons of blubber, beside the whalebone. In 1793, the medium price of blubber, or whale-oil, was sixty-five dollars a ton. The blubber of the spermaceti-whale was at the rate of one hundred dollars a ton; that of other whales, fifty-five dollars a ton; these last are very plentiful in the seas. The price is now twice as much. The increase of price is owing to the extraordinary demand for train-oil and spermaceti-candles, and to the small number of the ships, which have lately gone from Europe upon the whale-fishery. The captain's profits from a successful voyage amount to between eight and nine hundred dollars for common years, but at present to between seventeen and eighteen hundred dollars.

A ship of one hundred and sixty tons is manned with a crew of fifteen persons. Of these, twelve man the two boats in the pursuit of the whales; while the other three remain on board. Larger vessels have a third boat and six additional hands. The blubber, which has been barrelled at sea, is to be again put into fresh barrels, and cleared from a sediment that is formed in the barrels, before it be carried to market; for though the sediment be as fit as the rest for use in the soap-works, yet the oil in which it appears is regarded as of inferior quality in the European market. This sediment, and a sort of white flesh, which is found in the head and belly

of the whale, are then squeezed in a press. A new quantity of oil of the best quality is thus obtained. The residue, which remains after the first pressing, is put again into the press, and more forcibly squeezed than before. It affords a certain quantity of oil; and it is the produce of this last squeezing which, after undergoing a boiling, is poured into moulds, and forms spermaceti candles. These are sold for half a dollar a pound. Those which are spermaceti-fishes, yield this matter in great quantity. In their heads alone there are often five or six tons of this matter; though the other whales have the head differently composed, and do not afford above a quarter of a ton out of each head. Thus all whales yield more or less of this matter which is so much valued as a material for candles.

The vessels for the fishery are built without any very remarkable peculiarity of structure. Only, there stands, between the masts, a great cauldron for the making of the oil, and the openings on the decks are made unusually wide, in order that the barrels may be the more easily moved up and down. The oil, when it is hot, is apt to penetrate and injure the wood of a newly built vessel; and, on this account, it is usual to send ships on a voyage or two to Europe, before employing them in the whale-fishery. Those merchants, who are concerned in this fishery, are accustomed to purchase vessels which have been built two or three years. The alterations necessary, to fit them for the use of the fishery, are inconsiderable.

From all that I had heard or read, I was lead to think the whale-fishery to be a very perilous employment to the men who are engaged in it. They must meet, as I should have supposed, with many unhappy accidents. I have, however, been assured of the contrary. The fleet from Nantucket, consisting of thirty vessels, did not lose, last year, a single man; this year they have lost but two men. People here can scarcely recollect a single instance of any person losing his life from any accident in the fishery. Neither here nor in Nantucket can any instance be mentioned of a man's having been killed or hurt by any of the whales. The boats are indeed, often overturned by the whales.

Hudson's Bay, and the Gas adjacent to the coasts of Greenland and Labrador,

Labrador, abound more than the southern seas, in whales, and those of a larger size, and such as afford oil of a better quality. But the ice, which floats there in vast masses, renders the fishing much more dangerous in these northern latitudes. One of these masses of ice striking against a ship is sufficient to dash it in pieces. Besides, the ships cannot remain at sea, for a sufficient length of time, upon the coasts. Some American ships repair to that fishery as they return from Europe; but, in the whale-fishery in the northern seas is abandoned to the European fishermen.

Although the fishery on the coasts of Africa and the Brazils be still sufficiently successful, yet it is thought that the numbers of the whales in those parts begin to be diminished. The reason assigned for this is, that such a number of the females of this species are annually destroyed, without which the young ones can neither be produced nor nourished immediately after the birth. (The English call the males, females, and young of the whale,—bulls, cows, and calves).

Twenty years since, whales were considerably numerous on the coasts of America. Even within these few or seven years, whales were to be found here, though not in such numbers as formerly. At present, it is thought a very remarkable occurrence, if one should happen to be seen in these parts. The whales have been frightened entirely away, so that two or three ships can hardly procure a tolerable freight for the season, for fishing in these seas. The spermaceti-whales have been found chiefly in the Indian ocean, on the coasts of Africa and Madagascar, in the Pacific ocean, and on the coasts of Peru and Chili.

Train-oil and spermaceti-candles are brought into different sea-ports of America by ships belonging to New Bedford, which has also two or three vessels employed in the trade to Europe. Twenty ships belonging to the same ports are constantly engaged in the coasting-trade. But this last trade is so languid that the custom-house dues arising from it, for the first nine months of the year 1795, did not exceed two hundred and nineteen dollars. During the whole year 1790, it yielded but one hundred and fifty-six dollars. As to the amount of the yearly exports from New Bed-

ford; the value of these was, in the year 1791, twenty-six thousand three hundred and forty-four dollars; in the year 1792, twenty-seven thousand one hundred and seventy-six dollars; in 1793, twenty-seven thousand eight hundred and forty-four dollars; in 1794, eighty-two thousand and eighty-five dollars; in 1795, sixty-two thousand two hundred and two dollars.

The harbour lies at the distance of eight miles from the mouth of the river Acchuffnet. The anchorage is excellent. That part of the breadth of the river, which is navigable to vessels of a certain burthen up to the town, is very narrow; the rest of the river being very shallow, and full of rocks. The harbour is besides protected by a fort, beyond which ships entering it cannot proceed more than a quarter of a mile. The river Acchuffnet pours its waters into the bay of the same name. This bay has also a communication with Buzzard Bay, which is separated from the bay of Cape Cod by an isthmus of the breadth of three or four miles. There is a project for cutting a canal through the isthmus.

The trade of New Bedford is almost all in the hands of Quakers. About one-half of the inhabitants are of this sect. They are, in general, an honest, frank, orderly, set of people. I received a pretty full account of them from WILLIAM RUSH. He is proprietor of six vessels. His family has been, for some generations, engaged here in trade. With the most obliging readiness to satisfy any enquiries which are made of him, he joins an uncommon clearness of ideas. His father is one of those inhabitants of Nantucket whom M. DE CALONNE invited to Dunkirk, to introduce the business of the whale-fishery into France. In 1786, Rush began the business of the whale-fishery at Dunkirk, with not more than two ships; and, in the year 1793, no fewer than forty ships sailed from Dunkirk to the whale-fishery. Certain it is, that trade and mercantile opulence were rapidly increasing in France, at the time when the revolution commenced, and the present war broke out. When liberty shall be securely and permanently established in France, that activity, which is a well-known characteristic of liberty, will be much more alive than ever, to the improvement of every branch of industry and commerce.



merce. Persons of all ranks will then take a part in whatever can augment the honourable opulence of the land ; and our country will be raised to the highest pitch of prosperity.

This worthy man, who is now fifty-five years of age, has all the activity of a young man. He went to France with strong prejudices against it ; yet, nothing less than the crimes and disorders which he witnessed would have been sufficient to make him leave that country and return to America. He loves the character, the sprightly manners, the mode of doing business, which prevail among the French nation. He is pleased with the integrity of the French merchants, and delighted with the climate of France. He speaks, in short, as a Frenchman ; but, he abhors the crimes which have attended the revolution. Of its excesses he judges for himself with tenderness, yet with discernment.

#### TOWNSHIP OF NEW BEDFORD ; COUNTY OF BRISTOL ; VALUE OF PRODUCTS, AND OF LABOUR.

In the country round New Bedford, where the soil is, in general, of moderate fertility, considerable numbers of oxen are annually fattened for the supply of provisions to the ships in the harbour, and to those even which belong to Nantucket. Land costs from twelve to eighteen dollars an acre. Beef is sold at the rate of six-pence a pound. Flour is here scarce, as well as in all the other small towns of Massachusetts. It costs at present from thirteen to fourteen dollars a barrel. The bread is commonly made of maize and barley ; and this is indeed the usual bread throughout the whole state. Biscuit is the only wheaten bread to be found in the inns. The wages of all sorts of ordinary labourers are at the rate of from eight to nine dollars a month. Ships cost from forty to forty-two dollars a ton. New Bedford lies in the county of Bristol, of which the head-town is Taunton. This county contains about thirty-eight thousand inhabitants, and is remarkable for the great abundance of iron-ore which it affords. A copper-mine was here lately opened for the first time.



## RHODE ISLAND.—NEWPORT.—MR. ELEM.

The road from New Bedford to Rhode Island, like that from Plymouth, is rugged with rocks and loose stones, and leads through a hilly tract of country. You pass through the township of Westport, and near that part of the river where vessels are built, which take in their cargo at the distance of a mile below. Only two schooners belonged to this port; but of these one has been recently wrecked on the coast of Salem, on its return from a voyage to the province of Maine.

The boundaries of the state of Rhode Island commence at the distance of three miles on this side of the bay, at a place called usually East Passage, where it is proposed to build a bridge for the purpose of connecting the island with the main land. This passage is not broad, and the depth of the water is thirty feet. But, the tide flows and ebbs with such a strength of current, that the toil of erecting the bridge cannot but be extremely difficult, and it will be no easy task to give it perfect stability.

This island exhibits a continued succession of meadows and fields of maize. Barley is likewise produced here in considerable abundance. The breweries of Philadelphia and New York furnish an advantageous market for this last article. Formerly this island was extensively covered with fruit-trees and other wood. But these the English destroyed during the war. The soil is light, sandy, and, in general, unimproved by manure or skilful tillage. The medium produce of the meadows is a ton of hay per acre; the ground under tillage yields, an acre, twenty-five bushels of maize, or one hundred bushels of potatoes. There are instances of greater produce; but these occur only where particular land-holders have cultivated their ground with unusual intelligence and care. In the neighbourhood of Newport, where dung can be purchased for the easy expense of half a dollar the ton, the land is more plentifully manured, and, in consequence of this, yields even to the amount of ninety bushels of maize per acre. But, such instances are rare, and occur only where the

soil is both naturally rich and well improved by manure and tillage. The common extent of the farms is seventy acres; some small number of them contain two hundred acres; and three or four, even four hundred acres.

The farm of SAMUEL ELEM, to whom I had a letter from William Rush, is four hundred acres in extent. He is the only farmer in the island who does not personally labour upon his own ground. He is an Englishman, from Yorkshire. He came hither as a merchant before the revolution. The length of his necessary stay gave him a fondness for the country, and inclined him to settle in it. He lives in a snug small house, five miles from Newport, and near to East Passage. Agriculture is the only business that he now follows. He does not boast of having found it, as yet, very profitable. But, he finds the condition of life agreeable, and sufficiently susceptible of improvement from his turn for curious observation, and his attention to the processes of nature. This farm, on which he has been settled these six years, begins to be in a good state of cultivation. The stone fences inclosing his fields are higher and better than any I have seen in Massachusetts. His meadows are in a state of improvement and fertility, which is considerably profitable. But the difficulty of procuring labourers stands greatly in the way of all agricultural improvements in these parts. As Mr. Elem is the only farmer in the island who does not labour with his own hands, so he often meets with a contradictory spirit in his working-people, who are apt to think, that their toil must make them more skilful in husbandry than their idle master. His cows and oxen are distinguished as superior to those of the rest of the island, which, however, are, in general, very good. His sheep are of the best sort. Their wool is easily sold at the price of a quarter of a dollar the pound; and each fleece yields two pounds and a half. In summer he keeps from one hundred to one hundred and fifty, but in winter reduces this number to sixty. From the first of December to the fifteenth of May, he keeps his cows and oxen in stalls; but that is not the general practice of the farmers in the island. Either from poverty or prejudice, most of them have no cow-houses. They put up their hay in the

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the meadows; and give daily, in winter, a certain quantity of it to the cattle in the open fields. There falls so little snow in the isle, that no great harm seems to result from this practice. Only the horses and the milch-cows are stalled in winter.

The cheese of Rhode Island is famous throughout all America; but the only cheese which these parts now furnish for exportation is from the isles of Conanicut and Block, which make part of this state. On Rhode Island itself, few of the farmers keep such a number as to produce more cheese than is necessary for their domestic use.

The following reasons are assigned for the poverty of the farmers of Rhode-Island. It is usual for the young people, at the age of thirteen, to leave the family of their parents, and to go into the service of others. The parents find it vain to endeavour to detain them; for, if not permitted to do as others do, they will not work at home. In consequence, other labourers are to be hired; and that accumulation of stock is materially hindered which might be best produced by the joint labour of a whole family, without hired assistance. Besides, so many are disposed to become farmers for themselves, even without any adequate stock, that labourers are not to be procured for any reasonable hire, even in cases of the most urgent necessity. 2. It is a disadvantage also to the agriculture of this territory, that it is every where adjacent to the sea. The young people have, in consequence of this, been long accustomed to prefer a seafaring life to husbandry, because the former affords higher wages in money, and is more grateful to the roving spirit of inexperienced youth. Even the resident farmers are tempted to join the fishing with the toils of husbandry, as the fishing affords, at all times in the year, a very plentiful supply for the nourishment of their families. They, consequently, take little care to improve the soil to its highest pitch of cultivation. The same thing may be said of the inhabitants along all the sea-coast of America. 3. There is a want of a regular and profitable market for the superfluous produce of the isle. There is, indeed, a market-place in the town of Newport; but the farmers rarely bring their grain hither for sale; nor do those who are in want of it resort to this market to supply themselves.

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The farmers bring their ~~fish, corn,~~ beans, and pease to the town, and there ~~place~~ it in houses for sale. When purchasers do not appear, it is often the case; the quantity is far from being sufficiently considerable to become an object of commercial speculation for foreign export, to the merchants. 4. There is such an extreme scarcity of wood, that no farmer who is in want of it, can supply himself at a less price than ~~one~~ or five dollars a cord. In consequence of this want of trees, the island is too much exposed to the winds, which often blow over it with very troublesome violence. There has been a remarkable difference in the produce of fruit upon the farms of this isle, ever since the great trees were destroyed by the English during the war. 5. The elections to all places in the government, and to the legislative representation, are renewed every six months; and the frequent journeys and public meetings which take place on these occasions, seem to withdraw the attention of these people in too great a degree, from their husbandry. 6. Lastly, the people of Rhode-Island are singularly illiterate. Scarcely has the whole island a single well-conducted free-school; such is the opposition of prejudice to every thing of this nature. The public records of the small state of Rhode-Island are in greater disorder than those of any one else; and this disorder is a primary cause of the ignorance of its inhabitants: so that all their defects in the respect of knowledge, are plainly to be charged to the misconduct of their rulers.

The price of land varies, throughout this island, from five and twenty to five and thirty dollars an acre. It has remained the same for these six years; and its rise seems to be prevented by the exorbitant price of labour. In the township of Newport, land is sold somewhat dearer than elsewhere.

Approaching Newport, you see the heights where the English long remained, when they were masters of the town. They seized those heights at the moment of their landing.

Newport is accounted the chief town of the state of Rhode-Island. It is the most ancient; the deputies of the state hold their assemblies in it: but Providence is more populous, and carries on a more considerable

trade. Before the war, there were in Newport ten thousand inhabitants; in Providence, not more than one thousand. Providence now contains seven thousand; Newport, but five thousand inhabitants. Many of the richer inhabitants of Newport have deserted it. A number of families forsaking this town in the time of the revolution, while it was in the possession of the English, retired to Providence, and settling there, have never since been induced to change their residence. Those, on the other hand, who were attached to the cause of England, went away with the English troops, when they were obliged to evacuate the island. Political dissensions, which long distracted Rhode-Island, contributed farther to this desertion of Newport. It is only within these last two or three years, that its trade has begun to revive. It has twelve vessels of some considerable burthen, engaged in the trade to Europe; two or three which sail to the coast of Guinea for cargoes of negroes, which they bring for sale to Georgia and the West-India Isles; forty more, which are employed in the coasting-trade, and sail only for the colonies. The coasting-trade is that which the people of this town chiefly prefer. The amount of the exports from Newport was, in 1791, of the value of two hundred and seventeen thousand three hundred and ninety-four dollars; in 1792, two hundred and sixty thousand three hundred and thirty-seven dollars; in 1793, two hundred and forty-seven thousand eight hundred and fifty dollars; in 1794, three hundred and eleven thousand one hundred and ninety-five dollars; in 1795, three hundred and seventeen thousand eight hundred and sixty dollars.

Barley is the principal article of agricultural produce, which it furnishes for exportation. The isles of Conanicut, Patience, and a third that lies in the bay, are usually sown with corn, in preference to any other article of crop. Some little wood from that part of the state which is contiguous to the main-land, as well as in an adjacent part of Massachusetts; and large quantities of flax, an article much cultivated here: are annually exported out of Newport. The barley exported from Rhode-Island, is freighted rather on board the ships from Providence, than in those from Newport. The ships from Providence carry it chiefly into the

the southern states, from which they bring, in return, other cargoes, either to some port in the United States, to Europe, or to the West-India Isles.

The houses of Newport are almost all very small, and miserably bad: they are of wood, and not painted. In the town, every thing wears the appearance of decay; but the harbour has a shew of opulence and active commerce. The vicinity of the sea, the spaciousness and security of the road, its easiness of access, and its convenient situation, render it a commodious shelter for vessels going from the southern parts of the mainland of America, towards the northern, or from the north southwards. It is indeed more frequented than any other port, by foreign ships. Newport, with all these advantages, seems to be naturally destined to become a harbour for ships of war, whenever the United States shall assume the consequence of a Naval Power. It will then, no doubt, be more carefully fortified, than at present. A fort on Goat-Island, and a battery on the opposite shore, are the only means of defence which it possesses at present, and are certainly inadequate to protect its entrance. The first power with which the State should be at war, would find these unable to oppose any naval force which it should send to occupy the harbour. Goat-Island has been ceded by the state of Rhode-Island to the United States.

In Rhode-Island there is the same freedom of religious worship and opinions, as in Pennsylvania. Baptists and Quakers are the most prevailing sects; but the people in general, in this island, are far from being religious overmuch. In the whole island, which is fifteen miles long and three miles broad, there is no church, except at Newport; and to this the country-people do not resort above four times in the year. The people of this state are reputed to be indolent, quarrelsome, and litigious. These faults of character, if justly imputed, are sufficient to account for their poverty. There is said to be a great uncertainty of political opinions in Rhode-Island: they were not unfavourable to the abominable tyranny of Robespierre; they are far less friendly to France since the guilt of that tyranny has been suppressed, and order restored. Before the war,

there were many opulent inhabitants in Rhode-Island: at present, only the ruins of their houses, and the traces of their former inclosures, remain to be seen. The houses are either desolate, or are inhabited in their least ruinous parts, by people who, on account of the smallness of their capitals, their dislike to labour, and many other reasons, are much inferior in condition to the people of the other parts of New England.

In the high-church of Newport, there is a monument erected by the order of Louis the sixteenth, to the Chevalier de TERNAY. He was commander of the fleet which conveyed M. ROCHAMBEAU and the French army to America. He died at Newport in the year 1780. The inscription is in a very simple style, and speaks very much in honour of M. de Ternay.

The State of Rhode-Island is very proud of having given birth to General Green, one of the greatest, if not absolutely the greatest, of American generals. He was, by birth, a Quaker, and was a respectable trader in Newport. But, for the sake of liberty, he quickly shook off the prejudices of his sect, and abandoned his business. He went, in the very beginning of the war, to contend against British oppression. In the whole course of this memorable war, there was not a battle, not a skirmish, in which Green did not distinguish himself by signal valour, and extraordinary military talents. His sound and discerning mind rendered often the most important services in the Council. He is, above all, famous for his expedition into the southern states, in the year 1781. At the head of a small force of not more than one thousand or one thousand one hundred men, scarcely clad, raw, and animated by nothing so much as by their confidence in General Green personally; he, by a variety of the most skilful stratagems, and plans of annoyance, and by the exertion of extraordinary courage, forced the English to retire gradually from the provinces of Upper Virginia, North Carolina, and almost all South Carolina; delivering the injured, harrassed, and scattered inhabitants of those desolated territories, from the misery and oppression under which they had long groaned. He restored the unhappy fugitives to their habitations, and compelled the English to retire into York and Charlestown, where

where they were soon finally vanquished by the joint arms of the French and Americans. Green, no less humane in victory, than brave and enterprising in warfare, stained his triumph with no atrocities, notwithstanding the provoking example which had been set by the English. He was the ardent friend of liberty, without laying aside, on this account, all respect to natural justice and humanity. His whole life was spent in a continued train of virtuous actions. After these illustrious deeds in field, he was hailed as the deliverer of the southern states, and received the thanks of the Congress. He died within a few years after the establishment of American freedom. The Congress erected, at the public expence, a monument in honour of his patriotism, his virtues, and his talents; and in so doing, gratified the earnest desire of all true-hearted Americans.

The State of Rhode-Island had, likewise, another eminent person, whose military talents and valorous activity distinguished him, on the one hand, though not so much as did his notorious perfidy and baseness on the other. This was the traitor A\*\*\*\*\*.† He was, before the war, a trader and dealer in cattle, as I have been assured. He espoused, with great ardour, the cause of his native country. He quickly distinguished himself by the expedition into Canada, and by that famous and daring march through the western parts of the province of Maine to the river of St. Lorenzo, a tract which had been, hitherto, accounted inaccessible to an army. A\*\*\*\*\* was one of the inferior commanders under General Gates, and had a share in the glory of the fortunate day of Saratoga. In many engagements, previous to the great and decisive events of that day, he had greatly distinguished himself. Soon after, the unprincipled A\*\*\*\*\*, being corrupted by English gold, to his eternal infamy, became, towards the close of a war in which he had so gallantly fought, the worst enemy of his native country. He desired, no doubt, to preserve his rank, and expected as much, as was clear from the confidence with which he solicited it. But the English government, though

† A\*\*\*\*\* is, however, well known to have been a native of Norwich, in Connecticut.—*Translator.*



they could avail themselves of treachery, abhorred the traitor. A\*\*\*\* lives with a large or a small pension, God knows in what corner of England, covered with ignominy, and aware, that his name is never pronounced by his fellow-countrymen without abhorrence, and that he must ever be detested as the treacherous, though unsuccessful betrayer of American freedom. "What will the Americans do to me, if I fall into their hands?" said he once to a prisoner. "They will take away that leg from you, which you broke in their service, and bury it honourably," answered the prisoner, "then, by the other, they will hang you up as a traitor."

After spending an evening at the house of SAMUEL ELEM in the country, and after halting for an hour in Newport, I went gladly on board a schooner belonging to Boston, to take my passage to Providence. I was to return within the space of two days from that town; as I expected my horse to arrive within this time; and proposed then to proceed towards New London, along the great bay by which Rhode-Island is separated from the main-land. The wind, though fair when we set sail, veered about within the space of an hour, so that we were forced to return to Newport, after having been three hours tacking about at sea, without advancing two miles on our voyage. I passed the rest of the day in Newport, with my friend Samuel Elem, the best of Quakers, and the worthiest of men. He is a bachelor, rich, fond of trade, and of rural life.

### BRISTOL.—WARREN.

Worthy Samuel Elem still insisted upon doing the honours of the country towards me. On Saturday, the 24th, he conducted me to the extremity of the island, where I might obtain a passage to Bristol. His politeness was joined to an engaging simplicity of manners, extremely different from that roughness and dryness of address, which are usually attributed to the Quakers.

Although I travelled by a way different from that by which I had entered the island, yet I could perceive no remarkable diversity, in either the

the appearance of the dwelling-houses, the cultivation of the soil, or the general character of the husbandry. The prospect of the bay, of the islets with which it is interspersed, and the main-land contiguous to the bay, is extremely pleasing. The passage from the island to Bristol is a mile in breadth; it is crossed in a ferry-boat with a single sail; it is large, deep, and secure: the only inconvenience attending it is, that horses cannot be easily brought on board it; my horse was considerably hurt in the attempt.

On the opposite shore, as far as to Warren, a distance of six or seven miles, the land is more sandy, and more stony, than in the island: but, it yields great quantities of fruit and of pulse, that is reputed to be of very excellent quality.

Bristol is a small sea-port town lying on the bay. It carries on some trade to the Antilles. In the year 1775, the houses were almost all burnt to the ground by Captain \*\*\*\*, who commanded a small English Squadron. They have been rebuilt, and are now more numerous than before that disaster.

Warren is nearly such another port-town as Bristol; eight or ten ships a year are built in it. Barrington, another small sea-port town, which is divided from Warren only by a river of its own name, was begun to be built in the year 1769, and consists now of about one hundred and fifty good houses. Some few merchants reside in these three sea-port towns; but the ships belonging to them are for the most part employed in the trade from Providence. These small villages are much better built than Newport. The value of land has risen here to at least three times as much as it formerly was, according to an estimate founded upon the present amount of the taxes.

Two miles beyond Warren, the road turns to Providence in Massachusetts. The land is there, for several miles, so sandy and boggy, that no stones can be found for fences. On the other hand, wood is so scarce, and so costly, that it can as little be applied to this use as stones. Yet the fields are enclosed with fences, which, to two-thirds of the height, are formed of turfs, with cross-bars of timber above. In other places  
where:

where stones are not so scarce, the fences are formed one-half of stones, one half of wood.

I know not whether it might be, that the information which I received in Newport, impressed me with unfavourable prejudices against the people of Rhode-Island: but I could not help thinking, that, in the short part of my way which now led through the state of Massachusetts, I received much more obliging answers to my enquiries, than in the district which I had left.

I had, however, no reason to complain of my reception with Moses BROWN, to whom I had a letter of introduction from William Russ. He lives in a farm not far from the upper bridge over Deacon's River, on the way to Providence. Moses Brown is a very strict Quaker; became a Quaker upon conviction; and has been such for the space of forty years. He acquired a considerable fortune in trade, of which he has resigned the greater part to his son; and he himself now lives in quiet cessation from business, transacting nothing of that sort upon his own account. Notwithstanding the rustic simplicity of his manners, he seemed to be a very worthy man. He pressed me to stay with him for the evening, telling me, that he did not ask me in the way of empty compliment, but that if he had not desired my company, he would not have given me the invitation. I excused myself, by mentioning, that as I had but very little time to spend at Providence, and as the weather, though generally uncertain, was now fair, I must, therefore, avail myself of the present moment, and proceed on my journey.

The environs of Providence are more interesting than those of Newport: and they give to an approaching traveller, very favourable ideas of the town which he is about to enter. The hill at the foot of which the town lies, and over which you must pass into it, is intersected into two parts by a paved road, which has a slow and gentle descent. The town lies on both sides of the river: a well-constructed bridge affords a ready communication between its two divisions. Lofty, well-built and well-furnished houses, are numerous in this town, which is becoming continually larger: and the prospect of an increase of wealth and populousness

puloufness, has induced the inhabitants to fet apart a confiderable extent of the adjacent hill for new buildings. The trade of Providence, as I mentioned above, is four or five times as great as that of Newport. Its exports are partly from this ftate, and in part from Maffachusetts and Connecticut. A diftillery, perhaps the greateft in the American States, extenfive manufactures of nails and of other forged iron-work, contribute much to the exportation from this place.

In the courfe of this laft year, endeavours have been made to induce the manufacture of cotton-yarn and ftuffs into Providence. The author of this undertaking fays, that he finds it already profitable: But I fhould fufpect this to be, rather the boast of fanguine expectation, and of felf-conceit, than the actual truth of the facts. All machines in America are indeed more or lefs profitable: but the machinery which requires workmen to be employed about it, is by no means to be compared with that of Europe, where a truly good workman gets one-half lefs than in America, efpecially in its fea-port towns.\*

There are fome fhips from Providence engaged in the accufed traffic of negroes, in contempt of the orders of Congress, by which it has been forbidden. The merchants concerned in this trade perfuade themfelves, that Congress cannot alter the Conftitution; and therefore think, that in fpite of whatever Congress fhall order, they may continue the *slave-trade* till 1808, the year fixed in the Conftitution for its final ceffation. They allege farther, that every ftate poffeffes a right to decide for itfelf in regard to this traffic; and that the ftate of Rhode-Ifland has not, as yet, made any enactment againft it. They therefore purchafe negroes, and carry them to fale in Georgia; where there is no prohibition of any fort againft the trade. Nearly twenty fhips from the harbours of the United States are employed in the importation of negroes to Georgia, and to the Weft-India ifles.

I am furprifed, that, while there is fo ftrong and general a difapprobation of this whole trade, and while it is in fuch direct contradiction to

\* Farther details concerning the trade of this place, with an account of the trade and conftitution of Rhode-Ifland, may be feen in the journal of the tour of 1796.

the spirit of freedom, and to the predominant sentiments throughout America, Congress should neglect to interpose, and entirely suppress it here. I was informed, that this is about to happen: But it is likewise to be owned, that the merchants of Rhode-Island carry on the slave-trade in a way less offensive to humanity, than that in which it is conducted by the merchants of Europe. They take but one negro for every ton of the ship; while the English merchants, it is said, take from one and a half to two negroes a ton. Even in fetters; the negroes have more room, and suffer less. The ships engaged in this trade are usually not very large; and the negroes, as I was assured, commonly arrive at the place of their destination in good health.

There goes but a single vessel from Providence to the whale-fishery. All success has occasioned some others, which were formerly employed in the same fishery, to be withdrawn from it. The maritime traffic from Providence is principally that to China, and to Nootka Sound. The augmentation of the number of the ships belonging to this port, the increase, and the improved elegance of the buildings, is more the consequence of the growing wealth of the people of the place, than of any new resort of foreigners to settle here.

This small state, situate in the middle of New England, differs much from that state, by peculiarity of customs, usages, and opinions, which, whether good or bad, have necessarily a great influence upon the government. There seems to be a general desire for a change of the constitution of Rhode-Island.

The population of this whole state amounts to about sixty-eight thousand souls. The highest amount of the taxes is twenty-thousand dollars in the year. When it is considered, that the Governor's salary is only six hundred and sixty-six dollars and two-thirds; and that the members of the assembly receive no salary; this moderate sum will not be thought inadequate to the purposes to which it is to be applied. Newport furnishes three thousand nine hundred and sixteen dollars, two-thirds of this sum; and Providence contributes seven thousand one hundred and twenty dollars. The taxes paid by the country are nearly equal to those from the towns. There are but few poor to be maintained by public charity,

in

in this state. The roads are repaired by the common labour of the inhabitants. No extraordinary expence is ever applied to the improvement of the roads. The state is so small, that these people give themselves very little concern about highways. In travelling, they call the roads good or bad, without farther care. When there is any thing of indispensable necessity to be done to them, they then raise a voluntary subscription to accomplish it.

The number of people really opulent in this state, is not considerable; nor is the number much greater of those who affect the appearance of wealth; for this last is prevented by the democratical spirit of the constitution, and by the tone of public opinion throughout the country. There are, besides, certain taxes imposed, particularly upon those who live in a sumptuous style. There is in Providence a college for the education of youth in the different branches of learning; but so far is it from being very eminent or in high reputation, that they who wish to give their children a good education, send them to Massachusetts or Connecticut. The funds for the support of this college were bestowed chiefly by Baptists; in consequence of which it is settled, that the president, and the greater part of the other teachers must belong to that religion; and they are, therefore, chiefly young persons of the Baptist sect who are educated in it. The Quakers are not much in favour here. They have an austerity in their appearance, an extravagance in their principles, and an oddity in their customs, and even in their dress, which, in my opinion, differ widely and disadvantageously from the amiable simplicity of the character and manners of the Quakers of Philadelphia.

But here, as elsewhere, the Quakers strongly disapprove of slavery, and of the traffic in negroes. On this account they are looked on with an evil eye by the slave owners; because the smallness of the state renders it exceedingly easy for the slaves receiving any encouragement to that effect, to make their escape from their masters.

In Providence there are some rich merchants, who expend their wealth by living in a considerably sumptuous style. Such are Messrs. CLARK and NIGHTINGALE. I had a letter of introduction to them. The former

received me very hospitably, and seemed to be a man of sound intelligence, and considerable information. By him I was introduced to an inhabitant of the town, who had lately returned from France. This man spoke strongly against the revolution, and the crimes to which it had given birth. He, at the same time, related, that at the Castle of Vincennes, he had obtained an excellent bargain of the property of an emigrant, and named others who had been as great gainers as he, by the proscriptions and confiscations; I know not the gentleman's name; if I did, I should think it my duty to make it public.

The richest merchant in Providence is JOHN BROWN, brother to Moses Brown, the Quaker above mentioned. In one part of the town he has accomplished things that, even in Europe, would appear considerable. At his own expence he has opened a passage through a hill to the river, and has there built wharfs, houses, an extensive distillery, and even a bridge, by which the road from Newport to Providence is shortened by at least a mile. He has sold many of his houses. At his wharfs are a number of vessels, which are constantly receiving or discharging cargoes. In his distillery he maintains a great number of oxen, the labour of which is extremely useful, and a great saving of expence to him. I had no letter of introduction to him; and my stay in Providence was too short to admit of my becoming acquainted with him. I exceedingly regretted to find myself obliged to leave the town, without conversing with a man, the extent of whose establishments, and the success of whose trade, evince him to be a person of extraordinary intelligence and enlargement of mind.

At Providence, and throughout the whole state, the produce of the land is nearly the same as in the island. It yields of maize from fifteen to twenty bushels an acre, and of other produce in proportion. There are two churches in Providence, one for Anabaptists, another for Presbyterians. They are distinguished for the neatness and simplicity in their structure and decorations.

The wages to ship-carpenters and other labourers are nearly the same in Newport and Providence, as in New Bedford. But negroes are almost the only servants to be seen.

The

The state of Rhode Island, and particularly the island, have suffered a considerable loss of population by emigration to the newly occupied lands, and in particular to Canada. Fewer in proportion have gone from Massachusetts than from this state. Besides, Massachusetts is receiving a continual influx of new inhabitants. There are banks in both these states. That of Newport is of recent erection. Its notes are generally for one dollar each.

### SCITUATE AND FISH'S TAVERN.

Scituate is a township. Fish's Tavern, where I passed Sunday, is at the distance of twenty-six miles from the town. The road thither, leads over hills, is stony, rugged, and indeed as bad as a road can possibly be. The farther you proceed on the way from the Providence, so much the more barren is the appearance of the soil, and so much poorer and more unfrequent are the dwelling-houses. There is an extensive tract of wood, consisting chiefly of dwarfish oaks, firs, and birches. The meadows are indifferent, and unimproved by culture; yet some pretty good cattle are to be seen upon them. Sometimes these meadows open in the midst of the wood; in other instances they are only adjacent to it. Some of the small rivers put in motion saw-mills, and iron-works, which have been erected upon them; yet all has an air of poverty and meanness. Some beautiful vales are seen as one travels along this road. The weather is so rainy, that even the worst meadows display an extraordinary luxuriance of grass for this time of the year.

On my arrival at the inn, I found there Mr. TRUMBULL, a member of Congress, who was on a journey with his family. I had seen him once before in Philadelphia.

### NORWICH AND NEW LONDON.

After passing Fish's Tavern, I found my way not quite so bad, for about seven miles farther, still within the territory of Rhode-Island, and through a tract of country nearly similar to that by which I had come hither. When I had entered the confines of Connecticut, I found both the land and



and the roads in a better condition. On the borders the soil is nearly the same, but in a better state of cultivation. The houses, indeed, are not greatly better. Yet both these and the fields, the farther you advance, assume a more advantageous appearance. There are a good many streams of moderate breadth; and though along the whole road the land be light and sandy, yet the hay-stacks are frequent and large, and the number of the cattle must, of course, be considerable. At Norwich are a number of mills, forges, and saw-works. This small town lies on a creek or river, which falls into the river Thames, just where that river begins to be navigable. The harbour lies at about two miles distance.

From Norwich to New London the soil is better, though still light. The surface of the country is diversified by several vales, through which various small rivers, creeks, and streamlets, discharge their waters into the Thames. Clumps of trees, like those in England, are scattered over all the fields. The prospect is not extensive, but smiling and agreeable. The houses are larger, and more handsomely decorated. The inhabitants are better clad, and make as good an appearance as those of Massachusetts. One part of the road is in a very good state of repair, and a toll is exacted for horses and waggons passing along it. The navigation of the river admits vessels of an hundred tons burthen to come up as far as Norwich; and this, with the trade of New London, gives an air of activity and animation to the whole country adjacent. You enter the town by a passage cut over the declivity of a hill; perhaps less carefully finished than that at Providence, yet not precipitous, and far from being bad.

New London lies on the banks of the river, at two miles distance from the sea. Its principal street is a mile in length. The houses do not stand close together; but the intervals between them are small, and are every day more and more filled up with new buildings. An adjacent street, running parallel to the main street, contains several considerable and handsome houses. New London was burnt in the year 1781, by the English, under the direction of the \*\*\*\*\* ARNOLD; and the damage done on that occasion was equal to the sum of five hundred thousand dollars. It is at present among the towns of the fourth order; and though it be environed with rocks, its aspect is sufficiently agreeable.

New

New London is reckoned the principal sea-port town in Connecticut. The anchorage is safe; the depth of water considerable; the entrance difficult. The harbour is protected by the two forts of—Gresworth, on the east banks of the Thames,—and Trumbull, on the opposite bank on which the town stands. I saw only the latter, which is in a bad condition.

But, attention to these fortifications is the less necessary, on account of the smallness of the river. Ships belonging to Norwich take in their cargoes at New London; those which exceed one hundred and twenty tons burthen, take their lading in Connecticut river, at Newhaven.

In regard to the custom-house, the district of New London lately extended to Connecticut river. The representations of the merchants on the latter river, to the last session of Congress, procured the port of this river to be erected into a new commercial district; and the district of New London to be limited to the ports of New London, Norwich, and Stonington; a small port on the river Stonog, in that part of Connecticut which is adjacent to Rhode-Island. The district of New London employs, at present, about six thousand tons of shipping in the foreign trade, an equal quantity in the coasting trade, and six or seven small vessels which belong to Stonington, and are engaged in the capture of stock fishes. The vessels belonging to the foreign trade are, at an average, of one hundred and ten tons burthen each. Those in the coasting trade are vessels of eighty tons. The exports from New London were, in the year 1791, five hundred and eight thousand nine hundred and ninety-three dollars in value; in 1792, five hundred and nineteen thousand three hundred and thirty-three dollars; in 1793, five hundred and forty-eight thousand six hundred and fifty-eight dollars; in 1794, five hundred and sixty-three thousand four hundred and sixty-eight dollars; in 1795, five hundred and seventeen thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight dollars.

The exports from New London are sent, almost all, to the West India isles. They consist of horses, dried beef and pork, mules, fowls, cattle of all sorts, beans and pease, timber, butter, cheese, and salt fish. These articles are named here in the order of the quantities in which they are exported: that of which there is the greatest proportion exported, being named

named first; and that last, of which the exportation is the smallest. Horses and black cattle are reared in great numbers in this state; but a great proportion of those which are hence exported, come from the northern states of New York, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts.

The negligence of the merchants of Albany, which suffers a profitable trade to be carried away from them; and the activity of the sailors and merchants of New London, in lading and unlading their vessels; are the principal causes which enable the people of this port to engross so much of a traffic so advantageous. It is affirmed, that though the cattle be crowded together in the vessels, to an incredible number, not one out of an hundred dies in the passage. The ship-owner supplies the fodder, which is always the best that can be procured. The captain has a certain monthly hire, but no share in the profits of the freight; only, when he is intrusted with the charge of the sale in the islands, he then receives five per cent commission.

All the cattle exported from Norwich, and often also those from Connecticut River, come by land to New London, and are there put on board such vessels as are ready to receive them. Salted pork and beef, butter and cheese, are likewise exported from this harbour, in large quantities, to the other states. Many of the ships which convey these cargoes, take returning cargoes to Europe, or to the colonies. The whole exportation to Europe consists of not more than a dozen ship's cargoes a year, which go to England or Ireland, and consist of wood, lint-seed, potatoes, pearl-ashes, and sumac, which a merchant of this port prepares for exportation, by an invention of his own, for the sole benefit of which he enjoys a patent right for the space of fifteen years. The sumac grows in great plenty on the uncleared grounds. It is first cut into small pieces, and dried, then reduced to a coarse powder, and in this condition applied to the purposes of dyeing. It is sold at the rate of eighteen dollars and one-third a barrel; and for these last two years there have been exported not less than two thousand barrels a year.

As to the fishery, the places where the fishes are taken, is at such a distance,

distance, that the fishes cannot be brought to New London to be dried. This business, carried on between the cities adjacent to the province of Maine, and the coast of the interior; but, for ready sale, the fish is brought to New London, and thence to the colonies, and to New York or Boston. The vessels are then freighted, not to the colonies, rarely, if ever, to Europe. The merchants of Connecticut have not sufficient capital to enable them to await the slow return of money from the trade of Europe. The cargoes sent from Connecticut, are almost all destined to Boston or New York. There are, however, some exceptions.

The vessels of this port do not all belong to the merchants of New London. Some of them are the property of merchants belonging to Hartford and New York. Few merchants in Connecticut trade to the extent of more than thirty thousand dollars, even including with their capital, their credit, which, indeed, does not go far. The capital of the merchants experiences here a much smaller annual augmentation, than in any other port of America. In the course of these last years, it has increased about a fifth part; and in this increment is included the improvement and increase of the buildings of the town. I received all the particulars of information from Mr. HUNTINGTON, collector of the customs for this port; a man of integrity, discernment, and correct information.

The best land in the whole district, which lies in the neighbourhood of the town, does not cost more than twenty-five dollars an acre. Its average rate is one-third more than in Rhode Island, including the use. The price of labour is also higher here. Labourers in husbandry receive here two-thirds of a dollar a day, or from thirteen to fourteen dollars a month. The winter, or the time in which the cattle must be supplied with dry fodder, lasts from four months and a half to five months. Many of the farmers never house their cattle. There is, on this account, a want of stalls and cow-houses; but the more opulent farmers are more careful of their cattle in the winter.

New London contains four thousand inhabitants. It has a bank that was established in the year 1782, and of which the capital is fifty thousand dollars. It has, however, been augmented by other fifty thousand

dollars. The management is the same as that of the bank at Hartford, but I am not able to explain it. The notes are for a dollar. The dividend upon the capital is three and a half and four per cent., payable half yearly. New London is the principal town of the county of the same name. It contains about three five thousand inhabitants, of whom five hundred are slaves.

### CHELSEA.

Proceeding from New London to Hartford, I was obliged to travel back, by the way of Norwich. But instead of passing that town, I went by its sea-port, which is named Chelsea, and is said to lie at the distance of two miles from the most populous part of the town of Norwich. The river, which is formed by the junction of the Quinaboug and the Shetucket, begins here to take the name of the Thames. The Thames is said to be every where twelve feet deep, and is here about an eighth part of a mile in breadth. There might be in it, as I passed, about a dozen schooners, yachts, and brigs. On the two sides of the river there might be from one hundred to two hundred handsome houses. Some of these houses were of a very good appearance; and there was a communication between the two sides of the river by a wooden bridge. A mile from the bridge, on the way to Norwich, Quinaboug is seen to precipitate itself over some pretty high rocks, with a cataract which is well worthy of being seen, particularly on account of its bold precipitous situation, and the height of the rocks by which it is formed, as well as on account of the uncommon appearance which is occasioned by the fall of the water.

The bank of Norwich, which was established in the month of May 1795, is formed upon the same plan as that of Hartford. Its capital consists of from fifty thousand to two hundred thousand dollars; for by the constitution of the bank, it may be augmented from the smallest to the largest of these sums. The shares are one hundred dollars each; and the notes, of which there have not yet been many issued, are for half a dollar.

Norwich

Norwich and Chelsea contain, together, about three thousand inhabitants. Mills of all sorts are situate in the vicinity; and their business is very considerable.

Between Norwich and Lebanon, particularly in the vicinity of Norwich, there is a good deal of wood to be seen. Almost all the tops of the hills are covered with it. The declivities, and the vales within view of which the way leads, are, in general, under cultivation.

### LEBANON.

In Connecticut, the lands are, for the greater part, appropriated as pasturage for cattle. The environs of Lebanon yield more, in this way, than any other part of the State. The township lies in the county of Windham, which contains about twenty-nine thousand inhabitants, of whom one hundred and sixty are negroes. The population of Lebanon amounts to about four thousand souls. Those houses, which are situated together, may be from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty; they lie all in a single street, which is between two and three hundred toises in width, and serves as a sort of common pasture for the cattle. The houses are, in general, small, but neat; and, if they exhibit no shew of affluence, as little do they present any marks of the wretchedness of poverty. Such is, in general, the appearance of the houses throughout Connecticut.

Beside sheep and swine, of which the breed is good, and the number every where considerable, the people of Lebanon keep, in general, for every two acres of land an ox, a cow, and a horse. They sell off, every year, a fourth part of their black cattle, without distinction of age. But horses are not sold before they be three years old; nor mules, till they be two years old. The farmers purchase mules for the work of their farms, at the rate of forty or fifty dollars a head.

A more skilful husbandry, a careful choice and culture of grass-seeds, a judicious manuring of the lands, an attentive watering and cleaning of the meadows, might render the profits of the farmer several times greater than they at present are. The excessively high price of labour may be

alleged here, as elsewhere, to be the great reason of the present imperfection of the husbandry of Connecticut. Yet such a reason can have less force in the case of pasturage than in that of tillage. The true causes are ignorance and a bigotted perseverance in old practices. Very little of the land here receives the benefit of manure. No pains is used to collect the dung which might be easily accumulated in large quantities. The labourers can earn from ten to twelve dollars a month. The best land sells twenty dollars an acre.

The house of Mr. Trumbull, member of the Congress has, like himself, an air of simplicity and modesty. One finds it necessary to make an effort of the mind, and to lay aside European prejudices, in order to reconcile one's self to the idea, that this is the house of one of the richest men in the State, a man who holds one of the most important places in the federal government. I cannot sufficiently praise the hospitality with which he received me, or the amiable qualities of his worthy family. Mr. Trumbull has a brother who is famous for his genius in painting. He has undertaken a series of historical paintings of the most remarkable events of the war by which his country's independence was established. Several of these have been already exhibited in England, since the establishment of the present government of the United States.

#### HARTFORD.

The land between Lebanon and Hartford is nearly in the same state, as far as I have seen, with the other parts of Connecticut. The wood is chiefly fine oak and hickory. A few large trees are singly scattered here and there in the open fields. The wood has the appearance of having either been long since planted, or else of belonging to the old native woods of America. The soil is light, and is very much covered with stones; though, what is surprizing, the houses are all of wood. The land is, every where, more or less hilly. It indeed expands into a fine plain for the space of eighty miles, along Connecticut River. The soil consists chiefly of a hard gravel or sand. The meadows exhibit more of a lively verdure, and the dwelling-houses, every where considerably numerous in  
this



this state, become still more so, the nearer you approach to Hartford. You are rowed across the river in a ferry-boat, in the immediate neighbourhood of the town.

I felt myself disappointed when I learned that Colonel WATWORTH was not in the town. I had become acquainted with him in Philadelphia; and he had given me a pressing invitation to visit him here. In the expectation of finding him, I had neglected to procure letters to any person in this place. It was farther unlucky, that several persons, whose wealth and personal importance ranked them among the most eminent men in the United States, were, however, unable to give satisfactory answers to those enquiries which I was the most desirous to make; and I thus saw myself likely to be disappointed in my attempts to obtain any particular information concerning a town that is accounted to be the chief place in the State of Connecticut. Yet, in two or three houses, into which I gained admission, and in an inn that was much frequented by the people of the town, I met with some hospitable and intelligent persons who refused not to favour me with answers to the questions which I put to them. The following is the substance of what I was thus able to learn.

1. Hartford contains about six thousand inhabitants. Their number is yearly increasing in the same proportion as the population of New London increases.
2. From sixty to eighty vessels of from twenty to sixty tons each, belong to this port, agreeably to what I was told at New London. Some ships of two hundred tons burthen are, at present, in building. These must sail, without a landing, down the river, as its usual depth is not above six feet of water.
3. The traffic of Hartford is, as to the exportation of provisions, the places to which these are exported, and the cargoes brought in return, of the same sort with that of New London.
4. Land in these parts costs, in the purchase of a farm, from thirty to forty dollars an acre; and it yields crops of wheat.
5. The manufacture of cloth which had been, some years, established here, in which Colonel Watworth had a large concern, and which had been carried to no inconsiderable perfection, is now in the decline. Those who first



first engaged in this manufacture, have relinquished it. Their successors are threatened with great losses, in consequence of the scarcity of workmen: for, it is so much more profitable to go to sea as mariners; and there are so many invitations to leave the country as petty farmers; that but few, in comparison, are disposed to remain in the condition of working artisans in a manufactory. These circumstances are adverse to the establishment of manufactures in the United States in general. Yet since machinery, applicable to almost all the arts, is so easily moved by the force of water and fire, the same quantity of human labour is no longer necessary to manufactures.

But, the necessity for manufacturing establishments is not so great in Connecticut as in many other places. For it is here usual for every family to prepare their own clothing; so that the expence of clothing from Europe is little felt by the poorer class of the inhabitants.

Hartford is a small town, regularly built, and intersected by a small river which descends, in its approach to this town, through many beautiful meadows; and such meadows are very frequent in these parts. The houses are small and neat, no one of them, being of a better appearance than the rest. A house is now in building for the reception of the meetings of the assembly of the representatives of the State, which are held, alternately, in Hartford and Newhaven. The foundations of this house are laid with great solidity of structure, and are built of a sort of red stone that is common in this country. Its two upper stories are of bricks; and the whole is almost finished. Its appearance is very good; but it has a plainness and simplicity, of which the French architects would, perhaps, not readily approve.

The appearance of the country round Hartford is charming. It exhibits a succession of meadows which are naturally so well watered, that they display, at all times, the lively verdure of spring. Black cattle, horses, and mules, in great numbers, are seen feeding upon them; and abundance of trees, especially fruit trees, are dispersed around them. The land is not yet very completely occupied in this neighbourhood; and, by consequence, the houses are not exceedingly numerous. Neither are the  
houses

houses so handsomely painted and decorated as in the environs of Boston. But, small as they are, they easily contain every thing that is requisite for the present accommodation of their inhabitants; all, in short, that, according to their own expression, is necessary to render them comfortable. The appearance of the opposite bank of the river is still the same. On both sides are fine meadows, skirted by pretty high hills which are parallel to the river.

During my stay in the inn, I learned that, in those parts of Connecticut which lie along the river, and contiguous to Massachusetts, there is a considerable quantity of hemp produced, that supplies materials for a manufacture of sail-cloth in Springfield, in which twenty men are constantly employed, and which, during these seven years which have elapsed since its establishment, has afforded large profits to the owners.

Hartford is the chief town of the county of the same name. The county contains thirty-two thousand inhabitants, of whom about two hundred and fifty are slaves.

The bank in Hartford was erected in the month of May, 1792, conformably to an act of the legislature of this State. The capital is one hundred thousand dollars, and may be augmented to five hundred thousand. The shares are of four hundred dollars each. The directors are authorized to circulate paper to the amount of more than fifty per cent upon the whole capital. This bank does but little business; and its rate of dividend is only three per cent for every six months. Their notes, for any sum, are current in payment, along Connecticut River, and for some distance beyond. There is another bank which also accepts them in payment.

#### MIDDLETON.

The country from Hartford to Middleton is chequered with frequent woods, and enlivened with numerous herds of cattle. The road leads along the bank of a river; sometimes approaching its edge, sometimes retiring, though never farther than half a mile, from it. After proceeding ten miles, I came to Westfield, a small sea-port, where two or three ships, three brigs, and two schooners, were lying. The ships were built at Middleton;

Middleton, this very year. Other ships, beside these, belong also to Westfield, but the rest were out at sea.

Middleton is the market-town to which the farmers from the northern parts of New York, Massachusetts, and Vermont, bring for sale, their horses, mules, and black cattle, which they can spare, to be exported to the West India isles. Some small vessels take on board their cargoes at Middleton; but, New London, as I have already mentioned, is the more usual place for lading. Hartford shares with Middleton in the advantages of this cattle-market. Middleton is a handsome town, not inelegantly built, and has trees planted along its streets, but is not one-fourth part as large as Hartford. This small place has but few ships. Middleton is, however, the seat of the custom-house for this district, on account of its nearness to the mouth of the river, from which it is not more than twenty-nine or thirty miles distant. When the tide has flowed in, to its greatest height, there is from nine to ten feet depth of water at Middleton.

At the distance of two miles from this town, there is a lead-mine which is said to have been wrought amid the necessities of the late war. But, it is so poor in ore, that the working of it would ruin the proprietor, even though the price of labour were cheaper.

The exports from Middleton amounted, in the year 1795, to the value of thirty-one thousand three hundred and seventy-five dollars. It was only in the year 1794 that the custom-house was established here. A bank was instituted in Middleton in the month of October 1795. Its capital consists of one hundred thousand dollars; and, by its constitution, may be augmented to four hundred thousand dollars. The regulations for its management are nearly the same as those of the bank of Hartford. No dividend has, as yet, been paid to the proprietors.

Middleton is the chief town of the county of the same name. The whole number of inhabitants in the county is about nineteen thousand, of whom two hundred are slaves.

From Middleton, the highway leads on toward Newhaven, between the river and the hills which rise on each side, in a parallel direction, and at no great distance from its banks. The aspect of this tract of country

is little interesting; it is but thinly inhabited; its fields display no lively verdure; its cultivation is negligent; its general appearance is disagreeable. Here is a greater show of wood, consisting chiefly of oaks, and exhibiting no pines. Such is the state of the country, to within ten miles of Newhaven. The way is sometimes stony; sometimes merely sandy. When you come within ten miles of Newhaven, the hills gradually subside; and you pass along a tract of morass. The pains requisite to make the road firm and dry, though it might have been easily successful, appears to have been neglected. The tide rises to within four miles of Newhaven; and often so swells the small river of the same name, as to make it spread over the highway. To-day it was diffused to the distance of half a mile. Were the land here less marshy, and less frequently flooded; yet the soil is sandy and incapable of fertility. Some silver firs are thinly scattered over this tract, and make but a poor appearance. It has not the appearance of a territory fit for tillage, but may answer well enough for pasture-land.

#### NEWHAVEN.

The town of Newhaven covers a pretty large space of ground; for, its houses are detached, by considerable intervals, from one another. A number of corn-fields lie in the very middle of the town. The streets cross one another at right angles, and are shaded with rows of trees. The houses are almost all of wood, and there is none of them handsome. Two great stone buildings, belonging to the college, with the church and the assembly-house, standing round the church-yard, compose the principal part of the town.

But, the aspect of this town is, on the whole, pleasing. Its situation seems to be a healthy one; and, it is believed, that the proportion of annual deaths is, at least as small here as in any other town belonging to the United States. Yet, the yellow fever made great havock in this place last year; and, in the present year, many have been swept off by an epidemic dysentery, both here and in Hartford. Of one hundred and fifty persons who died here in the months of August, September, and

October, out of a population of five thousand souls, ninety-five died of a dysentery.

The harbour lies on an arm of the sea, about four miles in length, which is formed between Long-Island and the main-land: but it is dry, when the tide has ebbed; so that, till a new quay shall be built, ships cannot conveniently take in their cargoes here. The flowing tide, however, fills this harbour with six, and ordinarily with four feet of water. The anchorage, though worse than that at New London, is, however, pretty good.

No fewer than fifty ships belong to this port. Only one of these sails to Europe: Another makes its voyages to the West Indies, with cargoes of wood, oxen, mules and horses, which are supplied from the adjacent country to the distance of forty miles round. The remaining vessels are engaged in the coasting-trade, particularly with New York. The exports from Newhaven amounted, in the year 1791, to the value of one hundred and fifty-one thousand and forty-three dollars; in 1792, to two hundred and seven thousand and forty-one dollars; in 1793, to one hundred and forty-six thousand three hundred and eighty-seven dollars; in 1794, to one hundred and seventy-one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine dollars; in 1795, to one hundred and eighty-four thousand and eighty-two dollars.

The whole of the vessels in the harbour does not exceed three thousand tons. Eight packet-boats, sailing regularly between Newhaven and New York, convey to the latter a great part of the imports from the isles, together with a considerable quantity of grain, which grows in the country about Newhaven, but cannot be here sold. The capitals of the merchants about Newhaven appear to be smaller than those of the merchants in any other sea-port town of Connecticut. Not one of them is, alone, master of a whole ship. The number of owners is such, that they never think of insuring a vessel. When any unlucky accident happens, the loss being divided among many owners, is but a little to each. Yet, within these last two years, the losses both by shipwreck and capture, have been so great, that the merchants of Newhaven begin, like others,

to

to find it prudent to insure. Trade has been, for these some years, without either declining or encreasing, in this place; and the case has been the same with the population. The soil is, generally, rich about Newhaven. When sufficiently manured, it yields fifty bushels of maize, an acre; and there is a great abundance of sea-weeds, which, in mixture with common dung, are used as a very fertilizing manure. Much land, in this neighbourhood, is covered with very old and indifferent wood, which makes it not easily susceptible of agricultural improvement. Near the town, the price of land is from fourteen to eighteen dollars an acre. Labourers receive four or five shillings a day, and in summer, twelve dollars a month, or for the whole summer months, eighty dollars as their wages. the cattle are of middling quality. The best pair of oxen in the country may be had for sixty dollars.

The wealth of the inhabitants of this town is not great. Most of them have farms in the neighbourhood, which supply provisions for their families. These small possessions in the hands of the town's-people, make it impossible for those who have a surplus of produce, to find a sale for it in Newhaven; it is, accordingly, sent to New York. A more striking consequence of this economy, is the neglect of improving agriculture.

Two opulent merchants, about a year since, erected a cotton-work at the distance of two miles from the town. The spinning-engine is put in motion by water; but the weaving is performed entirely by human labour. A great number of people are employed; but the dereliction of this manufacture may be foretold, as its success is opposed by all the obstacles common in similar cases. Besides, the expence upon the buildings has been far too considerable.

A bank was erected in Newhaven, in the month of October 1792. Its capital is one hundred thousand dollars; and is divided into two hundred shares of five hundred dollars each. It began to transact business, only in the year 1795. The first dividend upon the shares, is to be paid in January 1797. Shares in it are now at a premium of five dollars above the original price. Money is said to have been so scarce, in this

place, before the institution, that what can be now obtained at the interest of four dollars a month for the principal sum of five hundred dollars, was not then to be had for less than four per cent. a month, with security.

The ravages of the English, during the war, ruined the people of Newhaven, who, to make up for their losses, turned usurers. The establishment of the bank put an end to the trade of usury. The interest of money is now reduced to one or one one-half per cent monthly, to the money-lenders; and to them, none have recourse, save such as have no credit with the bank.

Near Newhaven are still shewn the rocks, among which GOLF and WADLEY, two of the judges that condemned Charles the first of England, lay concealed from the search which was made for them, by the command of Charles the second. Here is, also, a bridge, under which they remained for some days, while the soldiers, their pursuers, fought them backward and forward, above.

There is, in Newhaven, a college of considerably old institution, which is said to afford as good instruction for youth, as any other seminary in the whole United States. To this college belongs a library of two or three thousand volumes, with a cabinet of specimens of natural history, and a small museum, which receives, every year, great additions, and must soon become very considerable. There are in the town, one Episcopal, and three Presbyterian churches.

The town is affirmed to have been damaged by Commodore TRYON, in the year 1779, to the amount of more than one hundred thousand dollars. It is the head-town of the county of the same name. The county contains about thirty-three thousand inhabitants, of whom four hundred are slaves.

### OBSERVATIONS ON CONNECTICUT.

The English colony by which Connecticut was first occupied, arrived in the year 1633. They had a patent, granted to the Plymouth company by the Earl of WARWICK, in the year 1630. They had to contend

tend with the Indians, who would not relinquish their territories to strangers without a struggle. In 1662, the colony of Connecticut obtained a charter, which fixed the form of their future government. The people were enthusiastic Presbyterians, and lived in implicit submission to their ministers. No person could be, here, a freeman, without belonging to the Presbyterian kirk ; and none but freemen could have a voice in elections.

The most excessive intolerance, the most violent persecution, ensued—against the Quakers in particular, who were treated as the worst of heretics, were tortured, banished, abused with stripes, even put to death.

At present, the constitution of the state of Connecticut, is the same as before the revolution. A short act declaratory of the rights of the people of this state, mentions, that the old constitution established in the reign of Charles the second, is still agreeable to the people ; that the privileges of freemen, and the admission to them, shall, therefore, remain such as they were before ; that, in short, there shall be no change, except the abolition of regal authority. The Legislature consists of an Under-house, or House of Representatives, and an Upper-house, or Council. These two houses united compose the supreme judicial tribunal of the state, before which all suits at law may be brought by a last appeal, and which has power to mitigate or annul all sentences of inferior judges. The Governor and Deputy-governor are elected annually. The Governor presides in the Council, and is also Speaker in the House of Representatives : beside which, he can influence the voices of several other members of the Legislature.

The meetings of the Assembly take place in the months of May and October. The members of the supreme judicial court of the state, those of the county courts, and the justices of the peace, are nominated from among the members of the legislature. The first of these three classes of judges remain in office, for that precise length of time for which they are nominated by the legislature : The two last can be nominated only for one year, but may be re-appointed at the end of that time. The Governor  
and



and the Council name the sheriffs, who hold their office without limitation as to its continuance.

The laws of England are the foundation of those, as well of Connecticut, as of almost all the rest of the United States. Little alteration has been made upon them. The law concerning the succession to the property of persons dying intestate, is entirely that of England; it is, now, in full force, throughout all the American states; and it provides, that a third part of the property of the deceased shall belong to his widow, and that the remainder shall be distributed in equal portions among his children; but with certain restrictions; such as, that when *one* of the children dying leaves progeny, or in any similar case, *his* part is, of consequence, to be again distributed. The laws relative to debtors, order the sale of the goods, moveables, and lands of the debtor, when a debt cannot, otherwise, be recovered from him, and even allow his person to be arrested, in case of insolvency. The criminal law has all the severity of that of England. One article (of which I know not whether it be at present in force in England, as it is one of the old laws of Connecticut) ordains, that whosoever shall deny the existence of God, or the mystery of the blessed Trinity, or the divine truth of the Holy Scriptures, shall be held unfit for any public office, till he repent and acknowledge his error; and that, in case of relapse, after such repentance, he shall be put out of the protection of the law. The laws respecting marriage authorise divorce, in the cases of adultery, or marriage within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity. If a man and his wife have been parted for seven years, by the absence of one or the other of them beyond seas; or if either party go upon a sea-voyage that is to be of three months continuance, and in a ship of which news cannot be received ~~within~~ less than three months; or if there be reason to believe that either of the two parties has been lost upon such a voyage; then the other party, whether man or woman, going before a magistrate, and presenting satisfactory evidence of these facts, may obtain from him, if he shall judge all the circumstances of the case to require it, a final dissolution of the marriage. This law condemns any  
 person;

person, whether man or woman, that shall put on the dress proper to the other sex, to pay a fine of seventy-five dollars.

Adultery, till the year 1784, was liable to be punished with death: It is now punished only with public whipping, and with the searing of a red-hot iron on the forehead. Rape is punished with death, upon the oath of the woman by whom it has been suffered, and at her express request: but there is no instance of the execution of this law; and the people of Connecticut say, that such crimes can never happen in the state, or, what is more probably the truth, that the extreme severity of the law deters both the sufferer from complaint, and the profligate from incurring such guilt.

The laws against gaming, are excessively severe in Connecticut. One of these is against horse-racing: This ~~is~~ regards as an idle pleasure, which is attended with disorder and riot, that utterly frustrate the end of its institution, as a means for improving the breed of horses. The law for the hallowing of the Sabbath, forbids all profane diversions upon that day, and is excessively strict. It is probable, that the prohibition of journies on a Sunday might fall, insensibly, into disuse, were it not, that an ill-natured *select-man* has it now in his power to thwart and fine any person attempting such a journey; and that every one thinks it necessary to avoid the danger of being teized by such impertinence.

The poor's laws have occasioned the difficulty which a stranger passing from one town to another, or coming from another state, finds, in effecting a settlement in a new situation. The only conditions upon which such a person can be domesticated in his new place of residence, are, his either possessing a property of at least an hundred dollars, or having resided six years in the place; and without these conditions, he will not obtain relief in distress from poverty. The select-men who are, in every township, the directors of the police, are to prevent the settlement of all strangers who cannot satisfy them in regard to those conditions. Every town is obliged to provide for its own poor, and the select-men have authority over the education and conduct of the children of poor parents, till they arrive at the age of one and twenty years. From this age,

age, they are no longer subject to the particular direction of the Elders. The wandering poor, who are usually wounded soldiers or shipwrecked seamen, receive temporary relief, at the pleasure of the select-men. What these bestow, is afterwards repaid to them, by the Union, by the State, or by the particular town, according to the circumstances of the case.

Beside the political division of the states into counties and townships, Connecticut acknowledges two subdivisions into parishes and school-districts. In each town or society, the householders of the houses which stand together, have a right to assemble, and to make by-laws for the regulation of certain parts of their common interests. They chuse their ministers; and impose, for their support, a general tax, at the pleasure of the majority, and which is to be paid by every one in proportion to the particular state of his fortune. The towns nominate the collectors of the tax; and it must be paid by the people, without evasion. But, when any person finds himself to be taxed, not in a due proportion to his property; he may appeal to the County Court, which will take care, that justice be done him. The collectors, as well of this tax, as of those for the expences of the state, are accountable for the money which they levy, and punishable for embezzlement or malversation in office. Ministers for whom their parishes refuse to make adequate provision, can have recourse to the General Assembly, which will give orders for the collection and payment of the proper sums. That Assembly has, likewise, the power of settling ministers in such parishes as have remained, for one whole year, vacant, and of ordering provision to be made for the support of the ministers thus settled.

A law enacted in the year 1791, permits persons whose religious persuasion differs from that of the community in which they live, to associate themselves, as to the matter of religion, with some community of whose form of worship they approve, and to add their contributions to those for the support of their own religion only. But, this is permitted solely under these conditions; 1. That they make their intention previously known to the select-men of the town; 2. That the religion which they

they chuse, be some mode of Christianity; 3. That they do not, afterwards, claim a voice in any parochial meetings, except when the business of the schools is under consideration.

Presbyterianism is the prevalent religion throughout Connecticut. Its ministers, the zeal of its followers, and the appropriation of the places in the colleges to Presbyterians exclusively, afford very great advantages, to prevent it from being supplanted by any other form of religion. The Anabaptists are, next after the Presbyterians, the most numerous sect in the state. Although the letter of the law have established freedom of religious sentiments in Connecticut; such freedom is, however, far from being known here. Presbyterianism reigns in all its rigour, despotism, and intolerance.

Another law long prior to the revolution, obliges every seventy families in Connecticut, to maintain a common school for eleven months in the year. Reading and writing are appointed to be there taught. If the number of families be under seventy, they are, then, obliged to maintain their school, only for six months in the year. Every town forming a regular incorporation, must keep a grammar-school, in which English, Latin, and Greek are to be taught. The different societies are to name, each, a deputation to visit and regulate the schools. For every thousand dollars of taxation to the state, two dollars are to be paid for the support of the schools. The teachers have salaries proportioned to the taxation of the districts to which they belong. Towns or communities entrusted with particular funds for the support of schools, can receive no interest from those funds, while they delay to erect the schools for which it was destined; and lose the principal, if they shall attempt to divert it to any different purpose. Towns or parishes having no foundations for schools, must either support their schools, entirely out of the appointed tax; or must, at least contribute one-half of the means for the maintenance of these schools, while the parents whose children are educated in them, pay the rest. In very populous towns, the support of the schools, continues to be left to the inhabitants.

It is provided by law, that the select-men shall, in every town, take

cognizance of the state of the schools. Upon their reports, and in the proportions in which these declare the salaries to be, respectively, deserved,—the towns make payment of the money which has been levied for the teachers. Where there are no schools, or but very bad ones; the proportion of the tax is withheld, in order that it may be bestowed where it has been better earned. There is, however, no instance of a town or parish, remaining, negligently, without a school. Many communities maintain their schools for a greater part of the year, than they are, by law, obliged to do. The select-men and the deputations from the communities manage the farms and other revenues of the schools.

The teachers are commonly young men from the colleges, students of law or theology. Their salaries are at the pleasure of the different parishes, from two to three hundred dollars. Almost all those who now act a distinguished part in the political business of New England, began their career as teachers in these schools; a situation that is accounted exceedingly honourable. Sometimes, where the salary is small, women are chosen to be the teachers. Even these must, in this case, be well qualified to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Every county must have a school for Greek and Latin. A fine of three dollars is exacted from parents neglecting to send their children to school. The select-men have authority to levy it.

One natural consequence, from the careful observance of this law is, that hardly a person can be met with in Connecticut, any more than in Massachusetts, who is not qualified to read, write, and perform the common operations of arithmetic; and that the general manners are better, the laws more faithfully observed, and crimes more rare, here, than in other places. The punishment has not, as yet, been abolished in Connecticut. It is, however, reserved for crimes of extraordinary atrocity; and, for these last eight years, has been, in no instance, inflicted.

An act, passed in the year 1795, appropriates, for the support of the public schools, whatever sums of money shall arise from the sale of those lands which are the property of the State, and are situate westward from Pennsylvania. These sums are to be put out at interest; and the annual revenue.

revenue, which they shall thus afford, is to be divided among the schools of the different parishes, according to the proportions in which these parishes, respectively, contribute to the public expenditure of the State. At the pleasure of a majority of two-thirds of the people of any parish, this fund may be applied to the maintenance of the minister, instead of that of the schoolmaster. Every parish is at liberty to make this particular disposal of its own portion of the money. But, in this case, all the different sects, within the limits of the parish, must receive their respective shares.

The servitude of the negroes has not been abolished in this state as in Massachusetts. It is here ordained by law, that every negro born in the state since the year 1784, shall, at the age of twenty-one years, be declared free. It is allowed, that the interest of the law-givers had some share in dictating the particulars of this decree. No old law existed in favour of slavery; though it was, indeed, countenanced by some judicial sentences of the courts, pronounced at the instance of masters of runaway slaves. The considerations which moved the legislature to determine as they did in this business, were, respect to property, and the fear of dangerous consequences as likely to arise from a sudden and general emancipation. But, such respect for property of this nature was flagrant injustice; since it was never before expressly acknowledged by the laws, and existed—but by dishonest sufferance. In regard to the dread of consequences; the number of negroes in the State of Connecticut, was too inconsiderable to afford any plausible pretence for such alarm. The case of Massachusetts, which in respect to slavery, stood in the same situation with Connecticut, and in which there were, at the time of the general emancipation, a greater number of negroes in servitude, sufficiently evinces the futility of this pretence. The community have there experienced no unfortunate consequences from the emancipation of the negroes. Few of these have made any criminal abuse of their liberty. Neither robbery nor murder is more frequent than before. Almost all the emancipated negroes remain in the condition of servants; as they cannot enjoy their freedom, without earning means for their subsistence,

sistence. Some of them have settled, in a small way, as artisans or husbandmen. Their number is, on the whole, greatly diminished. And on this account, the advocates for slavery maintain, that the negroes of Massachusetts have not been made, in any degree, happier by their general emancipation. None of them has, however, returned into servitude in those states in which slavery is still suffered by the laws. None has died of want. Massachusetts has delivered itself from the dishonour of the most odious of all violations of the natural liberty and the inextinguishable rights of the human species.

The militia of Connecticut, consists of four divisions, eight brigades, five and thirty regiments: of the regiments, eight are cavalry; five, light infantry. The legislature nominate the commander-in-chief, the inferior generals, and all the staff-officers. The other officers are chosen by their respective regiments. They hold, all, their commissions from the government. The other necessary regulations are nearly the same as in the other states. The legislature here exercises the same powers of regulation, which are, elsewhere, intrusted with the government. The mode of forming the militia, is the same as in other places. All males, from eighteen to forty-five years of age, are liable to serve. The Governor is General, and the Deputy-governor, Lieutenant-general of the militia.

The high-roads are made and repaired, in Connecticut, by the labour of all persons between the ages of fifteen and sixty years. An overseer is annually named for the inspection of the highways, and for regulating the labour upon them. He is subject to the controul of the selectmen. Care is taken to make those who are by law obliged, to do their duty. Yet, it must be owned, that the roads, in Connecticut, are still bad.

The laws respecting taxation, have undergone many changes since the revolution. All property is taxable in Connecticut; as well moveables as land. The subjects of taxation are distributed into ten classes. Horses, carriages, and capital belong to one class, and are taxed in a due proportion to the taxes upon real property. The commissioners for fixing the proportions of every different person's taxation, are nominated annually in every

town, and have here the appellation of Listers. It is their duty to procure, once a year, from every inhabitant, a statement of his property; and from these statements to form a general inventory to be transmitted to the legislature. The legislature, upon the inspection of the inventory, fixes the proportion of tax which the particular town must pay. The lists of the commissioners, therefore, regulate the taxes. Though the taxes be already sufficient; the commissioners must not neglect to enter any increase of property in their respective towns. Persons deceive the commissioners by false estimates of their property, are condemned to pay four times as much as their just proportion of the tax.

These lists serve, also, to regulate the proportions in which other taxes are to be levied. The Listers levy thirteen cents of a dollar upon every thousand pounds of property, beside one-half of that quadrupled tax which is exacted, as a fine for the concealment of property. The collectors are named by the towns, from one three years to another; and are allowed two and half per cent, on the money they collect, with a salary from the state. When they are obliged to compel payment from the dilatory, by actions at law; their allowance is augmented, on account of the costs of the suits. The care of the Listers, and the Collectors, procures a faithful payment of the taxes.

Though every possible precaution seems to be here provided by law, to hinder any unfair statement of property for taxation; yet, in Connecticut, as in other places, men find means to cheat the revenue. As the estimates of property are not given in upon oath, many who would scruple to swear to the truth of a false statement, make no difficulty of giving in their estimates, in the present case, with a careless inaccuracy that fails not to favour themselves. However diligent, the enquiries of the Listers are still insufficient to detect every little artifice. A thousand things occur to render it impossible that they should. Several of the wealthiest persons in the state, have owned to me, that the taxation which they actually pay, is not above a sixth part of what they ought to pay. One mode of evasion, commonly practised in Connecticut, is, by placing in the lowest class, land that, on account of its situation, its quality, its produce,

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ought rather to be ranked in the highest; which make a difference upon the tax of five sixths or sometimes, even of twenty-nine thirtieths. A table of taxable property, by which the Supreme Court regulates the taxation, exhibits a proportion of lands of the lowest class which must appear far too great, to any person that has an acquaintance with the country. The whole amount of taxable property was estimated, in the year 1796, at the sum of five millions seven hundred and twenty thousand four hundred and eighty dollars.

These taxes have, for these several years, been but twenty-three thousand dollars, regularly paid. The annual expenditure of the government amounts nearly to fifty thousand dollars. But there is a tax upon written deeds, or, in other words, a stamp tax, which yields from six to eight thousand dollars a year. The State formerly lent three hundred and fifty thousand dollars to the Union, for which it receives interest at the rate of four per cent. And it has, likewise, some other sources of income, of which I could not obtain any distinct account. But, its income is, altogether, equal to its expenditure. The taxes imposed by the Supreme Court, are fixed in proportion to the necessities of the present year, and the economy of former ones. There are a number of banks in Connecticut.

The trade of Connecticut is, as I mentioned in speaking of New London, confined to the exportation of the surplus produce of the lands, to the West India Isles, or to the other States of the Union. Cattle and mules from those parts of the State of New York, which are contiguous to Albany, are included in this exportation. New York is the emporium of almost all the trade of Connecticut, of which the ships are wont often either to take in their cargoes or at least to complete them, there, and to bring their returning cargoes thither.

The whole exports from Connecticut, were, in the year 1791, of the value of seven hundred and ten thousand three hundred and fifty-two dollars; in 1792, eight hundred and seventy-nine thousand seven hundred and fifty-two dollars; in 1793, seven hundred and seventy thousand two hundred and fifty-four dollars; in 1794, seven hundred and twelve thousand

thousand seven hundred and sixty-four dollars; in 1795, eight hundred and nineteen thousand four hundred and sixty-five dollars.

The tonnage of the ships belonging to Connecticut, whether engaged in the foreign or the coasting-trade, amounts, in all, to thirty-five thousand tons.

Connecticut is, after Rhode Island and Delaware, the smallest State in the Union; but, in proportion to its extent, the most populous. There are about one and fifty persons to every square mile. As the lands are all occupied and in cultivation, more persons emigrate out of Connecticut to the newly acquired lands, than from any other State in the Union. This will be more particularly evinced from the following statement of facts.

In the year 1756, the whole population of Connecticut, was one hundred and twenty-nine thousand and twenty-four souls; in 1771, one hundred and ninety-seven thousand eight hundred and fifty-six souls; in 1782, two hundred and nineteen thousand one hundred and fifty souls; in 1791, two hundred and thirty-seven thousand nine hundred and forty-six souls. Thus, in the course of the first eighteen years, the average increase of the population, was three thousand eight hundred and twenty souls annually; for the next eight years, it was but two thousand six hundred and sixty-one souls a year; during each of the last nine years, taken at an average, it has not been more than two thousand and eighty-six souls. Celibacy is not now more common than formerly: and it was never frequent in Connecticut. Young people marry early: and their marriages are very fruitful, augmenting the population very rapidly. It may, therefore, be calculated that two-thirds of the numbers which are continually added to the former population, leave the country, and go to settle in the newly occupied territories. Many of the landholders in Connecticut purchase lands, at a very low price in the State of Vermont. These they retain for themselves till their children grow up; and then bestow them upon some of the young folks, as their patrimony. Most of those who emigrate out of Connecticut, leave it, only because they cannot find in it, a place for comfortable and advantageous settlement.

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The inhabitants of Connecticut, are, almost universally, of English descent, and are a sober, active, industrious people. Their distinguishing qualities are nearly the same, as those of the other inhabitants of New England. They are said to be very litigious. And there are, indeed, few disputes, even of the most trivial nature, among them, that can be terminated elsewhere than before a court of justice. No state, perhaps no equal number of people in the universe, have such a multitude of law-suits. There is, no where else, such a mob of advocates, as here. Is it the multiplicity of law-suits that has engendered the lawyers? Or do not the lawyers rather give birth to the excess of law-suits? Be this as it may; these lawyers have, at present, very great influence among the people of this state, especially in political matters. It is even said to be greater than that of the ministers, who, in consequence of their mutual wranglings, and their fierce intolerance, have lost much of the high influence which they once possessed.

The people of Connecticut are rigid and zealous in the discharge of their religious duties. But, I have been told, that sincere devotion, founded upon thorough conviction, is rare among them. Their manners are strongly republican. They are, all, in easy circumstances; few of them, opulent. Such as do possess extraordinary wealth, are very anxious to conceal their fortunes from the vigilant and invidious jealousy of their fellow-citizens.

The prevalent political sentiments are full of attachment to freedom, and to the present constitution. The people are rough in their manners; yet frank and hospitable; though less agreeably so, than the inhabitants of Massachusetts, who are, however, certainly not the most polished people in the world.

In the year 1784, I had been honoured at Paris, with the freedom of the town of Newhaven. It was conferred in a very respectful letter from the mayor and aldermen of the town. I knew not, to whom I was obliged for this attention. I received it with no particular notice; little thinking, at that time, that, in eight years, Newhaven would be the only place in the world, in which I might confidently expect to be owned as a citizen,

a citizen. On my arrival in Newhaven; I thought it my duty to make my acknowledgments for the honour I had received. But, it was probable, that the magistrates by whom it had been conferred, must have forgotten the little transaction, as I had never written to them, in answer to their letter. I went, however, to visit them, as a freeman of the town. One of them had been for some years in France, had obtained a good place, and had also been at Liancourt. There, while I sat at table with a number of guests, he had expressed a desire to see the apartments. Permission was readily granted on my part; and he was asked into the dining-room, which was very large. But I had no opportunity to shew him any other attentions than were paid to all those who came, almost daily, to see my house and gardens. This worthy man, however, when he saw me, in my present humble condition, recollected, with lively gratitude, the civilities he had met with, at my seat, which I, as was natural, had quite forgotten. In consequence of this, I was received by the magistrates and principal burghers of the town, with a warm and hearty welcome, such as men naturally shew towards a person whom they see with an agreeable surprize. Mr. HILLCROSS, member of the Congress, with whom I had occasion to become acquainted in Philadelphia, was my conductor to them. He is a worthy, hospitable man, of true republican principles and manners; as, indeed, are all the people of Connecticut. Yet, I cannot help preferring those of Massachusetts, who with the same plainness, are, however, less precise, and more amiable in their manners.

#### FAIRFIELD.—NORWALK.—STAMFORD.

The State of Connecticut extends only five or six miles beyond Stamford. This tract is not in so good a state of occupancy and cultivation, as that through which I had come. The land adjacent to the sea, is in the same state as that which lies somewhat farther back. From Penobscot to New York, it is full of rocks. Yet, some part of the country through which the road leads, is verdant, covered with rich crops, and agreeably interesting to the view. A considerable part of it is covered

with woods, consisting chiefly of pines, spruce-firs, and birches. Thirteen miles from Newhaven, you cross the River Stratford in a very good and safe ferry-boat. At the ferry, the river is about half a mile broad. The road is uneven, and so stony, as to be not at all pleasant to a traveller. You cross a number of smaller streams, by passing along tolerably good bridges. These are navigable, only when swollen by the flowing tide. There are two or three small vessels which trade from hence to New York and the neighbouring towns: and at least one goes to the Antilles. I saw one at Neuwied, that had cattle on board. It was bound for the West Indies; though its tonnage was, indeed, very small. All these small ports or creeks belong to the district of Fairfield, the smallest of four into which Connecticut is divided. The exports from this district, amounted, in the year 1791, to fifty thousand three hundred and fifteen dollars; in the year 1792, to fifty-three thousand three hundred and seventeen dollars; in 1793, to seventy-five thousand three hundred and eight dollars; in 1794, to seventy-seven thousand four hundred and twenty-six dollars; in 1795, to eighty thousand one hundred and forty-six dollars.

Between Fairfield and Stamford are frequent rocks. The inhabitants are not very numerous. Some villages of a pretty thriving appearance, are, however, to be seen from the high road. No culture but that of meadows, no tillage, appears. It is said that the soil is, in general, sufficiently fit for bearing corn, but that the nature of the climate subjects the crop to a blasting that never fails to spoil it in its growth. These disadvantages affect the whole territory lying along this part of the coast.

#### ENVIRONS OF NEW YORK.—PAULUSHOOK.

At the distance of eight miles from Stamford, the traveller enters the State of New York. The quality of the land is still the same. From Newhaven, the road still leads along the coast, in the same direction with that which goes to New London. From this place, the coast of Long Island, is forty,—from Newhaven, it is not more than twenty, miles, distance. But, the two coasts advance continually towards one another,

as you approach New York, till, at last, opposite to this city, the shores of Long Island are seen at no more than half a mile's distance. Ships of small burthen make their way through the Sound, to New York. The passage, called Hell Gate, is so difficult to large ships, that it was attempted but twice in the time of the American war.

A small part of the road has been constructed by persons who undertook this business upon the credit of a toll that is now levied. This part was for these two last years, almost impassable, but is now excellent. Those fragments of rock which have been cleared out of the road, are piled up along its sides, and serve to prevent any deviation beyond the just limits of its breadth. The passage to the island of New York, is, by King's Ferry, at the distance of fourteen miles from that city.

This island is separated from the main-land by a narrow arm of the North River, which falls into the Sound, and extends in length, between the Sound and that noble river. It is, here, a mile and a half broad: And on its opposite bank, are the rugged rocks of Jersey. The soil of the island of New York, is a barren sand. Some not very productive farms lie along the road; and the isle is covered with frequent country-houses belonging to rich inhabitants of the town of New York. The nearer you approach to the town, so much the more handsome and numerous do you see those country-houses to become. By manure and laborious culture, the fields have been made to yield tolerable crops, and the gardens, with great difficulty, to produce pulse and pot-herbs.

I knew, that the epidemical sickness was so far mitigated in New York, that the communication was again open between this city and Philadelphia. But, I went to Elizabeth-town, to visit Mr. RICKETTS; not knowing how extremely fearful both he and his wife were, lest the infection should, by any means, be communicated to their children. I, there, determined not to halt in New York, as my acquaintance would, most probably, have left the town.

#### MINERALOGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

Granite is the species of rock most prevalent along the coasts of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine. The appearance of its fragments

on the surface, is sufficient to enable any one to judge of the quality of the soil, even without examining into it, more particularly. Granite is not, however, the only sort of rock, here, to be discovered. There is a great abundance of lime-stone at Thomastown, Belfast, Ducktrap, and Waldoborough. A sand-stone is there found in yet greater plenty. There is some slate, of which a part is excessively hard; though it be more commonly black and scaly, especially at the corner of Beatrix-hill.

The lime-stone in General Knox's quarries at Thomastown is entirely crystallized, and mixed with a glittering sand-stone. Some beautiful pieces of talc are occasionally found among its layers. It is easy to be burnt, and affords very good quick-lime. Farther towards the back-country of Maine, I found the rocks to be the same as on the coast. Such at least did they appear, wherever the ground was opened to any depth. On the surface, there was a pure gravel, or, more commonly, a clay, a stiff loam, or a rich vegetable earth. The cataract of Androscoggin, near the mouth of Kennebeck River, exhibits strata of a hard schistus. In Portland there is an intermixture of granite with sand-stone and other glittering stones. From the heights near Portland, are seen various white rocks, the highest in New England. They are situate in New Hampshire. They lie, in an assemblage together, behind the three foremost ranges which stretch from north-east to south-west. They divide Merrimack from Connecticut. They are seen from a great distance eastward. They are more than seventy miles distant from Portsmouth. They are said to consist of granite; but I did not see them near enough to be able to determine. Of this sort are the mountains of New Hampshire in general. On the way from Salem, are large rocks of a yellowish red colour, which have, at first sight, the appearance of jasper, but are, in fact, only a very hard ochre. In the vicinity of Boston, on the sea-shore, and in the fields behind the town, are a great variety of serpentines, feldspars, and different other stones, some of which are exceedingly beautiful. Beyond Milton, a village at the distance of two miles from Boston, is a tract of ground covered over with pudding-stones; and the brooks exhibit, on their beds water-worn fragments of granite, schœrl, and sand-stone. Strata of granite and sand-stone are equally to be found

in the neighbourhood of Plymouth, in Rhode Island, and in the environs of Providence. In digging for wells near this last town, there have been found an asbestine earth, and an impure lead-ore. Such is the general character of the strata along the coasts of Connecticut, and as far as to New York. The observations I made on the terraces of some places contiguous to Mohawk's River, and near German Flats, are still more applicable to that adjacent to Connecticut River. Sometimes only one, but more commonly both banks of the river consist of flat ground, which is, ever, more or less, under water, and of which the soil is a clay. At some distance backward, this level ground is bounded by a perpendicular elevation of the surface, to the height of from twenty-five to forty feet. Above this, is another level plain, the soil of which, is naturally dry. This plain is bounded by another abrupt elevation of the surface, which has the appearance of having been executed by art in some period of very remote antiquity. Beyond it, is another similar work, apparently still more ancient. There are, in some places, four alternations of these plains and perpendicular rises, one behind another, which ascend with the regularity of terraces in a garden, to the summits of the hills. Where the hills descend to the very brink of the river, these terraced plains are to be seen, only one side. More commonly, however, they appear on both sides: And, in this case, the corresponding terraces, on the opposite sides, are of the same level. Contemplating these wonderful appearances, one is naturally led to conjecture, that these heights were once the immediate banks of the river, which in descending to its present channel gradually formed the successive flats and perpendicular elevations that we now see. This conjecture is farther confirmed by the fact, that these heights are composed of a very white argillaceous schistus, which crumbles into a powder, in the air, such as proves to be a fat earth, is excellent for vegetation, and is of the same sort, as the soil of these interjacent flats. In opening the soil of these flats, people often find branches of trees, in a more or less perfect state of preservation. These, in the moist state in which they are found, may be moulded with the fingers, like clay; but, when dry, they resume the compact, fibrous texture of wood.



wood. I have not heard that whole trees have been found in this situation: but, it is probable, that, in digging deeper, such might be met with.

I have found, here, no remains of marine animals. The stones in the river exhibit no petrifications of animals, at least, none that I could see. In the interior country are found slates of various forms, colours, and qualities.

### TREES.

The different trees in the province of Maine are nearly the same as those in the province of Canada. Some, such as the *thuya occidentalis*, are not found farther southward. The silver fir grows in great plenty, in the neighbourhood of North Yarmouth. The red oak, the white oak, and another sort of oak that grows not above the height of fifteen feet, with no considerable thickness, and is used only for fuel, are to be found there. The black fir, the Weymouth pine, the red cedar, the common fir, the red maple, the Pennsylvanian ash, the black birch, and the dwarf birch are, there, common. These trees are, also, found in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut. The *sassafras* is very common in the last mentioned state; but, rare in the province of Maine. The *balm-poplar* I have not seen northward of New Hampshire.

### FOWLS.

Here is a wonderful diversity of small fowls, particularly in regard to colour. I was in Maine, just about the time when the wood-pigeons go southward. They are engaged for the space of a week in taking their departure. An innumerable multitude of these fowls, is then seen to darken the air, to hang upon the trees, and to light on the fields. In spring and harvest, they are killed in thousands, throughout all the United States.

### SQUIRRELS.

Squirrels abound throughout all America; but, in New England, still more than any where else. They are of different sorts, and various colours.

lours. The small grey squirrel is distinguished from the flying squirrel. Some of the Americans eat their flesh.

### ELIZABETH-TOWN.

As I could spend but little time here, and was unlucky in coming unseasonably to the house of Mr. and Mrs. Ricketts, my information relative to this town, is, therefore, but inconsiderable. The territory of this township was purchased from the Indians in the year 1664, and was first occupied by emigrants from Long Island. At present, the town consists of about two hundred well-built houses, two handsome churches,—of which one belongs to the Episcopal persuasion, the other to the Presbyterians, a decent council-house, and an academy. At the distance of a mile westward from the town, is the course of Passaic River, which passes to the north of Staten Island, and falls into the bay of New York. This convenience of situation for water-carriage, renders Elizabeth-town a considerable mart for those products of the back lands of New Jersey, which are imported into New York. At the house of Mr. Ricketts, I met with Mrs. KEAN, whom I had been often in company with, at Philadelphia, on the preceding winter, and from whom I had experienced great hospitality. She now wore a mourning-dress, having lost her husband, who died, soon after my departure from Philadelphia, and who was one of the most respectable men in all America. Mr. Ricketts, a gentleman of English descent; long served as an officer in the English army; is frank and open in his manners; and bears the character of being a *true English country-gentleman*. He possesses, likewise, a rich plantation in Jamaica, from which he brings all his negroes; the laws of Jersey still permitting slavery. In the northern American States, such servitude is far from being so severe as in the islands. But, manners, not laws, produce the only difference. There is no law to hinder an inhabitant of Jersey from beating, and otherwise cruelly using, his negro-slave. Should he mutilate his slave of a limb, or beat an eye out of his head; the courts of justice may condemn the master to a temporary imprisonment, but have no power either to set the injured slave at liberty, or to order him to

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be sold to a different master. It is not, therefore, probable, that even a tyrannical master can be checked by such careless regulations. Such a situation of things must be shocking in any country, but above all, in a free republican state. But, the negroes of Mr. Ricketts, are, in all respects, as well treated, as any labourers who are freemen, can possibly be. The liberty here allowed of keeping negro-slaves, and the general opinions of the country in favour of slavery, have brought into New Jersey, a number of French emigrants from St. Domingo, who have set many of their negroes at liberty. These families have left most of their property under the protection of the English; a conduct of which they do not much boast. Some of them are eager to distinguish themselves by their principles and behaviour, more than the rest: But, even tho' they are not altogether free from the prejudices of the planter.

During my short stay at New York, I could not without great anxiety, fix my mind on the objects before me; for I was in earnest expectation of letters from Europe, which greatly agitated both my hopes and fears. In this state of mind, I could have made but little progress in any enquiries into the circumstances of a town of so great importance, that a much longer time would have been requisite to enable one to know much about it. I have since had occasion to make a longer visit to this place: And I shall, therefore, delay making any remarks concerning it, till I come to speak of that journey. I have seen the leader of that which is called the Federalist Party. According to what I have heard of Mr. Jay from his friends, he himself would make as bad a President, as his treaty makes a system, for the regulation of the intercourse between America and Britain. It is affirmed, that he listened to every piece of new information, and in the unfolding of his reasons and designs, availed himself of every political incident. How far he may follow out this odious system of conduct, I know not; that it is, in truth, his system, I have no doubt.

What I have heard from Mr. Hamilton himself confirms me in my previous opinion, that he could not but wish for a better treaty. He is one of the ablest men I have hitherto known in America. He possesses  
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a comprehensive mind, the energy of genius, clearness of ideas, a flowing eloquence, knowledge of all sorts, lively sensibility, a good character, and very amiable manners. This praise rather falls short of his desert, than exceeds it.

Mr. KING, a Senator of the United States, and a leader of the party to which he belongs, is also a man highly distinguished for his talents, and for the worth and amiableness of his character. Party-spirit infects the most respectable, as well as the meanest of men. All that I have remarked in New York, and whatever I have learned in other places, during the last three months, leads me to fear, that America cannot long continue to enjoy its present internal tranquillity; a tranquillity essentially necessary to confirm and extend that high prosperity which many other circumstances seem, at present, to conspire to bestow upon these United States..

While I was at New York, I made an excursion to the beautiful country-seat of Colonel BURR. The Colonel, in regard to politics, belongs to the Opposition. He is one of the most amiable men I ever saw.

The yellow-fever has raged for these last three months in New York, and has cut off a great many lives, yet has been, in the whole, less fatal, here, at this time, than it was, last year, at Philadelphia. It has confined its ravages to that part of the town, which is adjacent to the harbour. Its rage begins to be, for the present, somewhat assuaged. But, medicine does not appear to have, as yet, found out any very successful mode of treating this distemper.

Between Elizabethtown and New York, lies the town or village of Newark. It is one of the finest villages in America. It consists of one very long and very broad street, the sides of which are planted thick with rows of trees, and which is composed of truly handsome houses. These are all of brick or wood, and every one of them has, behind it, a neat garden. Newark is the usual stage for the mail-coaches and for travellers passing between Philadelphia and New York. There are, of consequence, a number of good inns in this place. This part of the country is particularly famous for its cyder; which is greatly superior to that produced

in the other parts of Jersey; though even the rest of the Jersey cyder be preferable to whatever is produced any where else in America,—even to the cyder of Virginia, which is reckoned exceedingly good. A shoemaker who manufactures shoes for exportation, employs, here, between three hundred and four hundred workmen.—almost one half of the inhabitants of the town. The number of these, has been greatly augmented by the influx of families which the late massacres have driven from St. Domingo and the other French islands. Newark lies on the river Passaick. Coming from New York, we are obliged to pass through a tract of exceedingly swampy ground. A road was, about a year since, constructed, for the first time, through this morass. It consists of trees having their branches cut away, disposed longitudinally, one beside another, and slightly covered with earth: This road is, of course, still very disagreeable to the traveller, and very difficult for carriages. Though on horseback, I was little annoyed by this inconvenience: I was more disagreeably sensible of its disadvantageous narrowness, which is such, that two carriages cannot pass one another upon it, and that, even two persons meeting on horseback, cannot easily avoid jostling one another. This ill-constructed, and far too narrow, causeway, has cost a great expence. It is three miles long, and has, at each end, a broad wooden bridge of strong and handsome construction. The toll exacted at the bridges is intended to defray the expence of the road.

The way between Newark and Elizabethtown, leads through an agreeable country, adorned with good houses, and farms having a pleasing aspect of cultivation. The fields are planted with fruit-trees, particularly with peach-trees, which are very common in Jersey. I fell in with a fox-chase in my short journey on this road. It is a common diversion with the gentlemen of Jersey, at least in these parts; and here, as in England, every one joins the chase, who, either has a horse of his own, or can borrow one. I should almost have thought, at the first sight, that I was in Suffolk: but, both dogs and horses were of a much more indifferant appearance, than those I should, there, have seen.

### WOODBIDGE.

From Elizabethtown to Woodbridge, a tract of ten miles, the land is, in general, in a good state of cultivation, but is more commonly laid out in meadows, and planted with maize, than dressed for wheat. The soil is light and sandy. When moderately manured, it yields wheat. I saw some fields green with wheat of a very good and promising appearance. The ravages of the Hessian-fly greatly discourage all the farmers in Jersey from the culture of wheat. Nothing less than the present high price could overcome the dislike which, here, exists towards it, as an article of crop.

Woodbridge is a long village, many of the houses of which, lie at good distances from one another. It is intersected by a small stream, which soon after joins a greater one, called Arthurkill, that falls into the contiguous bay of Amboy. The road, as you approach Woodbridge, leads, thrice, across the river Barray, on which lies the small village of Bridgetown. This is one of the most pleasing little places on the whole way, on account of the variously cultivated fields lying around it, its small but very neat houses, and its many fine orchards.

### BRUNSWICK.

Between Woodbridge and Brunswick, the land is not fertile. The meadows are tracts of rough ground. Many uncultivated fields are to be seen, which yield no other produce than a coarse grass. But, even from the heights over which the road, at times, runs, the traveller has agreeable prospects of the river Rariton as far as to Amboy, of Amboy itself, and of Staten Island, with the adjacent expanse of waters. It is a rich and noble prospect, but one of which the eye soon tires. You approach the first houses in Brunswick by passing along a handsome wooden bridge that leads across the river Rariton. It is new, and just about to be finished; for a flood, last year, carried away a former bridge of too slight construction, that had been erected, the year before. Brunswick is the principal town of the county of Middlesex, which contains about

seventeen thousand inhabitants; of whom two thousand are slaves. This town contains, at present, about two hundred and twenty inhabitants; and its population is annually encreasing. The surrounding territory and the river lie exceedingly low. This small town is the mart for the produce of all the adjacent country, and for that of the back-lands—to the great hills, a tract of twenty miles in extent. By the river Rariton, it has a direct intercourse by water, and a considerably brisk traffic, with the town of New York.

### PRINCETOWN.

As you approach from Brunswick, the adjoining territory is, for two or three miles, pretty agreeable. It, then, becomes rough, and of a very indifferent, reddish soil. The land is covered, and even the road obstructed, with large masses of schistus. The way passes on, from hill to hill; and yet, no interesting prospect appears, to compensate the toil of such a journey. Two or three small streams are to be crossed, which have mills upon them. Three miles from Princetown, the land becomes more level, exhibits a better show of cultivation, and is, in general, more agreeable to the eye. The houses belonging to Princetown are, for the space of a mile, clustered together, in what is called a town, which may consist of from seventy to eighty houses, in all. Almost all of these are surrounded with beautiful shrubbery.

Princetown is famous throughout America, as the seat of an excellent college. Here are from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty students, from all different parts of the United States.

### MAIDENHEAD.

Eight miles from Princetown, lies Maidenhead, where I am, at present, writing, on this Tuesday, the 8th of November. I chose this petty inn, to avoid falling in with the stage-coaches, the passengers in which, naturally engross all the accommodation, at the inns at which they usually stop, in preference to any solitary rider. I desired to obtain some rest. In regard to the inconvenience from the stage-coaches, at any other inn,

inn, I was very indifferent: but as to my rest, I was not indifferent; and in this small place I hoped to enjoy it. But the only bed-chamber in the house happened, when I alighted, to be occupied by a club of the labourers and other inhabitants of the neighbourhood, assembled from the distance of two miles round. These were joined by people drawn together on account of a horse-race, which was to be run at the distance of three miles from Maidenhead. These people had soon a glass of grog in their heads, and began to make a considerable bustle in the inn. I was necessarily obliged to retire with my table, into a small corner by the fire, to answer the questions which they put to me, and to give them the use of my pen, to scrawl out their accounts. They were the best folks in the world; only, in respect to their writing, a little more of scholars than was quite agreeable to me. I must, however, do them the justice, to own, that they did not hinder me from smoking my pipe.

#### ARRIVAL AT PHILADELPHIA.

From Maidenhead to Trenton, the land is moderately good. At many places through which the way runs, it is still *uncleared*. Trenton is the principal town of the State of New Jersey. It contains about three hundred houses, most of which are of wood. Those of the high-street are somewhat better in *structure* than the rest; yet still but very moderate in their appearance. Trenton possesses all the usual public buildings of the capital of a state. About a quarter of a mile beyond this town, is the passage over the Delaware by a *ferry*, which, though ten stage-coaches daily pass in it, is such, that it would be reckoned a very bad ferry in Europe. The river is one hundred and fifty fathoms broad. Here begin those rapid descents in this river, which interrupt its ascending navigation for all but flat-bottomed vessels of eight or ten tons burthen. On the farther side of the river, the retrospect to Trenton is, in a considerable degree, pleasing. The ground between that town and the Delaware is smooth, sloping, decorated with the flowers and verdure of a fine meadow. In the environs of the town, too, are a number of handsome villas which greatly enrich the landscape. Trenton is the head-town



town of the county of Middleton, which contains about six thousand inhabitants, and, among these, between four and five hundred slaves. This county extends back towards the hills, and there is much of it as yet uncleared and unoccupied. Soon after crossing the river, the traveller comes to Morrisville. ROBERT MORRIS, proprietor of all the lands on which this town is placed, has here a fine country seat. He has established here a number of forges : there is much iron in the neighbourhood, and other advantages for the manufacture concur : yet the establishment has not hitherto proved successful. The extent of his speculations somewhat disordered his affairs. Withdrawing, in consequence of this, from a part of that immense multiplicity of business in which he was formerly engaged ; he will now be able to attend to the collecting of the taxes with an increased vigilance, which can hardly fail to make them productive : for no man can bring more of intelligence, activity, and zeal, than Robert Morris, to the care of all that regards the public good, as he sufficiently evinced in the course of the Revolution.

Having crossed the Delaware, the traveller is within the limits of the province of Pennsylvania, and at the distance of four and thirty miles from the city of Philadelphia. The road leading along the river, sometimes close to its banks, sometimes receding more or less from it, passes through the beautiful villages of Bristol and Frankfort. The land does not seem to be very good ; yet, is not worse than some other lands that are under culture, in Pennsylvania. The road is broad, and in a good state of repair. No one of the other states pays so much attention as Pennsylvania, to its roads and bridges. A number of good houses are seen from the highway. The nearer you approach to Philadelphia ; so much the more remarkably does every thing assume the appearance natural to the vicinity of a great town.

Passing Kensington, you enter that capital of Pennsylvania, and, in truth, of all America, where almost all their great trading ships, are built.

My arrival in Philadelphia, nay, in truth, even the sight of its steeple, excited in my mind, somewhat of that delight which one feels, upon returning, after long absence, to one's own home. It was here I first  
landed

landed from Europe ; here have I lived for the greater part of the time, I have been in America ; here are my most intimate acquaintance, who, though but new, are the oldest I have in this part of the world. Among them are the respectable family of CHEW, by which I have been ever received with all the kindness due to a brother.

I thus terminated a journey of seven months continuance, on which I cannot reflect without feeling pleasure ; and in the course of which I found few things but such as I have had occasion to mark with approbation ; though the fatigues which I now feel, makes it necessary for me to take some time for refreshment and repose.

## JOURNEY INTO THE SOUTHERN STATES.



**A**LTHOUGH exceedingly desirous to accomplish my journey into the Southern States, before the coming on of the excessive heats; I was, however, obliged to delay my departure from Philadelphia, till the end of the month of March. As the direct intercourse of trade between Charlestown and Philadelphia, is interrupted, during the winter; I could not sooner obtain a passage to Charlestown. On Thursday, the 24th of March, I took shipping for Carolina on board a vessel of two hundred and fifty tons burthen, that sails constantly, between Philadelphia and Charlestown. It is intended to serve partly as a packet-boat; and the cabin is fitted up for the reception of a dozen passengers. But, my fellow passengers and I were twenty-five in number, not to speak of four negroes who were likewise on board; and we were crowded together, in the most disagreeable manner imaginable. The owner of the vessel was to receive twenty-five times twenty-five piasres for our passage; the captain was to receive twenty-five times twenty piasres for our board during the course of it. It was, therefore, reasonable for us to expect, that we were not to be packed together, like so many bales of goods; and that they would certainly not receive into the vessel, ten more than the stipulated number of passengers. Though we had, for two days, nothing but calms and contrary winds; the whole passage was, however, only of six days duration. Nothing of consequence occurred to our observation, in the course of it. We met with not more than four ships, as we sailed on.

One of my fellow passengers was Mr. ELLWORTH, of Connecticut, recently

cently appointed Chief Justice of the United States. All the Americans who were with us, and they were almost all young people, shewed him no more regard than if he had been one of the negroes; though he be, next after the President, the first person in the United States, or perhaps, indeed, the very first. Disrespect to their seniors and to persons in public office, seems to be strongly affected among the Americans; such at least is the humour of the rude and ill-bred among them. This, surely, proceeds from mistaken notions of liberty: for, if ever the public office-bearers have a right to general respect; it must be, above all, in these free governments, in which they hold their authorities in consequence of the election of the people. It is even astonishing, to see, how disrespectfully the people carry themselves, in regard to the courts of justice. They appear at the bar, with their hats on their heads, talk, make a noise, smoke their pipes, and cry out against the sentences pronounced. This last piece of conduct is universal: and there are, perhaps, some petty instances of injustice in the courts, which make it to be not without its use. However, this deficiency in respect to the state officers who discharge the public functions, and administer justice—one of the greatest blessings of social life,—is actually seditious, and is utterly incompatible with the idea of a people living under a stable government.

We had five or six Frenchmen from St. Domingo, on board. Two of them could not divert their minds from melancholy reflection upon the loss of their property. They were, however, gentle, courteous, and agreeable companions. I passed most of my time, in endeavouring to obtain some previous knowledge of the country which I was about to traverse. In this, I was agreeably aided by the conversation of Mr. PRINGLE, Attorney-general of South Carolina. He was returning from appearing as defender for a French privateer, in a cause before the supreme court in Philadelphia. We smoked our tobacco very often together, on the deck, in the cabin, and in the small after-cabin. I was astonished at the carelessness of the persons smoking their segars. But, my astonishment became infinitely greater, when, on the day after our

arrival, I wished to take my baggage from on board, and saw two hundred tons of gunpowder brought out of the ship, in such a manner, that there was some of it scattered about in the ship. That gunpowder had been suffered to lie under our table over which we smoked our segars, and while the passage into the apartment below, was usually left open.

At the mouth of Charlestown River, is a sand-bank, extending from one shore to the other. It is composed of pretty hard sand, on which a ship may easily strike, but has four openings, by which vessels are navigated across it. Of these the deepest has fourteen feet of water when the tide is flowing, and twelve feet of water when it has ebbed. At spring-tides it is covered with water to the depth of twenty feet. This sand bank is never passed in the night. To prevent vessels from the danger of shipwreck, which would otherwise be, in this place, very great, both buoys in the water, and suitable marks on land, have been carefully provided. These are exceedingly necessary; for though the sea was calm, and the water clear, we should not have distinguished the proper place, if it had not been particularly indicated to us. Ships can anchor with safety on good anchorage ground, immediately before the sand bank. But this they do not venture, unless the wind be faint, and the billows calm. After passing the sand bank, ships find good ground for anchorage, all the way up to Charlestown. The best anchorage ground is in the immediate vicinity of the town.

Charlestown lies twelve miles from the sand bank, at the conflux of the rivers Cooper and Ashley. A small wooden fort on Fox Island, the remains of the old fort Johnson, serves but for a very imperfect defence to guard the harbour. The erection of another fort has been projected, which is to stand on Sullivan Island, and of which the range of the guns will cross that of those in Fort Johnson. The government, to which the isle belongs, gave permission, four years since, for persons to build upon it, on condition that they should hold themselves ready to remove, whenever it might require. This isle is reckoned to be very healthy. The more opulent inhabitants of the town, therefore, have houses here, to which

which they resort in the summer heats, that they may breathe a purer and cooler air, which is very solicitously desired by the inhabitants of the rice grounds contiguous to the town. It is easy to foresee that the people who now resort hither in such numbers, will be disposed to thwart the government, when it shall resolve, for the security of the harbour, to renew those fortifications which occasioned the loss of a great many lives by the English, when they seized this town in the year 1780. The government of the United States are exceedingly desirous to put this island into a sufficient condition of permanent defence, such as might give full security to one of the most important harbours they possess. The general government wishes the constitution to be in this instance obeyed, because the constitution confers upon it the power of this harbour: But the state of South Carolina, which would thus lose the command of the harbour, strongly opposes the design.

Charlestown was, in the time of the English, surrounded with fortifications. Of those only three or four batteries, part good, part bad, now remain. A French engineer has lately raised another at a great expence, but, as is too commonly the case with things undertaken in America, this fort is very injudiciously constructed. Towards that side which is parallel with the river, the range of its guns cannot hinder the access of ships into the road. In that direction, too, its left side extends too far, so that the cannon cannot be levelled at any other object than the houses of the town. The battery is of wood, but there has not been enough of wood used in its construction. The engineer excuses himself, by complaining that he has not been sufficiently supplied with money for the expence. Why then did he undertake a work, which he was not fully to complete? For this he can offer no excuse, but that he was desirous to be employed; and with such an excuse it is not easy to be perfectly satisfied.

The town of Charlestown was founded in the year 1670. Like all the rest of South Carolina, it suffered much in the war that ended in the revolution. It was three years in the possession of the English, who spared no rigour of command, no cruelty of punishment, no spoliation

of property, that could serve to make their memory odious. Many of the houses which they destroyed were of wood; and, instead of those, brick houses have been since erected. Still, however, some of the more opulent inhabitants prefer wooden houses, which they believe to be a good deal cooler than those which are of brick. Every thing peculiar to the buildings of this place is formed to moderate the excessive heats; the windows are open, the doors pass through both sides of the houses. Every endeavour is used to refresh the apartments within with fresh air. Large galleries are formed to shelter the upper part of the house from the force of the sun's rays; and only the cooling north-east wind is admitted to blow through the rooms. In Charlestown persons vie with one another, not who shall have the finest, but who the coolest house.

The streets are not so well contrived as the houses, to prevent excessive heat from the rays of the sun. Those are almost all narrow. They are unpaved, on account of the scarcity of stones; and the sand with which they are consequently covered, retains the heat to an intolerable degree, and spreads it into the houses. The smallest quantity of wind raises and drives about this sand in the state of dust that is inexpressibly disagreeable; and any slight fall of rain moistens it into a puddle. There are some foot-paths by the sides of the houses; but these are narrow, interrupted by the doors of cellars, and, therefore, of very little use. Nor are the streets all accommodated with these foot-paths. Only two or three of these streets are paved, and the stones upon these were brought as ballast by some ships from the northern states. It is by such means alone that the streets of Charlestown can be paved; but the expence is so great, that the object in view cannot be accomplished in this way within any given time.

Houses, otherwise commodious and well furnished, make often but a poor appearance outwardly. They are indifferently painted, or perhaps not at all. The doors and railings are in a very bad state. The air being so thick and so saline, soon destroys the colouring. Although such a number of negroes be here kept, yet the houses are not preserved so clean on the inside as in the northern States,

The

The expences of the table are nearly the same here as in Philadelphia. The expences of equipage are, at least, as to the number of those who bear them, greater. Here are few families who do not keep a coach or chaise. The ladies are never seen to walk on foot. However short the journey, the carriage must always be yoked. Even the men, too, make frequent use of their carriages. The expence of servants is likewise considerable. These, both male and female, are negro and mulatto slaves. An inhabitant of Carolina, though not very opulent, rarely has fewer than twenty of these in his stables, in his kitchen, and attendant upon his table. A child has a number of negro children to attend him, and comply with all his humours; so that the little white man learns, even before he can walk, to tyrannize over the blacks.

The inhabitants of Charlestown are obliging and hospitable. They receive a stranger with a kindness that watches to anticipate his wishes. They have signalized their beneficence and generosity in an extraordinary manner, towards the unfortunate exiles from the French West India isles. With a liberality eager, respectful, unwearied, they have supplied them with money, linens, lodging. I am sorry to say, that the unhappy objects of this kindness have not conducted themselves with due gratitude and prudence; but that, with their usual lightness and want of reflection, they have derived little real advantage from the hospitality of their entertainers, and have almost obliged the people of Charlestown to alter their conduct towards them; yet there is still a great deal of charitable contribution towards their relief. The Frenchmen, too, generally rail against the Americans, curse them, and are almost ready to assault those very persons from whom they received the most benevolent relief, and who have, not without good reason, withdrawn from them their former kindness.

The rich do not here, as in Philadelphia, strive to improve their fortunes only by speculations and stock-jobbing. Here they are, generally, merchants, and busily engaged in actual traffic. The planter sells his produce, for the greatest price he can obtain, to the merchants by whom it is to be exported; and, excepting only that small part of his time which this business demands, spends all the rest of it in company and pursuits of pleasure.



pleasure. Many of these planters live not upon their plantations, but go, from time to time, to visit them; and have overseers constantly resident upon them. For the greater part of the year, the master lives in Charlestown. Even those planters who are more commonly resident upon their estates leave them from the month of June to November, in order to escape the dangerous fever with which white persons living in the vicinity of the rice-grounds are very liable to be infected during that part of the year.

The merchants of Charlestown have carried on a very active trade since the commencement of the present war. They keep a greater number of servants than those of Philadelphia. From the hour of four in the afternoon, they rarely think of aught but pleasure and amusement. The manners and habits of society are nearly the same in Charlestown as in other parts of the American States. Frequent dinners, frequent parties for tea-drinking. There are two gaming-houses, and both are constantly full. Many of the inhabitants of South Carolina, having been in Europe, have, of consequence, acquired a greater knowledge of our manners, and a stronger partiality to them, than the people of the Northern States. Consequently, the European modes of life are here more prevalent. The women are here more lively than in the north. They take a greater share in the commerce of society, without retaining for this the less of modesty and delicate propriety in their behaviour. They are interesting and agreeable, but perhaps not quite so handsome as those of Philadelphia. Both men and women soon begin here to lose the bloom of youth and to feel the infirmities of age. At the age of thirty a woman appears old. You often see women with children at the breast, who yet have all the wrinkles and haggard looks of sixty. At the age of fifty, the hair becomes entirely white.

As to politics, both the State and the people, in general, are of the Opposition. The hatred against England is almost universal. Here are few opulent planters who have not formerly suffered much from English hostility. The number of the negroes who were slain, or escaped from their masters, during the war, was not less than thirty thousand, including between six and seven hundred whom the English carried away with them when

when they left this place. All here agree to cherish an inveterate hatred against England, and by consequence to disapprove the treaty. At table warmly federalist toasts, such as, "Permanency to the Union!" "The Confidence of the States to the President!" are very common.

It should seem, that any separation of the Northern from the Southern States would be very little agreeable to the inhabitants of South Carolina. Setting aside every political consideration, the necessity of an increased commercial intercourse with the north, in order to augment the shipping, and enlarge the general wealth of the people of the Southern States, makes it their unquestionable interest to maintain the Union. To this necessity of interest, the Northern States ascribe the present partiality of the Southern for the federal government. But then they alledge, that their neighbours will, with the greatest alacrity, abandon the Union, as soon as they shall have acquired sufficient strength to stand by themselves. There are, however, obstacles that strongly oppose their rising speedily to that degree of prosperity; and some of these I shall mention.

Sir WALTER RALEIGH, in the year 1584, and Admiral COLIGNY, in the year 1590, attempted, without success, to establish colonies in Carolina. Intestine dissensions and contests, destroyed the colonies which they introduced. The first effectual settlement of colonists, in this territory, was in the year 1662. Charles the Second, after his restoration, bestowed a grant of this region, from the thirty-first to the thirty-sixth degree of latitude, upon eight English noblemen. Those were the Earl of Clarendon, the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Craven, Lord Derby, Lord Ashley, Lord Carteret, and Sir — Carleton. These noblemen employed the celebrated Locke to frame a constitution for the colony which they were about to establish. He gave them a constitution, in which the people were divided into nobles and commons; the nobles into landgraves, caciques, and barons. The colonial territory was divided into counties. The first class of the nobility were to possess each forty-eight thousand acres of land; the second class twenty-four thousand acres; the third class twelve thousand acres. A fifth part of the whole lands was to be parcelled out among the plebeians. A parliament, composed

posed of the nobles or their representatives, in conjunction with the representatives of the commons, was to compose the legislative body, under the direction of the eight proprietors, who were to form themselves into a council, in which the eldest, with the title of Palgrave, was to preside. In the year 1667, the first colonists came out hither from England. Within a few years after, there followed some other emigrations from England, France, Holland, and New York.

This perplexed form of government; the continual wars among the English, French, and Indians; dissensions among the colonists themselves, arising from the exclusive institution of the religion of the Church of England; brought the colony, at length, into a state of such confusion and distress, that it was entirely ruined. The proprietors, at the request of the inhabitants, now resigned the government of the colony, but not the territorial property, to the Crown of England.

In the year 1729, the King of England bought also the property of the lands, from the seven proprietors, for the sum of twenty-two thousand five hundred and ten pounds sterling; and the province was, by an act of the British Parliament, divided into the two parts of North and South Carolina. Lord Carteret alone chose to adhere, in respect to his part of the property, to the conditions upon which the dominion had been formerly ceded to the government. The two colonies received a charter of constitution, which was much more similar than their former one to the English constitution, and to those of the other American colonies.

Since that time, Carolina, and especially its southern division, has become continually more populous, more cultivated, and more commercial. At the time of the revolution, it was considered as being, in wealth, and every other advantage, one of the most important provinces of America.

By its new constitution, this state is divided into districts and parishes. The districts are nine in number. The constitution was framed in the year 1790. The legislature is composed, as in the other states, in a council of seven and thirty members, and a house of representatives of an hundred and twenty-four members. To be qualified for being chosen a member of the council, a man must be thirty years of age, must have resided

resided for five years within the boundaries of the state, must possess a clear land-estate of three hundred pounds sterling, or one thousand five hundred and forty-three dollars revenue, if a resident in the district for which he is nominated; or of twice that value, if he do not reside within the district. The senators are chosen for the term of four years: but one-half of their number go out of office at the end of every two years. To be qualified for election into the house of representatives, the candidate must be twenty-one years of age, must have been three years resident in the state, must have a clear estate of five hundred acres of land, or ten negroes, or one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, which is equal to seven hundred and seventy-two dollars. If not an inhabitant of the district he wishes to represent, his fortune must then be twice as great. The representatives are elected for the space of two years, and go out all at once. To be qualified for the office of governor, a man must be one and thirty years of age, must have been ten years resident within the state, must possess a fortune of one thousand five hundred pounds sterling, or seventeen thousand seven hundred and fifteen dollars, free from debt. The Governor is elected for the term of two years; and, after an interval of four years, from the time of his going out of office, he may be rechosen. The Governor and Lieutenant-governor are nominated by the legislative body, and both at the same time. The judges are likewise nominated by the same body; and their continuance in office is to be during their good behaviour. The commissioners of the revenue, the secretary of state, the commander in chief, the sheriffs, are likewise named by the legislature; and they hold their offices for the space of four years. All charges against members of the legislature, or members of the state, are to be produced only before the house of representatives. The senate pronounces sentence. The only punishment, however, that it can inflict, is deprivation of office, with incapacitation for any future public employment. The courts of justice are more severe.

Electors must be of the age of one and twenty years, must have been two years resident in the state, and must be proprietors each of fifty acres of ground, or of a building-lot in some town, free from any burthen of

debt. If not possessed of this property, the elector must at least have resided six months within the electing district, and must be a contributor of three shillings sterling annually to the revenues of the state. Alterations in the constitution can be made only with the consent of two-thirds of the actual members of the two houses of legislature; and even after this are not to be carried into final accomplishment without the approbation of an equal majority at the next subsequent meeting of these bodies. This constitution consists of a declaration of rights in ten articles, extremely simple, and very intelligible.

At present, those who are to vote for South Carolina, in the election of the Presidents of the United States, must be named by the two houses. Those inhabitants of Carolina, who have possessions in different districts, are at liberty to vote in either of them at their pleasure. Every member of the legislative body has an allowance of seven shillings a day from the state.

The law of England is received as the common law as well of Carolina as of almost all the rest of America. Few instances occur of departure from it.

The law for the disposal of the property of persons dying intestate allots to the widow of a man dying without children one half of his estate; to the widow of him who leaves children to inherit from him, only a third part of his fortune. The children receive equal shares. In general, however, every man is at liberty to dispose of his property by will, as he pleases. He, however, who lives in open concubinage, may not devise away from his wife and children above one-fourth of his property, otherwise his will is liable to be set aside. Bastards, whose fathers cannot be discovered, are brought up at the public charge. But he whom a young woman with child, in fornication, names as the father of her infant, is compelled by law to pay the sum of sixty pounds sterling, or two hundred and fifty-eight dollars, for the support and education of its childhood.

There is in Charlestown an establishment for the relief of the poor. It is called a work-house, but no work is done in it. It costs the State the sum of five thousand pounds sterling, or twenty-one thousand four hundred

dred and twenty-eight dollars a year; and seems to serve only as an asylum for idleness. The recovery of debts gives rise to many actions at law, in this state. The process is, in these cases, so tedious, and the sentence of the courts so long delayed, that the business of an advocate becomes, of course, very lucrative. It is said, that the corruption of the sheriffs, who are easily bribed, contribute greatly to the present delays of the law. These disorders are the natural consequence of the smallness of the fortunes of the inhabitants of Carolina, and of their love of expence. Messrs. CHARLES PINCKNEY, EDWARD RUTLEDGE, PRINGLE, HOLMES, and one or two other advocates, earn, in their offices, each from three thousand five hundred to four thousand five hundred pounds sterling a year, or from eighteen thousand to twenty-three thousand one hundred and forty-one dollars. Eight or ten others earn from ten thousand to twelve thousand dollars, or from two thousand to two thousand five hundred pounds sterling a year. This is a liberal calculation of their gains. Perhaps, they may not always receive the most punctual payment.

The criminal law of South Carolina is excessively severe. The punishment of hanging and whipping are inflicted in many cases, in which the governments of Europe use less severity. Death is the punishment for the theft of horses or mules. This severity the people of the country endeavour to excuse by observing, that the horses are commonly left in the fields, and present a very strong temptation to theft to the unprincipled and needy. But, such local reasons afford no satisfactory excuse for such atrocious severity. Why should convenience be thus preferred to justice and humanity?

For the theft of horned cattle, the punishment is only a fine of ten pounds sterling, or if the thief be unable to pay the fine, a whipping of nine and thirty lashes. Another criminal law of extreme severity has been enacted against the breaking down of the dyke of the canal that forms a communication between the rivers Santee and Cooper: death is the punishment for this crime. For the same breaking down of the dykes of two other canals in this state, the punishment is only seven years imprisonment.

prisonment. The importance of the canal in question can never justify a criminal law of such barbarity. Nor is the difference between the utility of the canals here mentioned sufficient, to account in a satisfactory manner for the differences of punishment.

It is said, that the severity of these laws is generally mitigated by recommendations to mercy, addressed from the juries to the Governor. But, the necessity of such mitigation is a reproach to the laws; as it evinces, that these have not established a due relation between crimes and punishments. There is, besides, reason for supposing, that however humane the members of juries, horse-stealing will more seldom find mercy than murder. In a well-governed state, the only mode of acting towards bad laws is, not by compromises with them, but by reforming them.

The laws respecting the negroes are derived from an English institute of the year 1740. A justice of the peace, with three freemen of the neighbourhood, examine into, and decide upon, the crimes of negroes. No defender is allowed to the poor wretch accused; and his judges have power to condemn him to whatever mode of death they shall think proper. Simple theft by a negro is punished with death. When the crime is not such as to deserve capital punishment, a justice of the peace, with a single freeman, may, in this case, condemn to whatever lighter punishment they shall please to inflict. For the murder of a negro with malicious intent, a white man pays a fine of three thousand six hundred and eighty dollars. If he have only beaten the negro, without intention of murder, till his death ensued, the fine is but one thousand five hundred dollars. He who maims a negro, puts out his eyes, cuts off his tongue, or castrates him, pays only a fine of four hundred and twenty-eight dollars. In all these cases, the white man is imprisoned till the fine be paid. It is easy to see, that a white man can, in such cases, seldom be convicted; as negroes are incapable by law of giving evidence; and no white man will readily offer his testimony in favour of a black, against a person of his own colour. A negro slaying a white man, in the defence of his master, is pardoned. But, if he do the same thing, or even

but

but wound a white man in the defence of his own life, he will eventually be put to death. A more diligent examination of these laws might discover many other odious things in them.

The most enlightened people in Carolina see the necessity of an alteration of these laws; and it is said, that the next meeting of a new legislature will take up this matter. I am afraid, that any reform will not be such as it ought to be. It should seem, that those who mention this subject are strongly impressed with the idea of the necessity of the measure.

I have visited the prisons of Charleston, which, it is asserted, are the best in the State of South Carolina; they form one single building, which is several stories high. The rooms are pretty spacious and airy, but few in number. Debtors are in a separate room. Felons, either imprisoned on suspicion or convicted, are confined with the police-prisoners, and all are treated on the same footing. They are all in irons; a dreadful treatment, but which is the necessary consequence of the smallness of the prison, and of the facility of plotting mutinies. The prisoners are permitted only to walk about in their room; the prison having no court, where they might take exercise. The jailor is allowed one shilling a-day for the board of each prisoner, for which money he gives him a pound of bread every day, and meat three times a week.

Criminal offences are very numerous in Carolina, and their number is said rather to increase every year, than to decrease. Thirty-four prisoners were to be tried last session in the district of Charleston only, which in 1791 contained twenty-eight thousand three hundred and fifty-one inhabitants, and its present population comprises from thirty-two to thirty-three thousand souls. The negroes have their peculiar courts, and distinct prisons, whither they are sent by such masters, as chuse not to inflict any punishment themselves, to receive a certain number of lashes. The negroes in the district of Charleston amount to fifty-five thousand; their total number in the State of South Carolina is estimated at one hundred and twenty thousand. At the time of the last computation in 1790, the state contained one hundred and seven thousand



and one hundred slaves, and one hundred and forty-one thousand nine hundred and seventy-nine white people. Lawyers and judges have informed me, that the white inhabitants of Carolina commit more criminal offences, in proportion to their number, than the negroes. Some masters may perhaps, from avaricious motives, shelter their slaves from punishment, as they receive only one hundred and twenty eight dollars for an executed slave; but this can only take place in regard to crimes perpetrated in the midst of plantations. Few people, assaulted, robbed or injured by the negroes, would refrain from prosecuting them, merely to save their masters the loss of one hundred and twenty-eight dollars. The result of this comparison is, therefore, clearly in favour of men, for whom the slavery and contempt, in which they live, would powerfully plead, if it were otherwise.

The military regulations, which until 1794 were extremely incomplete, were in that year rendered more perfect. They divide the whole state into two parts, one of which comprehends five brigades; and the other, four. The two majors-general, who command the two divisions, and the nine brigadiers, under whose orders are the different brigades, as well as the adjutant-general, are appointed by the legislature. Each brigade is divided by the commanding officers into as many regiments as the population will admit. The officers are nominated by the regiments, battalions, and companies, to which they belong; but they are promoted in the order of their service.

Every male inhabitant, as soon as he has attained the eighteenth year of his age, is apprised by a non-commissioned officer, in the name of the captain of the district, that he belongs to the militia. This notice, which is given before witnesses, is the only formality observed in this case. The companies assemble one day every month, and the regiments or battalions two days a year, to go through the exercise. Absentees, whether officers or soldiers, who have no lawful pleas to offer, are punished by a fine, proportionate to their rank, or imprisoned, if they cannot raise the fine. In case of a disobedience of orders, heavier penalties are inflicted. Officers, in case of misconduct, are tried at the instance of the Governor,

nor, by a court of enquiry, consisting at least of three members, one of whom must hold the same commission as the offender, who, if he chuse, may demand a court-martial.

All white apprentices or servants must be armed and equipped by their masters, who are responsible for them to the courts-martial. For every fault they commit, in regard to the military service, they are obliged to serve their masters a fortnight beyond their time.

The brigadiers are at the same time inspectors of their divisions, for which they receive two hundred and fifteen dollars, in addition to the pay attached to their rank. The commanders of battalions are bound, on the first notice of disturbances having broken out in the province, to assemble their corps, and immediately report to their superiors the reasons, why they have done so. In case of danger of an attack, or a considerable revolt, the military are obliged to fire three musket-shots as a signal, which is repeated by all who hear it, and upon which every officer must assemble his men at the appointed rendezvous. The Governor is invested with the right of assembling the troops on all occasions. If they are obliged to march beyond their usual places of rendezvous, they receive the same pay as regular troops, and the fourth part of each company remain armed in the district for the patrolling service. The soldiers are allowed to find able substitutes, who may march in their stead, but no one can be exempted from the patrolling service. In case of an insurrection, the officers possess a discretionary power of making the best use of arms, ammunition, and vessels, wherever they find them. The Governor, or in his absence the Lieutenant-Governor, has the right of mitigating or annulling the sentence of a court-martial. The fines are applied to the purchase of arms for the use of the companies, in which they happen to be levied.

These are the chief articles of war. General Pinckney, brigadier and inspector of the first division, is an officer of great merit; he devotes all his time and attention to the service, and derives much additional authority from the confidence, and respect, which he universally enjoys. The regulations for the exercise are distinct and good; but the militia are, upon the

the whole badly armed, and some of them have no arms at all. The state has few or no cannon, no powder magazine, and no balls. A law was enacted in 1795, ordering two thousand muskets, thirty-six cannons, five hundred brace of pistols, five hundred swords, and twenty thousand pounds of gun-powder, to be provided. These small stores, which are bought by command of the Governor, will not be completed for some years. This absolute neglect of all means of defence is common throughout America; and if you mention it to men of property, most of them will return in answer—"America was still more destitute of every thing at the commencement of the Revolution." This answer is pleasing enough, as it bespeaks the same energy which America displayed in the war of the revolution; but to provide proper means of defence is by no means inconsistent with energy.

The taxes in South Carolina are assessed on lands, possessions in the towns, and monied capitals, employed in trade, banks, or otherwise. Free negroes, as well as slaves, pay a capitation, in regard to which all men or women of colour are esteemed negroes.

The land is divided by the law into nine classes, from the rice-swamps, which are watered by the flood, to the soil which, in the general opinion, admits of no cultivation. According to this gradation the land is rated from twenty-six dollars down to twenty cents the acre, and pays one-half per cent. The possessions in the towns, and monied capitals, are assessed in the same proportion. Free negroes from sixteen to fifty years of age pay a poll-tax of two dollars each, and slaves of whatever age or sex one dollar. Carriages kept for amusement pay three-fourths of a dollar for each wheel.

The tax-gatherers are appointed by the legislature, and continue in place, until they obtain their dismissal. These officers of the state are bound, in general, to find security for the sum of four thousand two hundred and eighty dollars, and those of Charleston for forty-two thousand eight hundred dollars. On a notice from the tax-gatherers, all the inhabitants must make a declaration upon oath of their taxable property in land, town-shares, slaves, and carriages. A false declaration subjects to a penalty

penalty of five times the amount of the sum concealed, and in case of a declaration being refused, the collectors make out an estimate, and the defaulter pays double his share of taxes. In case of any inhabitant thinking himself aggrieved by the assessors, he is bound to declare his whole property, and is believed. These assessments are, however, generally speaking, very moderate, as on the largest property they scarcely amount to five hundred dollars.

The tax-gatherers transmit to the treasurers of the state (one of whom is appointed for Upper Carolina and another for Lower Carolina) the lists of the inhabitants then taxed, as well as of those who have refused to make their declaration, and a general table of the amount of the taxes. These lists and tables are stuck up in the chief places of the district, and every person, who pays not his taxes according to the lists within ten days after their publication, may be prosecuted and confined. Taxes must be paid in preference to all other debts. The inhabitants may chuse the parish, where they intend to pay. The collectors are in general allowed five per cent on the amount of their receipts, but in Charleston only one and half per cent.

These taxes are adequate to the expenditure of the state, which in the year 1797 amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand three hundred and eighty-eight dollars. But delays, inconveniencies, and considerable deficiencies, frequently arise from the circumstance, that the collectors and assessors are the same persons, that no checks upon them are kept, and that the inhabitants have the right of paying their taxes in which parish they chuse.

The roads in South Carolina are kept in repair by the negroes, who are obliged constantly to work at the roads, which border upon the plantations to which they belong. White people, who have no slave, must do the work themselves. The state pays the expence for all public buildings; of consequence there exist no county-rates. The poor are supported by a tax on slaves, and on white people who have none. Town-rates are levied on the same principle; in Charleston they amount to six thousand four hundred and thirty dollars. This town

raises nearly two thousand dollars a year by licences for selling wine and brandy.

The public debt of South Carolina is of two sorts. One part of it was contracted at the time of the revolutionary war, to meet the expence caused by it, and which the Union has taken upon itself, under the name of the general expence: the amount of this debt is from one million and one hundred thousand to one million and two hundred thousand dollars. The Union, pays to the state seven per cent on this debt, until it be discharged, and this interest it pays again to its creditors, and acts, therefore, merely as a depositary or trustee. But in case of the state paying any part of this debt, the Union remains nevertheless its debtor, for instance, if the state should sell land, to pay such debt. It claims at present the sum of one hundred thousand dollars for forts, erected on the Indian frontiers, and other expences, relative to these works of defence. If this claim should be admitted, as probably it will, the money will be expended for the same purpose, but without lessening the debt of the Union; the interest or capital paid by it will serve to ease the burthen of the taxes, or be employed for some other useful purpose in the state. The rest of the public debt is that, which, although for the major part contracted during the war and on its account, has not been acknowledged by the Union as a general debt, and remains therefore at the charge of the state. Its amount was from two hundred and fifteen to two hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, but it has been paid off to the sum of one hundred and ten or twelve thousand dollars. A tax of a quarter of a dollar on every negro, and some other imposts on distilleries, tobacco, &c. are appropriated to the payment of this debt, ten per cent being yearly paid of the capital. The whole debt will be discharged in ten or twelve years, and these taxes cease accordingly. The sum which yet remains due originates merely from a frigate, and was contracted under the following circumstances.

In 1778 or 1779, Commodore GILLON, of Carolina, being commissioned by South Carolina to procure a frigate, proposed to the Prince of Luxembourg, to deliver a ship of that description. The bargain was concluded

concluded in this manner, that for the expence incurred by fitting out this frigate, the Prince was to have a fourth of the neat proceeds of all the prizes taken by the ship, and in case of her being taken, the whole value of the frigate. She was built in Holland, and mounted forty-eight guns. Some months elapsed, before she could be of any service, because the Prince engaged the crew in France. At length she put to sea, and took several prizes, but was afterwards taken off the American coast, and, as the Prince asserted, through Gillon's misconduct, whom he charged with having surrendered her to the English for a considerable sum of money. The state acknowledged a debt of thirty thousand pounds sterling, all the prizes being previously deducted, in addition to the sixty thousand pounds sterling which the Prince had already received. After the death of the Prince his heirs sent Dr. CUTTING, an American, one of the physicians of the army, to facilitate the payment of that sum. The Marshal de CASTRIES, from an opinion, that the frigate had been built for French money, that the Prince had only acted as a secret agent of France, who wished to assist America, before she had publicly declared herself in her favour, claimed this debt, as being the property of the royal treasury. The French consul opposed therefore in 1795, the claim of the Prince's heirs, adding, that even in the case of its forming a lawful demand of the late Prince, it was now escheated to the French Republic; all his own estates, as well as those of his heirs, having been confiscated on the ground of emigration. The payment is, therefore, deferred, and the state of Carolina, which has the money ready, is only waiting for the sentence of a competent judge, as to the persons to whom she is to pay the debt. In the meanwhile Mr. Cutting has received from the state four thousand pounds sterling, the amount of his disbursements, on condition of refunding this sum, if the law-suit should be decided against the heirs.

The state of South Carolina pays its officers better, than any other state of the Union. The Governor's pay is two thousand seven hundred and fifty-two dollars; the Chief-justice has three thousand three hundred; the other judges two thousand five hundred. This pay being

nearly equal to that paid by the Union, is the reason why, in Carolina, places under the Union are not eagerly sought after.

South Carolina was reduced to the utmost distress by the devastation of her possessions by the English, and the entire stagnation of her trade. The utmost scarcity of species prevailed throughout the state; and this was the reason why neither any public or private debt was paid. From these considerations the legislature resolved, in 1785, to introduce paper-money, opened for this purpose a loan for one hundred thousand pounds sterling, for five years, and paid in paper-money double the value of the gold, silver, and other precious effects, which were deposited by the creditors. This money was received by the treasury of the state in payment of old debts as well as of taxes. If the borrower did not, at the appointed time, reimburse the sum borrowed, together with the annual interest of seven per cent, the effects deposited were sold for the benefit of the state, until the entire discharge of the debt. This sort of loan, which was to cease in 1791, has been prolonged until 1801; and the interest is employed for the service of the state, to make up any deficiency which may take place under the head of taxes. This paper-money, which no law forced into a compulsory circulation, was so frequently offered in the course of private transactions, that it could not be refused. It suffered a depreciation of twenty per cent, but at present it is scarcely below par, except in purchasing foreign bills, when it is at ninety-nine per cent, otherwise it is at par with bank notes and species.

To two banks, instituted in Charlestown three or four years ago, is chiefly to be attributed, that a period has been put to this depreciation of the paper money, and all commercial operations are now carried on with greater facility; the most substantial houses were formerly obliged to pay five per cent interest a month for hard cash. This is more or less the case in all the trading towns of the United States. It is yet very common for planters to borrow money on mortgage at the same, nay, higher interest. This may, however, in part be occasioned by the general scarcity of species, and, in peculiar cases, from the circumscribed fortunes of the planters,

planters, perhaps also from their prodigal mode of life, by which they are obliged to resort to such resources.

This notorious scarcity of money, as well as the poverty to which the inhabitants of Carolina were reduced by the desolation of the English, induced the legislature in 1788 to grant the debtors an indulgence for five years, on condition of their paying yearly a fifth part of their debt, and giving security for the whole.

In South Carolina there are two banks. One is a branch of that of the United States. Its seat is at Philadelphia, and its capital belongs to that of the chief bank. It was instituted in 1790, and is managed in the same manner as all the other branches of that bank. The dividend is at present one half per cent.

In 1792 another bank was established by several merchants of the town, under the name of the South Carolina bank. The capital consisted at first of two hundred thousand dollars, or five thousand shares of forty dollars each; but the following year it was increased to three hundred thousand dollars, by two thousand five hundred new shares. Last March it was raised to five hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, by five thousand new shares, of twenty-five dollars each. Those new shares were raised five dollars on very just grounds, since the holders of the new shares participate in the benefits arising from the dividends not yet paid. This bank is not yet incorporated; the security of the stockholders, and of those who accept their notes, depends therefore entirely on the capital of the bank, and on the private property of the directors, as far as it is known. It will be incorporated, it seems, during the next session of the legislature. This bank regulates the dividends every three months. In the years 1792 and 1793, these amounted to nine per cent; and in 1794, 1795, and the first six months of 1796, to fifteen per cent. The directors also state, that they have kept back and laid by sixty thousand dollars out of the profits. The bank transacts business in the same manner as the other banks in America, but it is said to have exceeded, in the circulation of its notes, that proportion to its capital, which prudent directors of a bank



bank generally observe. But success has justified the management of the directors, as its credit is at present more firmly established than ever. The increase of the capital stock enables the direction to enlarge the business of the bank, without overleaping the bounds of prudence; and the capital is intended to be increased to one million of dollars within two years.

The institution of these two banks has been attended in Carolina with the same effects, which banks generally produce in all trading countries; nay, the results have been rather more beneficial in this country, because the scarcity of money was here uncommonly great. Trade and commerce have been greatly enlarged by means of the money advanced to the merchants, and by other circumstances. The trade to India, in which Charlestown yearly employs some ships, has been increased, and agriculture raised by sums of money advanced to distressed planters, whose settlements would otherwise have been sold. The bank has also assisted the company of the Santee-canal with considerable sums, and thus promoted this work, which is generally deemed highly important for the agriculture and trade of South Carolina. Its notes circulate also in Georgia.

Few planters possess any considerable fortunes, excepting a Mr. Bligh, who resides in England, and is proprietor of some very fine and valuable plantations in South Carolina. He has from twelve to fifteen hundred negroes, and raises yearly from three thousand five hundred to four thousand five hundred barrels of rice. They feel yet the consequences of the war, though in a less sensible degree; most of them are still involved in debt, and owe considerable sums to merchants, either for negroes, since the time when it was still lawful to import them into Carolina, or for the yearly supplies of their plantations with provision, for which the harvest is intended as a security, without being at all times applied to the payment of their debt. Speculations in the public funds form also a considerable branch of commerce to those who speculate with judgment and prudence. The stocks of the Union are, from the scarcity of money, always at a lower price in Charlestown than Philadelphia.

In 1788 the importation of negroes into Carolina from Africa was prohibited. This prohibition was occasioned by the debt, which the plant-

ers had contracted ; and by the necessity under which the legislature found itself, to secure the payment of it by postponing the instalments, and to prevent the opening of a new source of debt, before the old was discharged. The prohibition extended only to 1793, but was afterwards enlarged until the end of 1796 ; it has however always met with strong opposition on the part of the planters, which increases in proportion as their estates are cleared of debt. It expires on the 1st of January, 1797. Violent debates are expected, but the friends of the prohibition are likely to prevail, especially as the demand of Carolina indigo has decreased, and the back country, which produced a considerable quantity of this article, and for this purpose stood much in need of negroes, now needs them less for the culture of Indian corn, wheat, and tobacco, which has pretty generally been substituted in the stead of indigo. As to the consequences of this prohibition, it is allowed, on all hands, that the negroes, who were formerly treated with great cruelty, have since experienced a much milder treatment. The negroes are sold in the market of Charlestown like bullocks and horses ; the day of the intended auction being previously advertised in the newspapers. They are exposed to sale on a sort of stage, turned about, and exhibited, from all sides, by the common cryer, put up and adjudged to the highest bidder. This spectacle, which is offered four or five times a week, renders the spectators callous. Population, which in well managed settlements, increases in the proportion of six per hundred, cannot in this state be averaged higher than at two per cent. A negro, who works well, costs from three hundred to three hundred and fifty dollars, a common negro two hundred dollars, and a common negress from one hundred to one hundred and fifty dollars.

South Carolina is divided by nature into two parts, Upper and Lower Carolina. Along the coast, and more than one hundred miles westwards, the country is flat and level. Here are the swamps, partly formed by the tide, which are called *tide-swamps* ; and partly watered out of large reservoirs, which being at a greater distance from the sea than the former, are known by the name of *inland-swamps*. About one hundred miles behind them the country swells into hills, and rises in progressive gradation, until

until at length it terminates in the Alleghany Mountains, which separate the waters that fall into the Atlantic Ocean from those which discharge themselves into the Mississippi.

From this natural division of the country arises a twofold mode of cultivation. In the low country rice is cultivated, and the necessary corn for the subsistence of the negroes. The land, situated between the swamps, which seems sandy, and bears nothing but pines, might be sown with corn, but it remains uncultivated from want of hands.

The islands along the coast of South Carolina, and even some tracts of the coast, were, until these late years, entirely devoted to the culture of indigo; but cotton is now cultivated in its room. In the upper country, where the cultivation of cotton also begins to gain ground, tobacco is raised, together with all species of grain. The most opulent planters only reside in the lower country; people of less property, or of no property at all, live in the upper country, where they endeavour to raise a fortune by clearing land, which is generally sold them, on credit, for one or two dollars per acre, and which they may easily sell again for four or five times as much, after they have cleared the ground, and paid the purchase-money out of the produce of the first years.

The climate in Lower Carolina is warm, damp, unsettled, and unhealthy. The inhabitants suffer severely, every autumn, from malignant, bilious fevers, which cut off great numbers; even they who are most accustomed to the climate cannot preserve themselves from some fits of the fever. In the upper country the climate is less warm, more dry, and, of consequence, more healthy. As to the back country, no meteorological observations can be given, as the very use of the thermometer is there utterly unknown. In regard to the lower country, they are very regularly taken in Charlestown, by the Medical Society of that place, which was instituted in 1791. Since that time the mercury fell but once under twenty-eight of Fahrenh. In the year 1752 it was at eighteen of Fahrenh. By these observations the highest degree of heat was, in 1791, ninety of Fahrenh. (twenty-five seven-ninths of Réaum.); 1792, ninety-three of Fahrenh. (twenty-seven one-ninth of Réaum.); 1793, eighty-nine of Fahrenh. (twenty-

(twenty-five one-third of Réaum.); 1704, ninety-one of Fahrenheit (twenty-six two-ninths of Réaum.); and 1705, ninety-two of Fahrenheit (twenty-six two-thirds of Réaum.). In 1750, the thermometer stood at ninety-six of Fahrenheit (twenty-eight four-ninths of Réaum.); 1751, at ninety-four of Fahrenheit (twenty-seven five-ninths of Réaum.); and in 1752, at one hundred and one of Fahrenheit (thirty and two thirds of Réaum.).

The highest degree of cold was, in 1701, twenty-eight of Fahrenheit (one seven-ninths under nought of Réaum.); 1702, thirty of Fahrenheit (eight-ninths under nought of Réaum.); 1703, thirty of Fahrenheit (eight-ninths under nought of Réaum.); 1704, thirty-four of Fahrenheit (eight-ninths above nought of Réaum.); and 1705, twenty-five of Fahrenheit (three under nought of Réaum.); in 1751, the thermometer stood at twenty-three of Fahrenheit (four under nought of Réaum.); and in 1752, at eighteen of Fahrenheit (six two-ninths under nought of Réaum.).

The temperature of spring-water, in Charleston, is sixty-four and half of Fahrenheit, and, consequently, twelve degrees warmer than in Philadelphia. Rain-water, kept in cisterns, is one degree and half warmer than in Philadelphia. These observations have been communicated to me by Dr. RAMSAY, Vice-president of the Medical Society, and I have been assured, that they are exact.

The great quantity of land, which has been cleared within the last forty-six years, and is now under cultivation, cannot but have produced considerable changes in the climate, yet no certain opinion can be formed on these observations; which have only been taken these last five years past, prior to which none had been made since 1752. The sudden alterations in the thermometer at Charleston are very considerable; and although, by the assertion of the Medical Society, they are not so than formerly, yet, by their own observations, they are sufficiently important. Thus, for instance, in 1703, on the 28th of October, the mercury fell from seventy-four to thirty-seven of Fahrenheit (from thirteen two-ninths to two three-ninths of Réaum.); consequently thirty-seven degrees in the course of one day. In 1751, on the 1st of December, the

mercury fell from seventy to twenty-four of Fahrenheit (from sixteen two-thirds above to three five-ninths under nought of Réaumur.), or forty-six degrees.

Winter is, in Charleston, the most pleasant season. At the severest frost the soil freezes scarcely two inches deep, and the frost continues not three days. Yet the intense heat of the summer renders the human frame so sensible to cold, that, in Charleston, five or six months together, they keep fire in the rooms; and that, to the best of my information, one family uses more wood in that town, than two families in Philadelphia.

North-westerly winds prevail in Charleston in winter, and south-westerly in summer; for which reason, and in order to procure as much fresh air as possible, houses are generally built southwards, in preference to all other positions.

It rains much in South Carolina; at times a drought will happen, which continues three months, and then is followed by a fall of rain for three weeks, or a whole month. By the observations of the Medical Society, the rain, which fell in 1791, amounted to ninety-six inches, in 1792, to eighty-eight inches, in 1793, to one hundred and fourteen inches, in 1794, to one hundred and eighteen inches, and in 1795, to seventy-one inches.

Although Charleston serves as a place of refuge to the cultivators of rice, yet it is not free from autumnal fevers; intermittent and bilious fevers, the epidemic distempers of this country, are not unfrequent in this town. The warmth of the blood, increased in South Carolina by the use of wine and spirituous liquors, engenders a disposition for inflammatory distempers, which manifests itself in summer. Considerable numbers were cut off by the fever in 1792 and 1794. The yellow fever, it is asserted, raged with great violence six times between the beginning and the middle of this century, but has not made its appearance since 1748. Some physicians are, however, of opinion, that the fever of 1792 and 1794 had several symptoms in common with the yellow fever. However this may be, it has at least, since the fever of 1793, in Philadelphia, shewn itself every where; and it is a circumstance peculiarly remarkable, that the malignant diseases, which carried off such great numbers in New York and Philadelphia,

Philadelphia, spared foreigners, and especially Frenchmen, in those places; while, on the contrary, in Charleston, they frequently fell victims of these cruel maladies. Upon the whole, however, Charleston is supposed to be far more healthy than any other place; and its salubrity is likely to increase, according to researches and observations made by the physicians.

The police of Charleston is extremely deficient in those measures, which should not be wanting in any populous town, situated in so hot a climate. Cleanliness in the streets, as well as houses, is greatly neglected. Offensive smells are very frequent; several burying-grounds are in the midst of the town, and carcases are frequently suffered to lie uninterred. A bird, which in point of plumage and shape is much like a turkey, and is known in the country under the name of *turkey buzzard*, soon devours the carcase, and merely leaves the bones; but the voracity of this bird cannot excuse the indolence of the police. It is very common all over South Carolina, and, in some measure, worshipped by the inhabitants of the town. No law, it is true, has been enacted, which prohibits to kill this bird, but the public opinion, nevertheless, carefully attends to its preservation.

Measures tending to avert or indemnify losses by fire are equally neglected. Three-fourths of the buildings are constructed of wood; and the few which are built of stone, are roofed with shingles, though numerous tile-kilns are in the vicinity of the town. It would be extremely easy, and, at the same time, highly prudent, to introduce a safer mode of building, at least in regard to such houses as are either new built or thoroughly repaired. From the construction, which has hitherto prevailed, and the heedlessness of the negroes (whose number amounts to thirteen or fourteen thousand) conflagrations are very frequent in this town. During the time of my residence, seventy-seven houses, forming a whole square, encircled by four streets, were burnt down to the ground, without one single building having been saved. Shortly after my departure another fire broke out, which was still more dreadful. The regulations, relative to the extinguishing fires, are as bad as the measures to prevent it. Every one hastens to the fire as a looker-on. There are none who command,

and none who obey, either at the fire-engines, which are not only few in number, but also in a very bad condition, or at the demolition of buildings, by which a fire might be prevented from spreading farther. The negroes alone are employed to extinguish the fire, with the addition of few whites. They work with zeal and spirit, but without much use, from want of a proper direction. What a contrast between this confusion, and the regular activity observed in such cases in the northern states, where every inhabitant is member of a society, formed for this benevolent purpose, and hastens to the fire with two leather buckets, which are to be kept by every house. The fire-engines are attended by men, who understand the business, and work them with the utmost zeal and judgment. The leather buckets with water pass without interruption from hand to hand, along a row of men, drawn up from the house on fire to the engine.

So far from any free-schools existing in the townships of South Carolina, as in New England, there are not even schools where children can receive instruction for money. In hopes of earning a comfortable livelihood, instructors now and then establish themselves in the most populous towns and villages. Two or three schools, where the instruction is extended beyond reading and writing, have been instituted in South Carolina; three colleges have also been formed by the legislature within these last three years in Charleston, Columbia, and Beaufort, where education is to be finished. The inhabitants of South Carolina formerly sent their children either to the colleges in the northern states, or to England; but now they begin to discern, how pernicious it is, to send children to so great a distance from their parents, at an age when they have so much need of their care and advice, and to expatriate them during a period, in which all their habits, sentiments, and feelings are formed, and when they frequently adopt principles and manners, altogether different from those of the country, in which they are to reside for life, nay sometimes diametrically opposite to the customs of their native land. It is on these grounds that the legislature has resolved to institute three colleges, which, however, are not yet finished. That of Charleston, which begins to exercise its functions, is not completed. From the small number of masters, the scholars are hurried through the course of their studies, so that a youth,

youth, scarcely fifteen years old, has gone through all the classes. He has thus finished his studies at a time, when he should spend three or four years more to complete them, and engages in the business of life, unfurnished with any means of defence against the depravation of morals, with which he is threatened in South Carolina. These inconveniencies may perhaps be redressed; but nothing has yet been done in South Carolina to provide means of instruction for the multitude, nor are the inhabitants seemingly aware of the necessity of providing them.

No manufactory has hitherto been established in South Carolina, excepting a few corn-mills in the back country, which have been constructed on principles so very indifferent, that they cannot furnish any flour for exportation, but merely grind sufficient corn for the consumption of some families in the lower country. The opulent inhabitants of Charleston, as well as rich farmers, use only the flour of Philadelphia or Baltimore. A mill, built near Camden, one hundred and twenty miles from Charleston, after that erected at Brandywine, begins at present to furnish good flour.

In different places of this state tile-kilns have been erected, which yield their proprietors a considerable profit. The tiles cost eleven dollars a thousand.

Although Carolina is furnished with live oak, cedar, cypress, and pine, in short with the best timber in the utmost abundance, yet not ten ships are built in the course of a year, and these only by workmen of the northern states, as industry lies yet dormant in Carolina, and the merchants find it more profitable to purchase their ships in the north, or to get them built there of timber, sent thither from Carolina.

The price of ships, completely fitted out and ready for sea, is at present seventy-seven dollars a ton. In Beaufort or Georgetown they are about seven or eight dollars cheaper: and in time of peace they cost in general a third or fourth less than in time of war. Iron and great quantities of hemp are drawn from Sweden and Russia, though the latter article is already cultivated in tolerable quantities in the back country. Their sail-cloth comes from Boston or England.

A ship,



A ship, constructed of Carolina timber, is extremely durable, if it be repaired in time: the price of oak timber is thirty-two cents of a dollar the cubic foot; oak planks, six feet in length, half a dollar; fir timber, four dollars the hundred cubic feet; masts, from eighteen to twenty inches diameter, and from sixty to seventy feet in length, from forty-four to forty-eight dollars. You seldom meet with any of a large size. The southern pine, from its great weight, can be used only for lower masts. Cypress planks cost two dollars and half; fir, two dollars. Carpenters' wages are, for white people, two dollars and half, and for negroes one dollar and half a day.

The market of Charleston is, generally speaking, but very indifferently supplied with provisions. Butchers' meat is in general very bad from the heat of the climate, and from the feed of the cattle, which are turned into the woods to graze. In winter, the bullocks, which are destined for the market, are fed with the straw of Indian-corn. This beef is somewhat better; but not so good as in the north. Since a great many families have migrated hither from the French West Indian islands, who subsist upon gardening, good culinary plants and roots are more frequent than formerly.

The price of beef is one-eighth of a dollar the pound, mutton and veal one-fourth of a dollar, flour from the north twenty dollars a barrel, and Carolina flour fifteen dollars. Salt is imported from Turk's Islands, Portugal, or England, and costs one dollar a bushel; fire-wood, without any distinction, is five dollars the cord. House-rent amounts, upon an average, to three hundred dollars; there are houses for which thirteen hundred dollars a year are paid.

The abovementioned Medical Society is the only scientific institution in South Carolina. It was established five years ago. Several members seem anxiously desirous of rendering it useful. But indolence and inactivity prevail in this country in such a degree, that there is reason to doubt the extent of their exertions, until the results shall show, that it was sufficient to produce any beneficial effects. This indolence in regard to science is a matter of severe reproach against all the states of the

the Union. But on considering their small population, and the profitable employment in which the major part of those inhabitants are engaged, who possess the largest share of knowledge and information, we shall find little reason to wonder, that the sciences make so slow a progress in this infant country. But a circumstance, well qualified to excite astonishment, is this, that the different literary societies, which under a variety of names have been formed in the United States, have not yet adopted any means for diffusing the knowledge of useful machines, of agricultural improvements, &c. as for this purpose it would be sufficient to translate certain articles of European books or journals. Again, it is a matter of surprise, that these societies should not correspond, and communicate to each other their observations on epidemic diseases, on the most proper treatment of them, sanctioned by experience, on the best preventatives, and many other subjects of great national importance, which might so easily be done in the United States. These societies are alone able to effect this useful purpose; and were they composed of members as deeply learned as those of the Royal Society in London, and of the Academy of Paris, this profound erudition would prove perfectly useless for a considerable length of time; that is, as long as America shall only stand in need of that plain and simple instruction, which is so indispensably necessary to the prosperity of the country, and the preservation of the inhabitants.

Physical and meteorological observations, carefully taken in all the United States, could easily procure information of a certain description, namely, such as concerns the influence of the sudden clearing of wood lands on the temperature, salubrity, and unsettledness of the weather, and on the change of the wind, which is so essentially important for the sciences and the interests of humanity.

A library has been formed in Charleston, and is supported by the voluntary contributions of a great number of the inhabitants. It was burnt down to the ground at the time, when the English were in possession of the town, and has since been consumed again by fire. This library, which is not yet very large, consists of well-chosen books, and is yearly increased

increased by purchase as well as donations. Although the subscribers, by the subsisting regulations, enjoy but a very limited right of making use of the books, yet they, who wish it, can easily obtain them. The rooms of the library contain some very good prints, and curious machines. You also find there bones of an extraordinary size, which were found on digging out the canal of Santee. They consist chiefly in bones and jaws, much of the same size and shape, as those which are found in several parts of America, such as Kentucky, the banks of the Ohio and Missouri, and the north-western territory; they are, it is supposed, bones of the mammoth, an animal which seems fabulous to the learned, since none of that species have hitherto been found in any part of the globe. In the opinion of some they are elephants' bones, and their existence in America is explained according to Buffon's system. But many of these bones exceed in size those of elephants. Shin-bones have been found of ten inches in diameter, and teeth upwards of two feet in length. I have seen one, to which the lower part of the jaw was yet joined, and which weighed upwards of fifty pounds.

Charleston is full of Frenchmen from St. Domingo, and of commanders of privateers. Some of the former have brought money with them; at least they have not all spent their fortunes; and many earn a livelihood by letting negroes, whom they brought from St. Domingo. The French planters and commanders of privateers differ widely in their political opinions; but the love of gaming reconciles them all, and in the French gaming-houses, which are very numerous in Charleston, Aristocrats and Sans-culottes mix in friendly intercourse, and indiscriminately surround the tables. It is asserted, that they play very high.

The principles of the French demagogues predominated long in Charleston. For several years a Jacobin club existed in this town, of which Mr. HARPER, at present a violent Federalist, was member. The French consul MANGOURY, predecessor of the present consul, was a constant member of this club. But, although he was consul and agent of the French nation, and president of the club, yet he was denounced by a common seaman

on account of his uncivic conduct, and was obliged to submit to the humiliation of hearing his exclusion proposed by the daring seaman, which motion, however, fell to the ground, through the eloquence of a barber. At the alteration of the French constitution this club shared the fate of all other Jacobin meetings; at the time of its dissolution it consisted entirely of Frenchmen, all the Americans having withdrawn prior to that event.

Among the emigrants from St. Domingo Dr. POLONY holds a distinguished rank. He possesses an uncommon stock of profound learning, and is member of several literary societies in Europe. Repeated travels in the northern and southern states, and his extensive information, enabled him to communicate to the Academy of Paris a great variety of useful observations. As naturalist and chemist, he was peculiarly esteemed by Count Buffon. He has a complete work on St. Domingo ready for the press; the little I have read of it, appeared to me replete with sound argument and luminous philosophical discussion. In regard to what he says on the distempers incident to hot countries, I am no competent judge; but it seems to contain a great variety of profound researches, and keen, elaborate observations.

I met in Charleston with a school-fellow of mine, Mr. de la CHAPPELLE, a man of uncommon worth, and of the noblest and most generous mind. He has saved no more than fifteen hundred Louis d'or; and yet from his frugal mode of life he is able to do much good to others, by whom however his kindness is frequently abused.

#### GOOSE CREEK.

During my residence in Philadelphia in the winter of 1795, I promised Mr. ISARD to pay him a visit at his country-seat, if I should ever come to South Carolina. He was member of the Congress at the time, when the constitution was framed. Since the beginning of the revolution, when he entered on his political career, he has constantly performed his functions with that honesty, zeal, and disinterestedness, which form the con-

spicuous features of his character. His private concerns, which had severely suffered from the devastations of the English, were still more deranged by his long absence, and his family is very numerous. From these motives, as well as from his love of a retired life, he resigned his share in the administration of public affairs, from which neither honour nor profit can be derived in this country. He settled accordingly in South Carolina, where he intends to spend the remainder of his days, partly in the country and partly in town, surrounded by a numerous family, by whom he is evidently loved and respected. He is a sincere and zealous partisan of the federalist system, which is far from being popular in South Carolina. But they who differ from him in opinion on this subject, at the same time do justice to his character; and having travelled much in Europe, the information he possesses is of a more pleasing cast, than is generally acquired by Americans. His lady, who is universally respected in the country, possesses a cultivated mind; she is amiable and polite, and has passed some years in Europe with several of her children.

The estate of Mr. Isard consists almost entirely of rice-swamps; he owns three or four plantations, very conveniently situated for that purpose, and by all accounts well managed; his slaves amount to five hundred. His mansion is, properly speaking, only a country-house, built by his great grandfather, who arrived from England at the time, when the first settlements were formed in this country. It is very seldom that estates continue here so long in the same family, as from a natural propensity to change, the barter of estates is common among the inhabitants of Carolina.

This settlement, which Mr. Isard has named Elms, from a fine plantation of elm trees, which he planted himself, contains about fourteen hundred acres. He cultivates only three hundred, and keeps on this estate from twenty-five to thirty negroes. Indian-corn, barley, and potatoes, are its usual produce. A swamp of about one hundred acres is well situated for the culture of rice, and is already in part applied to it; he is now busied in felling the remaining trees, to devote it entirely to this purpose.

I have

I have seen here the commencement of the process of clearing. The part, destined for the culture of rice, is surrounded with a wide ditch; the earth, dug out of the ditch, serves to raise a dike, which on one side has one or two openings, shut up by locks, to let the water on the rice-field, some being constantly kept in a reservoir on more elevated ground for this purpose. Were it not for this dike the water would inundate the swamps at certain periods of the year, and sweep away the rice, which has just sprouted. When the ditch and dike are finished, the trees are cut down, but stumps are left in the ground as high as in the northern settlements. The small branches are burnt, the soil is somewhat loosened, and the rice planted amidst these large trunks of trees, which are not burnt or cut into fire-wood till some years afterwards. Mr. Ifard has assured me, that the produce of the first and second year, notwithstanding the trunks of trees thus partly covering the soil, is equal to that of any other ground, no part of which has been lost. This is the method of clearing the ground, universally observed in America. The produce of the culture of rice, as variable as that of any other branch of agriculture, fluctuates between two and four barrels per acre; Mr. Ifard obtains three; the barrel weighs six hundred and twenty-five pounds. Mr. Ifard's land yields from fifteen to twenty bushels of Indian corn, and one hundred bushels of potatoes an acre. A negro cultivates five acres of rice-field, and three or four of *provision*, as they are called, that is, Indian-corn and potatoes.

Mr. Ifard is a zealous advocate for slavery; from all the accounts, he has been able to collect, it is his firm belief, that a free negro is more indolent and vicious, than a negro slave. But he makes not any ill use of the unlimited authority, which by the laws of South Carolina the planters enjoy over their slaves. The mildness of his disposition is observable in his conduct towards his negroes, as in fact it is in every action of his life, unless the vivacity of his temper is wrought up by his peculiar opinions, especially on political subjects.

Mrs. Ifard has made several experiments of rearing silk-worms, which these last two years have proved uncommonly successful. Whether in this country, which is so well qualified for this species of culture, any

more attempts of that nature have been made, I know not, but Mrs. Ifard was induced to engage in them, from an earnest desire of promoting the prosperity of the country.

Goose Creek is the name of the parish in which Mr. Ifard's estate is situated. It contains about three hundred square miles, was several years without a pastor, and has but very lately obtained one. As the pay of the clergy is raised by subscription, such planters only contribute towards their subsistence, as reside in the vicinity of the church. Devotion is not a prevailing fashion in this country. The present certain income of the pastor of this parish exceeds not six hundred and forty-three dollars per annum. One Sunday, which I spent with Mr. Ifard, I went with him to church, where I found fifteen white people, and about thirty negroes and negroes, who occupied the aisles; for in the southern states the negroes are not suffered to mix with whites.

The road from Charleston to Elms runs through Dorchester; it is sandy like all the other roads in South Carolina. In the vicinity of the town the sand has less compactness, and, of consequence, fatigues both men and horses more, than at a greater distance from the town, on account of the great number of waggons, which, as the phrase here is, *plough the country*. For the first three or four miles the houses stand pretty close together, but farther on you find only scattered plantations, the buildings belonging to which seldom stand near the road. The only inn on this road, which is seventeen miles in length, lies ten miles from the town. In the course of the last war the English had, during their residence in Charleston, either from motives of military precaution, want of fire-wood, or lust of devastation, cut down every tree within ten miles of the town. Vegetation is so very powerful in this country, that all these trees are not only grown up again, but have also attained a considerable size. The luxuriance of the woods stands unrivalled; there are eighteen different species of oak, particularly the live-oak, palmetto or cabbage-tree, cucumber-tree, deciduous cypress, liquidambar, hickory, &c. In short, all the species of trees, which are so excessively dear in Europe, ten of which are bought to save one, for which both situation and soil are carefully selected, and which yet never attain any considerable height, are here the natural produce

duce of the country, and thrive most excellently. Equally pleasing to Europeans is the pleasing luxuriance of shrubs, plants, and various species of grass, which diffuse most of them an exquisite fragrance. My first rambles through these woods afforded me, therefore, an uncommon pleasure.

Some parts of South Carolina, where the land is less fertile, bear no other trees than pine, and for this reason are called *pine-barrens*. But even on these lands grows a species of grass, which, though inferior to that produced on a good soil, serves both winter and summer for the feed of horses, bullocks, and cows, which graze in the woods. This grass is called *crab-grass*.

At some distance from the road lies a garden, where a French botanist, who is paid by the French government, raises the trees of the country from the seed as well as layers, and sends them to Mr. THOUIN at Paris, with whom he maintains a literary correspondence. The name of this botanist is MICHARD; he has resided in America these fifteen years, and traversed every part of the country, to enrich France with the finest productions of the United States. He was just returned from the Illinois with a rich collection of beautiful plants and herbs. He peculiarly extols the vegetation in the Tennessee, where he has discovered a tree, from the root of which a beautiful pale yellow colour is extracted. He classifies it among the sophoras, but has not seen it in blossom, and consequently judges only from the growth, leaves and seed. He has given the latter to General Blount, who has offered to return him the plants. During his absence two negroes took care of his garden, and kept it very clean of weeds. This garden answers extremely well the views of Mr. Thouin, to domesticate in France the greatest possible number of the productions of all countries, for which purpose he has formed nurseries in the French dominions, under different degrees of latitude, to accustom exotic plants to the French climate by insensible degrees. Mr. Thouin is, in my opinion, one of the brightest ornaments of France.

The day I returned from Mr. Ifard, my very obliging friend, Mr. Pringle, proposed to me a trip to the banks of the river Ashley. I availed myself



myself with much satisfaction of this opportunity, to enlarge my acquaintance with the interior, and to view the country-seats, in those parts which enjoy the greatest celebrity.

Charleston being seated on an isthmus formed by two rivers, under an angle which is very acute, the road is for the first seven miles exactly the same, whether you intend to proceed to Georgia, North Carolina, or any point of South Carolina. We made our first stop at a small plantation, but very lately purchased by Dr. BARON, a Scotchman, and physician of great celebrity in Charleston, where, it is asserted, he makes thirteen thousand dollars a year. He is a man of extensive learning, and an excellent companion. This small plantation, named Fitterasso, consists of four hundred acres, and cost him four thousand two hundred and eighty dollars; it is situated on a small eminence near the river. The site for the house, for none has hitherto been built, is the most pleasant spot which could be chosen in this flat, level country, where the tedious sameness of the woods is scarcely variegated by some houses, thinly scattered, and where it is hardly possible to meet with a pleasant landscape. His garden is separated from the river by a morass, nearly drained; the whole extent of the northern bank of the river is nearly of the same description. Dr. Baron intends to purchase this intervening space, and to convert it into meadow-ground. This alteration will improve the prospect, without rendering it a charming vista.

Hence we crossed the river, and stopped at a plantation, lately purchased by Mr. Pringle, the former name of which was Greenville, but which he has named Susan's Place, in honour of his lovely wife. This plantation is likewise without a house, that of the former occupier having been consumed by fire; on the foundation of this building, which remains unhurt, the new mansion is to be erected, which will be finished this summer. The plantation, which consists of four hundred acres, has cost him one thousand two hundred and eighty-five dollars. The situation is much the same as that of Fitterasso, except that the morasses, covered with reeds, lie on the other side. The river flows close to the garden, and the ships, which continually sail up and down the river, may anchor here with

with great convenience. Yachts of one hundred tons burthen sail as far as Bacon-bridge, twenty miles from Charleston.

We made another halt at a house, formerly, the property of Commodore GILLOX, who died in very deranged circumstances, bordering on insolvency. This plantation, which has accordingly been made over to the creditors, is in the very worst state. The Commodore died three years ago. The house is tolerably handsome, and the garden is laid out with a more refined taste, and cultivated with more care than gardens generally are in this country. But the soil is sterile to such a degree, that the Commodore was obliged to supply his table with culinary plants, and his stable with fodder, from another plantation, which he possessed three or four miles farther distant.

Half a mile from Batavia, the name of the Commodore's plantation, stands Middleton-house, the property of Mrs. MIDDLETON, mother-in-law to young Mr. Ifard, which is esteemed the most beautiful house in this part of the country. The out-buildings, such as kitchen, wash-house, and offices, are very capacious. The *ensemble* of these buildings calls to recollection the ancient English country-seats. The rooms in the house are small, and the outside, as well as the inside, is badly kept. A peculiar feature of the situation is this, that the river, which flows in a circuitous course, until it reaches this point, forms here a wide, beautiful canal, pointing straight to the house. The garden is beautiful, but kept in the same manner as the house; the soil is very bad, and, in my opinion, the whole plantation is altogether undeserving the celebrity it enjoys.

We stopped to dine with Dr. DRAYTON, at Drayton-hall. The house is an ancient building, but convenient and good; and the garden is better laid out, better cultivated and stocked with good trees, than any I have hitherto seen. In order to have a fine garden, you have nothing to do, but to let the trees remain standing here and there, or in clumps, to plant bushes in front of them, and arrange the trees according to their height. Dr. Drayton's father, who was also a physician, began to lay out the garden on this principle; and his son, who is passionately fond of a coun-

try life, has pursued the same plan. The prospect from the garden is like all other views in this part of the country, but the occupier finds it less tediously uniform than travellers do. He pointed out to us, and spoke much, *con amore*, of a little hut in the woods, which is scarcely visible, and of a turning of the river, yet no village is to be seen, not the smallest estates, nay no huts. All South Carolina contains scarcely five or six villages, if four or five compact houses deserve this name. The planter resides, throughout the whole country, in the midst of his negroes. It is a matter of general censure, that Charles II. divided this country among three men, without considering that, divided as it is at present, perhaps among fifteen or twenty thousand people, it is yet far from procuring the state and society at large the advantages, which it might produce. Every one works with his own negroes; he has no opportunity of hiring others, as every one has full employment for his slaves, and stands in need of many hands for little work. In regard to the northern states, the period may be determined with some degree of certainty, when the whole country, which has been wrested from the Indians, will be cleared; but not the least idea can be formed how it will be possible in South Carolina to clear only double the quantity of land, which is at present under cultivation. This observation, however, applies merely to the lower part of South Carolina, for the country on the other side of the mountains is inhabited by white people, who work, as every where else, and whose number, it is asserted, increases yearly by new colonists, who are emigrating thither.

On our journey we met a *drove* of negroes (you cannot use a more proper term), who were sent from Cambridge to the market of Charleston. Their master, an advocate of Cambridge, one of the districts of the state, has relinquished his plantation, to employ his money in some other branch of business. Planters of small fortunes do this very often; and from the high price of negroes it is at present done more frequently than at other times. They were about one hundred in number, men, women, and children. The sale of the husband is not necessarily connected with that of the wife, nor is the purchaser of the mother obliged to buy the child,

child suckling on her breast. The advantage of the buyer is the only binding law.

That part of the forest, which I did not traverse, on my way to Mr. Ifard, abounds also, it is said, with trees and bushes. Two species of the forrel tree, (*andromeda*, Linn.) the azalea, the snow-drop tree or fringe tree (*chionanthus*, Linn.); honey-suckle with red blossoms, which grows in a swampy soil; the sassafras; and the myrtle of which green candles are made. The berries are boiled in water; the substance, which swims on the surface, is the oily matter or tallow. A bushel of berries yields eight pounds of candles, which cost twenty cents. The red paria, or Carolina horse-chestnut tree, which, when inoculated on a common chestnut grows up in Europe to a very high tree, is here a shrub of a middling size.

To several trees adheres a yellow grey moss, which hangs several feet down, like a beard, and is known by the name of *Spanish beard*. It retains the same colour, both in winter and summer, and bears small blue flowers in spring. It clings especially to oaks and elms; plantains, maples, cucumber trees, and pines are generally free from it. This moss injures only the beauty of the trees, but alters neither their growth nor leaves. In gardens which are well kept, it is taken off with iron rakes; the negroes frequently pull it off the trees in the woods with their hands, and sell it to the upholsterers of Charleston, who stuff with it mattresses and chairs. For the same purpose, pretty large quantities of it are transmitted to Philadelphia, New York, and even to the northern states; for though it constantly preserves a certain unpleasant smell, yet it is much used, from its being cheaper than wool or hair. In winter it affords good food for cattle.

### SANDYHILL.

After a residence of twenty days in Charleston, I set out for Georgia. From the excessive heat, it becomes necessary to make this tour before the beginning of June, in which month the heat grows intolerable; and the dangerous diseases, occasioned by it, spare but few men, especially

strangers, who travel through these pestiferous swamps. I set out in company with Mr. BEAUVOIS, a Frenchman, a botanist, passionately fond of his science, and a good, worthy man. In order that we both might retain our full liberty, we hired each a *cabriolet*, and a little negro. We pursued the same road, which I travelled with Mr. Pringle, on my excursion to the banks of the Ashley, until we reached the other side of this river, that is, ten miles from Charleston. To this point the road is much the same, sand and woods. The sand, however, is not so deep, and seems to be more mixed with earth. The woods are equally beautiful, and, for some miles, the plantations lie more compact. Rice is the chief article cultivated in this part of the country.

Eight miles after you have crossed the Ashley, you pass an arm of the river Stono. The bridge, by which you cross the river, has been built by General WASHINGTON, who possesses an estate in the neighbourhood, which, however, is not that on which he resides. The toll is considerable. I was obliged to pay a quarter of a dollar for a cabriolet and a horse; and yet the farmer, who takes the toll, pays the General no more than four hundred and twenty-eight dollars two thirds. This road is, therefore, in all likelihood, not much frequented; a supposition, which was much corroborated by the small number of travellers we met on our journey. And yet this is the great Savannah-road, which we did not leave but six miles from the General's estate.

All the inhabitants of South Carolina are more afraid of the rattlesnake, than those of New York and Pennsylvania. These snakes, it should seem, are more dangerous here than in the northern states; as instances are known of people having died a quarter of an hour after they were bitten. According to the assertion of the faculty, the bite is mortal only when a lymphatic vessel has been hurt, because in this case the poison mixes more rapidly with the blood; every other bite is easily cured. The intense heat of the climate renders the poison more destructive than in the northern states; for it can hardly be supposed, that among the great number of people who are bitten there, there should be none whose lymphatic vessels were injured, and yet none are known to have

have died of the bite. The juice of *plantago virginiana*, Linn. or the root and branches of mahuba bruised, are the remedies most commonly applied. Either of these plants is sufficient, but they are deemed more efficacious when they are applied jointly. A tobacco leaf steeped in rum, or a single leaf of one of the above plants, takes off the pain and swelling. CESAR, a negro, discovered this means in South Carolina; he proved its efficacy to the Assembly of the States, in 1780, by causing a rattle-snake to bite him; and obtained for this arcanum his liberty, and a pension of one hundred guineas a year. The rattle-snakes are as peaceful in Carolina, as they are in the north; they never bite but on being touched. However great the fear of these snakes may be in this country, yet they are not, it should seem, very frequent, as in this case the planters would undoubtedly, from motives of self-interest, furnish their slaves with the same thick worsted spatterdashies, which in the northern states render the bite harmless, by absorbing the poison; and which, for this reason, are there in general use, instead of suffering the negroes to work barefoot in the swamps as well as the woods.

General Washington's friends having prevailed upon me to call at the General's, I did so; and from the genteel reception I experienced on his part, we soon got acquainted. General Washington is of the same family as the President, but they are only distant relations. He served in the war of the revolution, and is generally respected. He is now one of the most opulent planters, and possesses from four to five hundred slaves, by whose number wealth is justly estimated in South Carolina; as it is through their labour that riches are amassed in this country. The information which I obtained from him, in regard to the culture of rice, appears to me complete, yet I shall not insert it in my journal, until it be corroborated, and rendered still more perfect by the accounts of other planters. I shall, therefore, here only observe, 1. That the General's rice fields are *inland swamps*; 2. the General sows one bushel and a half of rice on an acre; 3. the medium produce of an acre is two barrels of rice; 4. every negro cultivates four or four acres and a half; besides two or three acres of *provision*; 5. by his calculation a third only of his ne-

groes work in the fields, the rest either consist of old people, children, and sick, ~~or are~~ employed about the house; 6. the number of negroes increases every year by a twentieth; 7. every negro earns annually, all expences being deducted, about two hundred and fifty-seven dollars; but the rice which, prior to the war, was sold for two dollars and a half, costs now six or seven dollars and a half; 8. the expence for a negro, including duty, board, clothing, and medicines, he estimates from twelve to thirteen dollars; 9. he intends to erect a mill, to save the trouble of grinding and sifting, which is generally done in the plantations by hard labour.

These mills save considerable time and work; the negroes are relieved from the most painful toil, and able to work more in the fields. Another great advantage is, that the rice is more regularly husked, which causes a considerable difference in the produce. An able husker delivers nineteen parts of large rice, and one of rice-dust; but an indifferent workman only ten. Rice-dust, or small rice, that is, such as is too much ground, is not marketable, or fetches only half the price of good rice.

By all the observations which I have been able to collect, the culture of rice is in an improving state; the best proof of which is the greater number of furrows in a given space. The planters had formerly only fifty-five in one acre and a quarter, instead of sixty-five or seventy, which are made at present, without the least prejudice to the fertility of the soil, or the richness of the ears. Another improvement concerns the mode of watering the swamps. Upon the whole, the planters, more enlightened on their true interest, seem determined to perfect the culture of rice by all possible means. The rice, from this plantation, is transported twelve miles in carts, and frequently the distance from the next creek is still greater. The planters are now raising a sum by subscription, for the construction of a canal, which is to cross the swamps, and on which the rice may, without the least difficulty, be conveyed to Charleston. This canal is to be ten miles in length, and the expence is estimated at thirty-eight or forty thousand dollars. I assisted at a meeting of the commissioners, relative to the best means of constructing it. For this purpose it has been proposed,

proposed, either to cause every planter to work at the canal with a certain number of negroes, proportionate to the greater or less distance of his plantation from the canal to the extent of his swamps, or the number of his slaves, or to charge one planter with the construction of the whole canal, and make every planter contribute to the expense in the above proportion. Good planters are of the latter opinion, because the adoption of the former would lessen the number of their workmen, and, of consequence, their gain. The meeting deliberated on these questions, but came to no determination. That one single planter should be able to undertake this work, may be explained by the circumstance, that there are many bad planters, who let their negroes at a high price. The meeting terminated in a dinner, like all similar meetings in England, with this difference only, that this dinner was given, not in a good tavern, but in a miserable inn, where, from the ruinous state of the stair-case, the guests were under the necessity of working up their way to the dining-room by the aid of a ladder. It was a cold dinner, and the liquors served up were rum, brandy, and geneva, which the gentlemen of the meeting quaffed, as if they had been the most delicious champagne. The General, whose turn it was to entertain the company, had provided the whole dinner." The culture of rice will undoubtedly be greatly increased by the construction of this canal. By General Washington's account, as many swamps remain still uncultivated as are under cultivation.

His own plantations are all situated in the vicinity of his mansion, without joining each other. One director has the superintendence over all the plantations, and under him special inspectors are appointed for every plantation. He cultivates two hundred acres with Indian corn or potatoes; the average produce is from twelve to fifteen bushels of Indian corn per acre.

The rice-planters cultivate no more Indian corn and potatoes, than they want for their own consumption, and that of their negroes. By cultivating more, they would, in their opinion, waste their time in a less profitable labour; and many planters would rather purchase all their provision, than raise it in their own fields, were not the carriage so very expensive.



All the planters keep great numbers of oxen, cows, and pigs, which procure their food easily, and without the least expence, in the large forests, which belong to the plantations. Horses are also frequently turned into the woods; but the true amateurs of horses, many of whom are found among the planters, send them rather to graze on a field, which the year before was sown with Indian corn and rice, and on which the species of grass, called *crab grass*, grows in great plenty. In woods, where the grass of the preceding year is not entirely consumed, and where this grass might stifle the new growth, it is burnt at the beginning of spring, and the young grass thrives better than it otherwise would do.

The price of swamps is here from twenty-one to forty-two dollars an acre. The situation in regard to the watering of the swamps occasions the difference in their price. Uplands cost from five to six dollars an acre, but are seldom sold. Indian corn costs one dollar and a half the bushel, a cow from six to nine dollars, and a yoke of oxen forty dollars.

General Washington is one of the planters of Carolina, who, in order not to relinquish to the merchants of Charleston the great profits on the sale of rice, have transmitted it themselves to England. The results of this operation are not yet known. All the planters are highly pleased with the high price of rice, yet the most prudent of them adopt not a more expensive way of living, but convert their gains into capital. They are fond of residing on their plantations, and thus save much of their household expence. Yet you must be accustomed to such a residence to be pleased with it. Not the least variety, as to soil and culture; surrounded on all sides with mud and water; few or no neighbours; and in addition to these unpleasant circumstances, the planters are deprived of the greatest pleasure of cultivators, to see every thing grow in their fields. In the month of June, when the swamps are watered for the first time, the planters retire for four months into the town, for fear of the pestiferous effluvia, and during this time the rice ripens and is mowed. The white director of the plantation, who remains on the spot, must the first summer pay for this residence either with his life, or at least with a dreadful fit of illness; and, should he survive this, yet he is every summer attacked

by

by a similar disease at least for a fortnight. The negroes suffer not from all these noxious exhalations.

In the General is united to his other excellent qualities that of a benevolent master to his negroes. They are not overburdened with labour, and they are at liberty to cultivate for themselves as much land as they choose.

Mrs. Washington seems less pleased with a plantation-life than her husband, whom business frequently calls away, and whom a pipe or a good dinner often retains in the place, whither he is obliged to go.

The General's plantation lies in St. Paul's parish, which contains fifteen square miles. Although four or five remains of churches are to be found in this parish, yet there exists in fact but one, where a congregation can assemble. The rest were burnt down in the course of the war, and they are in this country not very anxious to build them up again.

The road from Sandyhill to Dr. PRINGLE's, brother of my friend Pringle of Charleston, is as sandy as that which we have travelled; but the small bridges, you frequently meet with, grow worse and worse. We crossed in a ferry the river Edisto or Pompon, which rises two hundred miles higher up the country, and on which the timber from the forests of further Carolina, that are one hundred miles distant from Charleston, is floated to this city.

Dr. Pringle resides in the township of St. Bartholomew, and cultivates, of nineteen hundred acres, which compose his estate, two hundred acres of swamps, and forty acres high land. If he had more hands to dispose of, he might cultivate more; but he possesses only a small fortune; and planters thus circumstanced can very seldom raise the necessary money for the construction of machinery. He has explained to me the whole process of the culture and preparation of the rice; and the information I received from him on this subject, agrees so perfectly with that which I have collected in three or four other different places, that I think myself fully informed on this head. Rice is commonly sown about this time; some have already done it, and others commence in a fortnight.

The country is full of that species of crocodile, which by naturalists are called *caimans*. We saw a small one at the General's, which had been killed by his huntsman. On a walk we took with Dr. Pringle, we saw two, which lay asleep near a large swampy ditch; both were of considerable size, and one measured from the head to the extremity of the tail upwards of twelve feet. We observed them perfectly at our ease, at the distance of twelve paces. The noise we made, after five or six minutes, having roused them from their sleep, they jumped into the water. This animal very seldom touches a man, however near it may be to him; it constantly flees, when on land; but in the water it is said to be fiercer. A few years ago, a caiman bit off the leg of a woman, while she was bathing. It more frequently attacks dogs, which at times it carries off in the presence of men. Sometimes, when hounds in pursuit of a stag swim through the water, they seize both hounds and deer, and pull them down to the bottom, without their ever appearing again. The scales, with which the caiman is coated, render it invulnerable, unless the wound be inflicted in the interstices of the scales, or at the extremities.

The rattle-snake is as much dreaded in this country as the caiman. No person has of late died of its bite, which proves frequently mortal to dogs, cows, and horses, although cases of its being cured are more numerous. On the whole, the number of these noxious animals appears very inconsiderable. By Dr. Pringle's account, who has seen many of them, they are here much larger at the same age, than in the northern states. Those which have come within my observation, are of the same size as in Georgia, but of more vivid colours. The bite of the water rattle-snake is also poisonous, but less so than that of the land. The derivation of its name is not known; for this animal has neither rattles, nor is it furnished with the two fangs, which render the rattle-snake so extremely dangerous. There are those, who imagine, that it is the female of the rattle-snake, while in the opinion of others it forms a distinct species; but all this rests on supposition, as in fact do many things in natural history. The black serpent is pretty common in Carolina, it is very long, and pursues those who attack it; but its bite is harmless.

Panthers are sometimes found in the woods, but they are few in number; the assertion of their having attacked men is contradicted. Tiger-cats, wolves, and foxes are here frequent, and sometimes carry off fowls, sheep, and calves from places contiguous to inhabited buildings. But the planters, who assemble their two-stock twice a year, to count the young, and pick out those which they intend to sell, charge less the wild beasts with the deficiency they discover, than the petty planters, negroes, and other workmen. The winter is here never so severe, as to prevent the cattle from remaining in the woods, where they find plenty of food; some of the planters feed them with the straw of indian-corn and rice, but most kill them, as they come out of the woods. Mr. Pringle, who keeps from seventy to eighty negroes, and, of consequence, is no great planter, has from two to three hundred head of cattle.

To judge from the acquaintance I have made among the planters, their conversation is not very interesting. Their time is chiefly taken up by the chace and the table, by gaming and doing nothing, the few excepted, whose parents were sufficiently rich to send them to Europe for education and instruction.

Mr. Pringle holds a distinguished rank among well-bred farmers. He finished his education and studied medicine in Europe; for some time he followed this profession, but now practises it only from motives of compassion, to preserve his independence. He is in every respect a worthy man, amiable and communicative, plain, and so happy, that his equals are but seldom found. He is an excellent master to his negroes, and asserts, against the opinion of many others, that the plantations of mild and indulgent masters thrive most, and that the negroes are more faithful and laborious. He is beloved by his slaves. The cultivated part of his plantation is in the best order, and the number of his negroes encreases yearly by a tenth.

In the neighbourhood are a few very small plantations, the property of white people, who keep no slaves, and who of fifty acres, which form the necessary qualification of an elector, cultivate about twenty with their oxen. This class is poor, and, by what I have been told, seems not

to deserve much respect. But these planters evidently prove, that even in this scorching climate white people can perform the labour, for which it is generally deemed necessary to employ slaves; though it must be confessed, that they neither work much in the hottest season of the year, nor toil in the swamps. White people may perhaps not be able to accustom themselves to the necessary labours in the swamps, yet it is of importance to know, that they are capable of working in the upper country at the culture of grain, potatoes, and turnips. From this fact hopes may be entertained, that the large tract of ground which separates the swamps from the upper country, and the fertility of the soil of which is apparent from the numerous trees it bears, will be cultivated.

Mr. Pringle presented my fellow-traveller, Mr. Beauvois, with a petrified oyster, found in the vicinity of Columbia, one hundred and twenty miles from the sea. Its length amounts to eighteen inches. English measure. From the circumstance, that in that part of the country there is a considerable stratum of similar petrified substances, it becomes highly probable, that this whole tract was once covered by the sea, and that the ridge of mountains, which runs from Florida to Canada, formed its original limit.

In the township of St. Paul a free negro, who from his early youth carefully stored up the produce of his industry, possesses a plantation of two hundred slaves. Instances of this kind are not rare, I understand, in St. Domingo; but such a plantation is here a phenomenon. The severity excepted, with which this emancipated slave treats his negroes, his conduct is said to be regular and good. His name is PINDAUM, and he is eighty-five years old. He has married a white woman, and has given his daughter, a mulatto, to a white man.

#### RUPELMONDE, ON THE RIVER BEAUFORT.

As long as the roads continue of the same quality, as I have hitherto found them, since I left Charleston, I shall not make any mention of them. I am not yet tired of these superb forests; but on traversing them, you cannot but regret, that a soil, which bears such trees, should not produce

duce any thing else, and that nineteen twentieths of that soil may, perhaps, remain for ever uncultivated in Carolina, which might be sown with oats, rye, and barley, and thus remove the unhealthiness of the climate, and the poverty of the country. Nature invites this country to a high degree of prosperity, the non-attainment of which can only be owing to the neglect and misconduct of men.

We travelled in company with Mr. ROBERT PRINGLE, a worthy brother of John Pringle of Charleston; he intended to introduce us to his numerous friends at Beaufort. The plantations along the road are few in number and insignificant. The people were everywhere busied in sowing rice.

I had a letter to Mr. THOMAS FULLER of Sheldon. He was not at home, but his lady received us with great kindness. She is very handsome, and endowed with excellent qualities.

It is frequently the fate of travellers to contract obligations; this we experienced the same evening, in regard to a lady who resides on the coast of the Island of Beaufort. The vessel, intended to carry us over, was too small for our two *cabriolets* and horses. We were, therefore, obliged to wait; and seeing us walking up and down the shore, she invited us to step into her house, and at length offered us a night's lodging. Mrs. RAPPEL resides with her daughter in the neighbourhood of the ferry, which belongs to her. The mother was, fifteen years ago, the first beauty of Charleston; and even yet, though thirty-five years old, and frequently indisposed with nervous diseases, she is handsome and amiable. She generally resides in Charleston, whither she returns at the beginning of June. Whatever praise may be due to our European gentility, yet in no part of the globe so much hospitality is practised as in America, or can it any where be better exercised, than in South Carolina.

We this day crossed, by a very bad bridge, the river Combabee, which separates the district of Charleston from that of Beaufort. The only remarkable thing we met on this journey was a large caiman, which lay dying on a ditch. He was wounded in the head with an axe, and was at a greater distance from the water than they generally are. We dis-

patched him, and found that he was eleven feet and half in length. These animals, whose aspect is as frightful as the accounts of their fierceness, are no objects of fear with the inhabitants of this country; travellers, therefore, have either exaggerated the accounts, or are more timid than the inhabitants. They are killed, wherever they are met with, and extremely numerous in the fresh waters of Carolina and Georgia.

The state of Georgia, the worst regulated part of the Union, is a compound of natives of all European countries, and of all the other parts of the United States. Its recent history is a tissue of continual disputes among the inhabitants, as well as with other states, without the least mark of public spirit. This moral picture must necessarily admit of exceptions; I have myself, during my short residence in Savannah, found men, who would do honour to any country. But the exceptions, I apprehend, are few.

As late as the last session, a more regular administration of justice has been established; but it is not yet in force, nor will it be so for some time to come. The sessions are not regularly held; the empannelling of the juries meets with great difficulties, and yet the business of a lawyer is one of the most lucrative professions.

Agriculture is much the same as in South Carolina. Cotton is cultivated by all the inhabitants, who consider it as a principal branch of their trade, without paying any more attention to the best mode of cultivating it, than they do in South Carolina. Candid planters allow, that they are far from having attained the highest degree of perfection, the attainment of which will, in my opinion, sooner be effected in South Carolina than Georgia. The machinery for cleaning the cotton is here more frequently employed than in Carolina; but the planters, convinced of the disadvantages attending it, relinquish the use of it, and expect another from the Bahama islands, which compleats the operation sooner, without injuring the down.

The back country, which begins behind Augusta, is far more populous, and exports tobacco, Indian-corn, rye, and wheat. Slaves, as is asserted, are more numerous on the other side of Augusta, than on this side

side. There is no planter, who keeps a considerable number of negroes; but the smallest planters buy some as soon as they can leave off doing any work themselves, and grow lazy, for which the masters of slaves generally feel a strong disposition, encouraged by the heat of the climate and the habits and manners of the country.

The law of the land permits the importation of negroes, and this is the only state, the ports of which are not yet shut against the African trade. They are not, however, imported in great numbers in Savannah; in the course of last year arrived about six or seven hundred; during the first four months of this year four hundred and fifty have been landed, and two or three thousand more are expected. Savannah employs no ship in the slave-trade; but it is carried on in ships belonging to New England, and especially to Rhode-Island. The cargo, however, is constantly carried to Savannah, without the least certainty of a profitable sale, on account of the scarcity of money which generally prevails, and because foreign merchants are as little fond of giving credit to those of Savannah, as these are of crediting the planters. For the sole purpose of cultivating such swamps, as are fitted for cultivation, ten successive years from eight to ten thousand negroes should be annually imported. A third of those who are imported, are, in spite of the prohibition, every year smuggled into Carolina. These African negroes cost three hundred dollars each; those of the Gold-coast are the best of all, and next to them are those of Congo and Ibo. The latter are the best labourers, but frequently perish within the first two years.

I witnessed an auction of negroes in Savannah; and although it was a shocking sight, yet I was not so affected by it as when I saw the one hundred negroes in Charleston driven to market. These were grown persons; but the others were children, unacquainted with the horrors of their situation.

Almost all the land in Georgia is good; but different in quality according to its situation; for at the distance of one hundred miles from the sea it continues rising as far as the Apalachian mountains, which are connected with the chain of mountains that intersects the whole of North America,



America, proceeding from Canada, disappears at the Gulf of Mexico; and, under the name of Tapinambourg, rises again in South America, after having first shewn itself in the Antilles: at least this is the opinion of several naturalists. The lands appear better here than those similarly situated in Carolina; and from the Apalachians to the Mississippi they appear still better.

None of the states is better watered than Georgia. The rivers Savannah, Oconee, Alatamaha, and St. Mary which divides it from East Florida, run through it from east to west; and in their course receive a great number of creeks and smaller rivers, by means of which the products of the inland parts, if they were inhabited, might easily be conveyed to the sea. The great rivers Appalachicola, Mobile, Peare, Palcacola, and Governanti, which intersect West Florida, and empty themselves into the Gulf of Mexico, have their source in Georgia. The river Mississippi, by which it is bounded on the west, must, since the last treaty with Spain, be a certain and extensive means of disposing of all its products, which might be sent to the Antilles. All the parts of the coast south of Savannah are, without comparison, more healthy than Savannah, or than the coasts of Virginia or the two Carolinas; because they lie nearer the trade-winds, and partake of the advantage which these afford. The climate, which in the interior of Georgia is not so hot as in Carolina, is much milder in winter. There is seldom any snow here, and where there is, it soon melts away. Except in the swampy parts, fewer diseases prevail here than in Carolina; and fresh springs of water are to be met with every where.

To these advantages may be added the facility in passing between the continent and the islands that lie along the coast, the communication with all of them being perfectly safe, and there being no occasion to go out into the open sea. These islands are for the most part spacious and healthy: they have an excellent soil, which yields very fine cotton, almost all kinds of corn, and abundance of live-oak, which is of so much value in ship-building.

In that part of Georgia which borders on West Florida, there are  
many

many fields of rice along the rivers; particularly on the banks, and between the two branches of the Mobile. Oaks of every kind, hickories, sassafras, mulberry and chestnut trees, grow here in the greatest possible perfection. There are few live-oaks, and scarcely any cypresses or cedars. The white pine grows here only; the spruce-fir is seldom seen. It is said that the three branches of the river Altamaha, with the island of St. Simon, which lies facing them, form the best, deepest, and safest harbour on the American coast, below the Chesapeake. Few of the United States are destined to greater prosperity than Georgia. But there must be hands to work this gold-mine; and their labour must be rendered valuable by good order, by respect for the government, and a due administration of the laws. These objects will certainly be accomplished some time or other, but in the present state of things, it is difficult to fix upon the period when it shall come to pass. The inhabitants of the back country are more idle, drunken, and disorderly, than those who reside in the back parts of any of the United States. It is only to the government that these vices can be imputed. Land which produces rice, and is furnished with the buildings requisite for its cultivation, fetches, when in good condition, from sixty to sixty-five dollars; and that which is not so, sells at seven or eight dollars.

They carry on a trade with Georgia, with deer, otter, and beaver skins. But the Indians, who supply them, find a more advantageous and surer sale in West Florida; and therefore carry all their skins to Pensacola. This trade is therefore confined to furs procured by the people of the back country; and these are inconsiderable in number and value.

The Cherokees, the Chactaws, and Creeks, who are the most numerous and warlike of all the Indian nations, inhabit the borders of Georgia. Those capable of bearing arms are supposed to amount to the number of twelve thousand, six thousand of whom are Creeks. There are about thirty-five thousand Indians altogether in Georgia. It is said that the Creeks, contrary to the general case, are encreasing in numbers. Although these people are held in aversion, and endeavours are made to drive them beyond the Mississippi; yet it is allowed on all hands, that in the conti-  
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nual quarrels which they have with the white people on the boundaries, the latter are in the wrong four times out of five. It is admitted by every body, that there cannot be a more vicious set of people than the whites who dwell on the boundaries: they rob, murder, and betray the Indians; who in return frequently destroy their persecutors, together with their families; and when they perhaps take a dreadful revenge, they only defend themselves against unprovoked attacks: these Indians are all as good, as generous, and as faithful as those of the northern states. Even when they are in the greatest state of disturbance, they live in the utmost familiarity with the white families who reside amongst them, and who find more protection from them than from the white borderers: these scalp their prisoners, as well as the Indians. This constant state of petty warfare is a new source of disorder in the state.

The State of Georgia, in conjunction with the federal government, thinks of concluding a general treaty with the Indians, the negotiations for which are to be entered upon in less than a month. The consequence of this treaty will be, that the Indians, in consideration of a sum of money, will retire a hundred miles farther back. Meanwhile the borderers will pursue them, and will never be restrained, by any treaty, from making their unjust attacks; as long as there is no government to restrain them by rigorous punishments, and of course to prevent the reprisals of the Indians.

These Indians cultivate the land with more care than those in the northern states. They keep such negroes as they carry away in their petty wars, or those who desert to them. They treat them as slaves, but behave well to them; are sparing of them in labour, and share with them their own food. I have been assured, that there are some Indians who have no fewer than thirty negroes: these carry the produce of their husbandry to Pensacola, by which means Georgia is deprived of considerable advantages.

I have heard an anecdote of one of these Indians, which, I believe, will give a clear idea of their manner of thinking. The Creeks had occasion to assemble some years ago concerning a treaty with the United States:

States: one TALASKING, a famous warrior amongst them, who had always declared himself a friend to the United States, opposed every act of hostility against them, and was consequently well known, came to New York, the place of meeting, after the Assembly had already been opened. He there found, that one MALASKY, who had distinguished himself by his inveteracy against the United States, and by the mischiefs he had done them, was well treated, and even cherished by the American commissioners. This circumstance raised his indignation to such a degree, that, although he was himself well-treated, he left the Assembly after two days, and became an enemy to the States. This indignation has its foundation in a strong sentiment of honour, which must make civilized states blush for the falsehood and depravity of their policy.

The avaricious Georgians are not contented with grasping at the country of the Indians; many of them look on Florida already as their lawful property; and think that by a war, they would easily gratify this ambition of theirs; as the southern states are much more populous than this province. It is to be considered how little Spain can be interested in this small tract of country, how many disputes it may occasion, and what a natural boundary the Gulf of Mexico would form for the United States. It cannot but be wished that Spain, with a sort of political magnanimity, may give up this country, which is not an advantageous possession to her, and which in all probability she may not be able to retain.

The law concerning negroes is milder in Georgia than in Carolina, where it is of English origin. But here it is thirty years younger, and therefore breathes that humanity, which characterises the latter half of the present century. It appears to me in some respects as mild as any law can ever be when slavery is permitted. It is said that there are few severe masters here: but the negroes are worse clothed and fed than in Carolina; and even there their cloathing and food are not remarkably good.

Until 1794 Augusta was the chief town of Georgia: next to Savannah it is the largest, and the only place that carries on an inland trade.

Louisville, the present seat of government, consists only of about thirty houses.

Savannah is famous for the defeat of M. d'Estaing in 1778, when he made an unsuccessful attack upon it. After every thing I have heard from eye-witnesses concerning that affair, I am positive, that M. d'Estaing might have surprised the town without waiting for his heavy artillery: 1. As the town, at his arrival, was defenceless. 2. That he should have properly finished the regular siege, as he had once entered upon it. 3. That M. d'Estaing would certainly have rendered himself master of the town, if, after the first summons, he had not granted General Prevost an armistice of two or three days; during which time the latter had procured reinforcements from Beaufort, and doubled his means of defence. 4. He would have succeeded in the attack, if, instead of directing all his force against one strong redoubt, he had penetrated through the other scattered works which were ill defended. The English in that case would have been forced to quit their entrenchments, and an engagement would have ensued, in which the French and Americans, on account of their numbers, would have been victorious. The inhabitants recollect with gratitude the pains which M. d'Estaing had taken to deliver them from the hands of the English. They praise the valour of the French; but lament that M. d'Estaing, on granting the armistice of twenty-four hours, refused to let General Prevost's lady leave the town.

The fever which I caught in Savannah obliged me, against my will, to relinquish an excursion into the back country of Georgia and Carolina, which I had previously planned.

I departed with pleasure from this town, the climate, and situation of which on a burning sand render it so uncomfortable; and where the spirit of disorder and anarchy must disgust every man to whom liberty is dear, and who knows that it can be maintained only by respecting and obeying the laws.

## SPANISH SETTLEMENTS IN NORTH AMERICA.

I believe that this is the proper place to give the accounts which I collected in Carolina and Georgia concerning the Spanish settlements, that border on the United States. The river Apalachicola, runs between East and West Florida: the Mississippi divides West Florida from Louisiana.

East Florida is thinly inhabited. When it belonged to England, several rice-plantations were established on a large scale, and with success. There are also plantations of cotton, which are very productive. It appears, that a great quantity of land is applied to these uses, and that even pine-barrens might be improved for this purpose, though many inhabitants think, that the sandy soil would not be able to produce cotton. Most of the planters left East Florida after the peace of 1783, when it was ceded by England to Spain. Some trifling culture is however yet carried on by a few English families, who have not left the country. Few Spanish families live in Florida. The best rice-land lies north of the province, near the river St. Mary. There are also good swamps on the banks of the rivers towards the south, especially on the river St. John. This river runs along the coast, parallel with the sea, from south to north; or rather consists of several lakes. It is navigable from one end to the other; and of course can carry away the wood which grows here in abundance, and which can easily float into it on the small creeks. The trees that grow in Florida are live-oak, red and white oaks, cypress, hickory, red and white cedar, and the cucumber-tree: they are all very large. The river St. John can be even united with the sea, on the south-west coast of the peninsula, in Charlotte Bay, by means of the river Colooschatche, and of a canal eight or ten miles in length, which would run through the marshes. By these means a direct passage from the Atlantic into the Gulf of Mexico would become practicable and easy: and the wood which should not be used in Florida, might soon be conveyed to the islands.

St. Augustin is a very small town, which has but one street. It lies on a better soil than Charleston or Savannah. Vessels drawing more than ten feet water cannot anchor in the harbour. The tide rises only to thirteen

or fourteen feet. The climate is healthier than that of Charleston, on account of the trade-winds, which constantly cool the air. It carries on its principal trade with Savannah and Charleston, to which places it sends the products of the Havannah, which are deposited here. It is supplied with English goods from the Bahama Islands.

The Lemencuka Indians, a small tribe of Creeks, have a village of about one hundred houses in Tuscvilla on Polycreek. They have some smaller ones on the sea-coast, on the other side of East Florida. The shore of West Florida rises perpendicularly over the sea, and is healthy. It is confidently said that the land at the mouth of the Mississippi has increased to the distance of twelve or fifteen miles, since the first settlement of the French in that place. This land, however, which is becoming firmer every year, is not yet sufficiently secure. South-west winds generally blow here. Hurricanes seldom happen; and they come from the south-east.

The land between the Mississippi and Betekfoha is excellent. The natural products are a sort of large reeds, hickory, cedar, and cypress, which are very large: it has excellent meadows, which yield very strong grass; and it is fit for every kind of cultivation. From Betekfoha to Pearl-river the land is not so good. It has the same kind of trees, with oaks of different sorts; but few live-oaks. From Pearl-river to East Florida, the country consists of a rich land, which might be cultivated to advantage. It produces many trees, particularly live-oak, which grow here to a very large size.

I give this sketch by way of introduction, in order to be better understood. It is, upon the whole, correct; though not sufficiently distinct in every particular. All the land that lies on the rivers is of the best quality.

There are many habitations along the Mississippi. Some French families still dwell in the vicinity of the Bay of St. Louis. There are considerable settlements along the river Mobile, at the Bay of Pensacola, and on the other rivers. Although these provinces have belonged to Spain for thirteen years, yet there are very few Spaniards here. Such is

also the case with Louisiana. Except the military, custom-house officers, and persons holding places under government, there are not perhaps a hundred Spanish families throughout this large plain. The bulk of the inhabitants consists chiefly of French, who had settled here originally, and of Germans, who have remained here, after the cession of the country to Spain. Some French, English, and Spanish families, are proprietors of lands, but they are few. Almost all the lands belong to the Crown, which neither sells nor grants them for a ground-rent, but always gives them away at pleasure. This power rests in the hands of the Governor, who receives money for it, but who insures the possession only so long as he holds his situation.

There are few monks or priests in Florida and Louisiana. From every thing I have heard, religion does not appear to be predominant. It has, however, some influence; and French philosophy would find here many opponents.

The rivers all flow from north to south, and not very rapidly. The tide comes up a considerable way into them. Vessels can sail sixty or seventy miles up Pearl-river. The western branch of the river Mobile is navigable for one hundred miles; and the eastern two hundred: the Appalachicola two hundred. All these rivers rise in Georgia, where, with the exception of a few obstructions, they are navigable.

The harbour of Pensacola is one of the best in all North America. The entrance is safe; and the water, even at the keys, is always five fathoms deep. At Mobile the water at ebb is ten, and at flood-tide fourteen feet deep. At New Orleans there is between fourteen and sixteen feet of water; but the navigable channel is narrow, and the entrance difficult. On every part of the coast there are numbers of small bays.

It is not so hot in West Florida as in Carolina, notwithstanding its situation being so much more southerly. Between the Mississippi and Mobile intermitting and bilious fevers prevail in autumn. From the river Mobile to East Florida the country is very healthy.

In many parts of West Florida, and particularly in the Natches, which lie within the territory of Georgia, and to which place the richness of the

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the soil has invited many inhabitants from Florida, rice, cotton, tobacco, and indigo, are cultivated. The indigo, which is known by the name of New Orleans indigo, is of a very good kind; it is inferior to that of St. Domingo, but much better than that of Carolina. It is said, that, if more care were taken in the cultivation of it, and seed brought more frequently from Guatimala, this indigo would be almost as good as that of St. Domingo.

It must be a matter of surprize, to find that the whole of West Florida, which belongs to Spain, is supplied with European goods from England. This, however, is true; and can only be attributed to the laziness of the Spaniards. The Crown has granted to two English houses, one of which trades under the firm of PENTON and ERMER, the exclusive privilege of supplying the inhabitants of the country, as well as the Indians, with European commodities; which puts into the hands of the English the whole of the peltry trade, even in the parts which border on Augusta. They deal much more honourably in their barter than the Georgians, are better supplied with commodities, and, on that account, the Indians readily trade with them. This privilege does not extend to New Orleans. Every year some ships, which supply the Havannah, come to New Orleans, but they bring very inadequate cargoes, so that the Spanish settlements on the Illinois get all their European goods from Montreal.

There is a fact still more recent, which points out the bad policy, whereby the Spaniards give up all power into the hands of the English. The Governor of New Orleans has given to the English house of TONE and Co. (who carry on the peltry trade on the other side of the Mississippi, below the lakes) the exclusive privilege of trading for skins with the Indians, along the left bank of the Missouri; by which means the English are in possession of the most important part of this river, and they have opened a trade with several nations. This privilege has been purchased from the Governor of New Orleans for the sum of twenty thousand pounds sterling. From this circumstance an idea may be formed of the sluggishness and avarice of the Spanish government and its agents, which the activity of the English fails not to turn to their profit. It is high time

that this country, even for the benefit of Spain, should come into the possession of France. Should Spain keep it much longer. England will soon obtain it. In fact, she partly possesses it already, there being several English garrisons stationed upon the Spanish territories along the Mississippi; and the numerous inhabitants of the Indian territory throughout this immense district, so rich in skins, are unacquainted with any but English traders. When the English shall have established themselves still more firmly in this trade, they will become more important, and then the rich Spanish settlements in Mexico will not be long secure. This opinion, which to me appears very clear, should be established beyond a doubt by Frenchmen, who penetrate farther into the country than I have done: It is sufficient here to say, that, contrary to the assertion of some Americans, the Mississippi is navigable as far as Kentucky and the Illinois; and that the vessels, which carry the products of these countries to New Orleans, may take back European commodities, which, by this means, would be cheaper than those brought from the ports of the Atlantic.

The commercial advantages, which Louisiana holds out to an active and intelligent nation, are uncommonly great. It might furnish the most durable wood of every sort, for ship-building and masts. I have been informed by an engineer, who had been in the English service during the last war in Florida, and who was desirous of demolishing a fort that had been built by the French at Pensacola in 1080, that he found the wood of it as free from injury, and as sound as if it had been felled the preceding day; and that he could make use of it all in constructing a stronger fort. Louisiana could supply the French colonies with entire houses in frame, which will be much wanted there on the return of peace; and which might be had at an easier and cheaper rate from that country than from the province of Maine, or the North river. They could have shingles of cypress and cedar longer, thicker, and six times more durable than those of fir, that are brought from the north-east part of America, which are not able to resist the frequent hurricanes that happen in our islands, and often, in one night, carry away the roofs of many houses. From Louisiana might also be brought hemp, flax, and, consequently,

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ropes and sail-cloth in abundance; and likewise tiles, which are already manufactured in the neighbourhood of New Orleans. They might get abundance of tar from the firs that grow here in great numbers. Saltpetre, it is asserted, may be found in many places; and there are many lead and iron mines, the working of which would not be attended with much difficulty. The rice in Louisiana is very good; it is cultivated to a considerable extent near the Mississippi; it is even said that they plant it there on dry ground. Wheat, Indian corn, and grain of every sort, grows also here in great quantities. The depôt to be formed at New Orleans of all these products of the western states of America would necessarily secure the supply to the islands; and the barter carried on with these states, which should furnish themselves with European goods at New Orleans, would form a political connexion, which no nation, to which Louisiana belonged, ought to neglect. This large colony would supply the mother country with finer tobacco than that of Virginia, and with all the skins which are now collected by the English companies. In short, the productions of Louisiana, and its trade to Europe lying constantly open, would give rise to a barter with the Spanish colonies, from which it would be easy to receive cochineal, log-wood, chocolate, vanilla, tanned leather, Havannah tobacco, Guatimala indigo, &c. To this list of productions many more might be added. But the above articles will serve to give an idea of the great resources of Louisiana. Oil and wine might certainly be cultivated to great advantage. Finally, the possession of Louisiana by the French would set bounds to the childish avarice of the Americans, who wish to grasp at every thing: an avarice arising more from a restless character, than from political views, which prevents them from fixing themselves in any new state, which injures their real strength, and disturbs their neighbours. Besides, it must be considered, that the United States, on account of their weakness, will always continue more friendly to a nation, that has the power of injuring them, than one that has not, and that can only offer them advantages. A generous nation will never abuse such a power, which it would feel itself interested in turning to the real advantage of the United States.

One word more concerning the Indians. All of these, who have had any dealings with the French, prefer them to any other people. The French behaved to them with such magnanimity, benevolence, and honour, that the Indians use still to say to the English—"You are our brothers; the French were our fathers." This sentiment is not yet extinguished, although it is so long since they had any transactions with each other. At present they almost all depend on England; but upon the slightest favourable occurrence, they might easily be gained over to France. This is the prevailing sentiment among the Creeks and Cherokees, who call Florida the French country.

The Spanish government in Louisiana and Florida is not so intolerant as usual, but is deficient in strength, as the military force consists of no more than three or four thousand men, who occupy some forts from St. Louis to New Orleans. Indians and Americans are on good terms with the Spaniards; but none of these parties esteem the other as important friends or dangerous enemies. The prevailing opinion of the weakness of the Spaniards, and the want of support which the inhabitants experience, beget a predilection for England, under the government of which country they would not be left without support: but in reality they wish for the protection of France: they are Frenchmen, and as attached to their country as if they formed a part of it.

France, therefore, is in the most favourable situation of any country in the world, to obtain Louisiana from Spain. Spain gets nothing thence but timber, and in fact only gives a wider range to English activity. Nay, the English would dispossess her of Louisiana, if she should wish to retain it, and they should not change their political system, which is highly improbable. France is, on the contrary, rich, active, abounding in manufactures, and would speedily organize all these establishments. Many families who are in want of every thing in France, and whom the revolution has rendered restless and uneasy, might be sent hither. By lands granted them, their situation would be rendered comfortable; and their mind easy and virtuous; which is the case with many foreigners, who come every year to settle in the United States; who, when they become

possessed of property, forget the vices, which caused many of them to emigrate.

For all these accounts concerning Florida and Louisiana I am indebted to general officers, merchants, and engineers, who have become Americans; but who, until the cession of Louisiana to Spain, were in the English service. One of them was surveyor-general, and possesses the most perfect map of West Florida that can be wished for. He has projected it himself, on a large scale.

### RETURN TO CHARLESTON.

On the 2d of May, I embarked on board the Savannah Packet, one of the brigs that are constantly passing between Savannah and Charleston. These vessels generally belong to the Captains. They make about thirty-five voyages in a year; are always laden; and yield very considerable profits. The freight for a bale of cotton, or a hoghead of tobacco, is three dollars. The captains man these vessels with negro slaves, that belong to them; and consequently their crew is slow, unmanageable, and bad, according to the known qualities of negroes. Their food, throughout the whole year, consists in bad pease, which are measured out to them with the utmost parsimony. On considering their sluggish manner of working the ship in fair weather, the idea of being at sea with such persons cannot but be frightful, when the safety of the vessel depends upon the quickness of a tack. We were two days upon our voyage, which was long for this season: part of the time, we were becalmed; and when we reached the bar of Charleston on Monday at sunset, we were obliged to wait till the following day, before we could pass over. The bar at Savannah, where there are always four fathoms of water, can be passed by small vessels at any time.

On my return from Savannah, I spent three weeks more at Charleston, and added considerably to the information, which I had collected on my first journey. The inhabitants, who were in a condition to give me any intelligence, did it faithfully. I also made some excursions into the surrounding

rounding country, which enabled me to ascertain the truth of my former information.

South Carolina is by nature divided into the **Upper** and the **Lower**, by means of the **Appalachian**, or **Alleghany** mountains. The same division takes place in **Virginia**, **North Carolina**, and **Georgia**; a division, which is soon distinguished by the **quality of the soil**, and the **climate**.

I believe that the **whole of Lower Carolina** has been covered with water. My reason for this opinion is, that there are **no stones** to be found any where in the ground; and upon digging it up, there are layers of sea-shells, and often petrified fish, in the middle of the sand. Entire oyster-banks lie at such a distance (sixty or eighty miles) from the sea, that it cannot possibly be supposed they were placed there by men. One of these banks is more than fifty miles in **extent**; and contains a kind of oyster, which is much larger than any that are found on the coast, and entirely different. It lies in a south-western direction from the river **Santee** in South Carolina to the river **Oconee** in **Georgia** across the **Savannah**.

There is fresh water ten or twelve feet below the surface of the **earth**: and such wells only as are sunk very near the sea, contain some salt-water, which may have found its way into them from the sea.

The land in Lower Carolina is also divided into swamps, marshes, and high land. The swamps, as has already been observed, are of two kinds, namely, either such as are watered by fresh water, and by the flood-tide; they both serve for the cultivation of rice and hemp. The soil of these is a rich blue clay, or a fine black earth: on digging ever so deep you find constantly the same earth. Immense trunks of trees are often found in the ground, which appear to have lain there for ages: you cannot however dig very deep, on account of the water oozing through it every where. The swamps, before they were cleared, produced cypress, fir, and reed.

The rice, which is principally cultivated here, is sown in April and May. The ground is turned up eight or nine inches deep in furrows; into which the rice is thrown by a woman, in the same manner as corn

is sown, and the negroes fill them up. These three operations take place at the same time. The seedswoman affords employment to twenty-five labourers, many of whom are women.

The seed shoots up in ten or twelve days, according as the ground is more or less wet. When the blade is from six to seven inches high, and after the negroes have cleared away the weeds, the water is made to flow over the field, so that no more than the tops of the blade can be seen. The rice then grows, but the weeds still sprout up. In three or four weeks more the water is let off, and the negroes take away the remaining weeds. They cover the field again with water, which is drawn off before the crop is cut. The yellow colour of the ear and the hardness of the stalk, denote the ripeness of the rice. It is then cut, and kept in stacks till winter.

It is afterwards threshed, and put into a small wooden house, which is some feet high, and rests upon four pillars; and in the ceiling of which is fastened a large sieve. The rice is thrown into the sieve, which separates it from the other parts, and the wind cleans it perfectly before it falls to the ground. The rice, after being thus cleaned, must be freed from the first shell that surrounds it. For this purpose it is carried to a mill; the grinders of which are made of fir, and are about four inches thick and two and a half in diameter: one is moveable, the other fixed. They are both scooped out in an oblique, yet concentric form: against the edges thus formed the rice is pressed, and by that means separated from the husks. These mills are turned by a negro. On account of the rapid motion, and the soft wood of which they are made, they do not last longer than one year; during which time they require frequent repairs. The rice is winnowed as soon as it comes from the mill. But still it has a second shell which must be taken off; and this is done by the negroes pounding it with clubs; a work as laborious as that of turning the mill. Several of these clubs are put in motion by a kind of mill which is turned by oxen. After the rice is more or less pounded, it is winnowed again, in order to cleanse it from the second shell; and it is put into another sieve, for the purpose of separating the small from the larger

larger grains. The last only are saleable. Whether these are well separated or not, must depend on the honesty of the planters; who themselves acknowledge, that since the price of rice has been so high, and the demand so great, they have not been very scrupulous in this respect. In South Carolina, as little attention is paid to the good quality of rice as of tobacco. The rice destined for sale is packed up in barrels, offered to the inspection of the officer appointed for that purpose, and then exported.

I have mentioned General Washington's machinery: this is but little known in Carolina, and too dear for the planters; who for a long time to come will only be able to proceed in the manner just described.

Before the blade grows up, it is attacked by small worms, which gnaw the root. It is also frequently injured by little fishes, that live in the water which covers the swamps. The rice is then only defended by the heron (*ardea alba minor*), which feeds on these little worms and fishes; and on this account is spared by the planters as much as the turkey buzzard is by the town's-people.

When the rice is ripe, it is assailed by innumerable quantities of small birds, which are known in Carolina by the name of rice-birds. The young negroes, who are constantly kept there, frighten them away: this is a better method than shooting them; yet these voracious birds cannot be entirely kept off. The rice may be preserved a long time in the shells; and without them it is liable to be attacked by the corn-worm.

The swamps yield between fifty and eighty bushels of rice an acre, according to the quality of the soil. Sometimes one hundred and twenty bushels have been produced from an acre; but instances of this kind happen seldom. Twenty bushels of rice, with the shells, weigh about five hundred pounds. Without the shells, these twenty make but eight bushels, without however losing much in weight. The straw is given to oxen and horses.

The marshes, which are the second kind of land in South Carolina, produce nothing but very coarse grass, but in great abundance. They lie frequently under water; but they could be well drained, and then they



they would yield a better grass. Some of them lying in a high situation produce hemp, Indian-corn, and barley.

The high land is of various kinds; and, according to the quality of its soil, produces hickory and oak, or only fir; and this last sort of land is commonly called pine-barrens. Hitherto this land has been neglected, but unjustly; for it might be turned into corn and meadow ground. The tall firs and thick grass, which grow there, leave no doubt of the goodness of the soil; which is unquestionably proved by some places that have been cultivated. The richness of the swamps, which can be applied so advantageously to the cultivation of rice, and the want of hands to clear new lands, cause the most unfavourable prejudices in favour of the pine-barrens; which in other respects are of various kinds, and few of which would have remained in Europe uncultivated.

The rice can only be cultivated by negroes; and the population of white people must decrease in a land of slavery, where it is a degradation for a white man to work. Slavery, therefore, confirms the planter in his prejudice for rice; and the cultivation of rice, on the other hand, attaches him to slavery.

It will appear somewhat paradoxical, when I assert that the cultivation of rice is the worst, and the least productive species of agriculture in Carolina. The constant wetness of the land is the cause of the great mortality which prevails there; and the treasures of Peru would be purchased at too dear a rate, for one-tenth of the diseases caused by the swamps. But laying this aside, the culture of rice is not very productive. Not the present, but the usual price of rice must be taken into calculation. Three years ago a hundred-weight was worth between seven and eight shillings. I take it at ten shillings, and thus raise the price by a fifth. In a plantation of seventy negroes, no more than forty of them work; the rest are old, sick, children, servants, &c. Every black labourer, on an average, produces scarcely seven barrels of rice. A barrel is worth four pound ten shillings, or nineteen dollars twenty-eight cents. The value of seven barrels, therefore, is thirty-one pounds ten shillings, or one hundred and thirty-three dollars ninety-six cents. From this must be deducted

ducted the wages of the overseers. At the lowest calculation this amounts to sixteen pounds, or eighty dollars: add to this, as the expence attending the diseases of negroes, thirty pounds, or one hundred and twenty-eight dollars; the tax of one dollar for every negro, seventy dollars; lastly the cloathing, which, at one pound for each negro, amounts to seventy pounds, or three hundred dollars, which must be deducted from five thousand three hundred and fifty. There remains a neat overplus of four thousand seven hundred and seventy-two dollars; which, divided by seventy, the number of negroes, yields a clear profit of sixty-eight dollars per head; for the fields with Indian-corn, which are cultivated besides the rice swamps, serve merely for the subsistence of the slaves. The forty working negroes, or seventy slaves, cannot cultivate at most above three hundred acres of swamps; and, of consequence, land of the very best quality is sold for not quite sixteen dollars the acre. It will not be denied, that well cultivated land generally yields more; that for every sort of crop, indigo and cotton excepted, a single labourer can cultivate more than seven acres; and that, if labourers were hired, their wages would not exceed the aggregate amount of the interest on the purchase-money, with the subsistence and taxes for negroes. The justness of this calculation becomes more evident, when the labour of slaves is compared with that of freemen, and especially when a parallel is drawn between the culture of rice and that of any other species of produce. The former exhausts the soil, and demands more hands consequently, while it is cultivated, a smaller quantity of land, even of swamp, can be cleared,—of land which, if drained and cultivated in a different manner, would produce more, and yield higher profits. Moreover, this draining of the swampy soil would render the climate of Carolina perfectly healthful. White people might perform the labour in the fields, and every ground for the continuance of slavery would be removed. Again, all the high lands might thus be cleared, which at present, merely for want of hands, remain uncultivated. Add to this, that the old swamps, being dried up by sun and the wind, decrease every year, without growing less pestiferous by their effluvia.

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This reasoning, however irrefragable it appears to me, will hardly conquer the irresistible force of habit, especially at the present period, when rice fetches three times its usual price, and the planters indulge in a hope, that it will not fall again; although this appears highly improbable to all impartial men.

The rivers in South Carolina, which have their sources among the mountains, frequently overflow the banks. These inundations, which the Americans call *freshes*, often sweep along the harvest, together with the woods, which surround the rice fields; they are attributed to the great quantity of rain in Carolina, to the numerous rivulets and brooks which fall into the rivers, and lastly to the great declivity of the ground, through which these rivers flow. They have become extremely frequent of late years, which is imputed to the great quantity of cleared land, where that water used to stagnate, which is now falling into the rivers. The quantity of mud is at the same time augmented by the earth, mixed with the water; and while the stream is increased, the bed of the river is narrowed. No certain mode of remedying this evil has, hitherto, been discovered; but a hope is entertained, that, by conducting these brooks and rivulets in a straight direction, by enlarging the mouths of the rivers, and cutting off their numerous windings by small canals, it may be possible to secure the upper country against inundations, and to lessen the danger of the low lands, situated nearer to the mouths of the streams. There is, however, reason to fear, that this remedy, which has not yet been applied, will fall short of a complete cure.

Although Upper Carolina differs widely from Lower Carolina, both in point of culture and climate, yet the same prejudices and manners prevail in both countries.

The original settlers of Lower Carolina were Europeans, who established themselves in the vicinity of the sea; the culture of rice was soon introduced. This is a product which suits not every soil, and which can be cultivated only by slaves. The new settlers availed themselves of this assistance, but were ignorant of the climate being rendered insalubrious by this sort of culture. It was accordingly commenced, and has since

since been continued, but will probably be suppressed in the process of time.

Upper Carolina was settled much later by emigrants from Pennsylvania, but especially from Virginia and Maryland. The latter introduced into this country the culture of tobacco, to which they were accustomed, and settled near the rivers, on such soil as appeared to them most proper for this branch of agriculture. The Pennsylvanians cultivated wheat, the chief produce of Pennsylvania, but the quantity raised was inconsiderable, because the emigrants from Pennsylvania were the least numerous; and tobacco was for a long time almost the only commodity cultivated in the country, until the low price of tobacco, and especially the circumstance, that it exhausts the soil, opened the eyes of the cultivators, and induced them to encrease the cultivation of grain and cotton, and to improve the grass-lands.

This change has taken place but very lately, nor has the ancient practice completely ceased. The population of Upper Carolina is not numerous, and the emigration from that country is not inconsiderable. It is for this reason that the best land only, which consists of a rich clay, is cultivated, while the rest remains covered with firs, which are of a much larger size, than in Lower Carolina. This order of things will continue, as long as the population shall not obtain more considerable additions, and a period be put to the emigration of the inhabitants. This restlessness of disposition prevails here as much among the planters, as it does in Georgia. A family cuts down the trees on some acres of land, loosens the surface of the soil, sows as much Indian-corn and potatoes as is necessary for its subsistence, and makes up the deficiency with game or pork. They frequently quit their small tract before it is completely cleared, and remove farther into the forest, where, less surrounded by planters, they can live more to their taste. These people are a sort of savages, more greedy and vicious than the Indians, and merely distinguished from the latter by the colour. Such of them as dwell on the confines live, however, on better terms with the natives, than those who reside on the borders of Georgia.

Instances of planters continuing long in the same place where they first settled are more rare here, than in Pennsylvania. They generally emigrate from South Carolina to Tennessee, Kentucky, and the western countries, but some remove also to the back part of Georgia.

By the computation of the inhabitants of South Carolina in 1791, the population amounted to one hundred and forty-nine thousand nine hundred and seventy-three souls, one hundred and seven thousand nine hundred and ninety-four of whom were slaves. More than two-thirds of this population belong to Upper Carolina, the inhabitants of which, especially the white people, have, since that time, considerably increased in number. Lower Carolina, it is asserted, is not in this condition.

The trade of North Carolina has been more enlarged than that of any other state. Charleston is in fact the only trading port of South Carolina, as Beaufort carries on no maritime trade, and that of Georgetown is very trifling. In future all the produce of the country is to be conveyed to Charleston on the Santee-canal; it is at present transported down the river by Georgetown, and sometimes unshipped there; which change of conveyance cannot but greatly injure the trade of this town.

*Amount of the Exports of Charleston, and Tonnage of the Shipping employed in this Trade, during the Years 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, and 1796.*

Years.	Tobacco.		Cotton.		Indigo.		Rice.		Other Ar- ticles.	Total Amount.
	Quantity. Hogheads.	Value. Dollars.	Quantity. Bales.	Value. Dollars.	Quantity. Barrels.	Value. Dollars.	Quantity. Barrels.	Value. Dollars.	Value. Dollars.	Dollars.
1792	5,385	157,256	304	19,726	2,458	1,019,764	102,333	1,397,343	410,627	5,834,717
1793	3,324	112,421	336	26,190	2,271	643,334	89,823	1,347,400	781,040	3,112,526
1794	5,018	175,942	568	44,330	2,137	379,918	67,717	1,121,204	1,922,400	5,860,015
1795	4,294	231,737	971	57,798	1,217	270,339	31,003	1,803,326	3,371,891	5,984,198
Fifth fix months of 1796	1,991	107,957	1,501	119,778	—	118,330	61,111	2,321,349	—	2,360,619

Tonnage of shipping for the exportation of 1792, 61,967 tons, 35,195 of which were foreign ships, and 26,772 American vessels.

Tonnage for 1793: 56,500 tons, 27,400 of which were foreign vessels, and 29,197 American ships.

Tonnage for 1794: 54,821 tons, 11,770 of which were foreign bottoms, and 42,352 American ships.

Tonnage for 1795: 60,202 tons, 15,106 of which were foreign vessels, and 45,096 American bottoms.

It has not been possible to learn the value of other articles exported in the fifth fix months of 1796, or the tonnage of shipping employed within this period.

The commodities, comprised under the denomination of other articles, are timber, hemp, tar, some deer-skins, &c. and also provision for the Antilles,<sup>7</sup> which is re-exported from Charleston.

On examining this table, you find, that the extraordinary increase of the export trade of Charleston, in the four years and a half in question, originates entirely from the value of the exports, while in point of quantity the exportation has rather decreased than increased; for although more of cotton and rice has been exported, yet the quantity of exported tobacco and indigo is less. This is still more evident from the quantity of tonnage; for in 1795 there were employed one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five tons of shipping less than in 1792, although the value of the exports in 1795 exceeds that of 1792 by two millions nine hundred and forty-nine thousand four hundred and ninety-one dollars, and is nearly double the amount of the latter year. It will be easily conceived, that the war, in which Europe is engaged, and which has raised the price of the commodities of Carolina, as well as other states, has also considerably increased the re-exportation of provision for the Antilles; for the value of the latter amounted in 1795 to two millions nine hundred and thirty-one thousand two hundred and sixty-four dollars more than in 1793, that is, to four times as much.

The following statement relative to the exportation of the three principal commodities of South Carolina from the port of Charleston for the years 1783, 1784, and 1785, affords a comparative view of the agriculture of these different periods.\*

	Rice.	Tobacco.	Indigo.
1783,	61,974 barrels.	2,680 hogsheds:	2,051 chefts.
1784,	63,713	2,303	1,789
1785,	65,857	3,929	2,163

The trade of Charleston, which is extremely active, has proved highly beneficial to America, as becomes evident from the circumstance, that instead of seven thousand six hundred and sixty-five tons of American ship-

\* At this period cotton was not cultivated in South Carolina.

ping, employed in this trade in 1792, fifteen thousand six hundred and sixty-five, or three times as many, were employed in 1793. The decrease of foreign shipping during the same period, by twenty thousand and eighty-one tons is an additional proof, that the increase of the trade of Charleston is chiefly owing to the war in Europe, which greatly obstructs the trade of the powers at war, so that this increase is but temporary. At the conclusion of peace these nations will resume their share of the American trade, and probably greatly reduce the participation of American bottoms in their colonial traffic.

I was not able to procure from all trading ports as ample and correct information as I obtained in Charleston; but I am certain, that the results must be every where the same, and must lead to the same consequences.

In addition to the sixty thousand two hundred and two tons of shipping employed in the foreign commerce of Charleston, the coasting trade and fishery occupies many small vessels from twelve to seventy tons burthen.

The increase of tonnage has not been attended with any augmentation of the ship-building in Charleston. From 1791 until April 1796, no more than twenty-six ships were built, carrying in the whole two thousand seven hundred and eighty-five tons. They are most of them either sloops or schooners; some are brigs; and two are three-masted vessels. The reason why the ship-building has not kept pace with the export-trade is the scarcity, or rather the great want of workmen, a consequence of which is the high price of ships, which are here dearer by fifteen dollars per ton, than in the eastern states, which have not sufficient commodities to load their vessels, and send them accordingly to the southern states for sale. Thus the merchants of Charleston augment the tonnage of their shipping by purchasing ships in the eastern states; and this state of things will continue as long as the population of Carolina shall continue as small, as it is at present, and labouring people can earn more by working in the fields, than by any other employment. Ships built in Carolina with the timber of the country last three times longer,



longer, than those constructed in the eastern states; for although these employ timber of the south in the building of ships, yet they are not entirely constructed of it, and consequently they cannot be as durable as vessels built in the southern states.

For the same reasons, which obstruct the building of ships in Georgia and Virginia, no seamen can be found there for manning the ships, which belong to Charleston. These are likewise furnished by the eastern states, and many of them arrive in that port, either on board of ships engaged in the foreign trade, or in coasting vessels, which in winter carry to Charleston the produce of several parts of Carolina and Georgia, and on account of the higher wages engage on board of ships in foreign trade. Few of these seamen continue in Charleston after the time, for which they have hired themselves, is elapsed, because every thing is there twice as dear as in their own country. Some negroes serve also on board of trading vessels; they generally form a third of the crew, and are free negroes. But on board of coasters, and such ships as trade within the district of Charleston, they constitute three fifths of the ship's company. because the masters are in general also the owners of the ships, and thus can man them with their own slaves.

The articles, which form the exports of Charleston, are conveyed to this port either on the different rivers and the Santee-canal, or by land-conveyance, of which more use is made than of that by water, on account of the difficult navigation of that part of the river Santee which is next to the sea, of the passage from Georgetown to Charleston, and of the rapid stream, on working up the river. There are also parts in Upper Carolina, which are so remote from any navigable waters, that a land-conveyance becomes absolutely necessary. Cotton, indigo, and hemp, are transported in large waggons with four or six horses. The hogheads of tobacco are not removed in waggons, but in a sort of sledges. The carriage is not expensive, as the horses never enter a stable. They continually remain in the woods, which at all times abound in grass of the best kind. The waggoners carry their Indian-corn, their salt-meat, and their cheese; with them, and enter the inns, to drink a few glasses of whisky. The business  
of

of waggoners is, I understand, very profitable in Carolina. The carriage for provision from the back country amounts to one dollar and one-third the hundred-weight; in spring it is somewhat dearer than in autumn. The carriage to Columbia on the river Combahoo, amounts to two shillings and sixpence.

The Santee canal, which is to connect the river Santee with the river Cooper, and which is twenty miles in length, will greatly facilitate the communication by water, and of consequence considerably lessen the conveyance by land. This canal will soon be finished; some locks have already been built, and, it is confidently said, that it will be completed about the year 1797, or at latest the year following. It meets the river a little below the point where the tide turns. The return-passage is, therefore, much facilitated by the flood-tide. Vessels of any burthen will arrive here safe, by means of this inland navigation, from all navigable creeks, which empty into the river Santee; and moreover, the passage is shortened about twenty miles.

The canal is constructed by a company, incorporated in 1786, by an act of the legislature, by which all the land, not yet disposed of at that period, were granted to this company, together with the privilege of levying a toll for an unlimited length of time. The Santee-canal is not the only one, the completion of which is promoted by the legislature of Carolina; it also encourages the construction of others, where the face of the country and the course of the rivers will permit.

I cannot close this long article on Carolina, without mentioning with deserved praise the kind reception I experienced in Charleston. This is a duty, which I owe to the inhabitants of all the parts of America which I have traversed, but especially to this place. In no town of the United States does a foreigner experience more benevolence and hospitality, or find more agreeable manners and a more entertaining society, than in Charleston; no where will he please himself better, and no place will he leave with more regret. I should be obliged to name almost every person I have seen in Charleston, were I to do justice to my feelings; this, however, would render me too diffuse. I shall therefore only name Mr. JOHN

PRINGLE,

PRINGLE, whose house, during my residence in Charleston, I considered as my own; Mr. ISAAC HOLME, receiver of the customs, an excellent man, possessed of extensive knowledge, to whom I am indebted for the major part of the information I have been able to collect; Mr. ED. RUTLEDGE, a man of uncommon parts, of a cheerful and amiable temper, of profound learning and the most liberal sentiments, who has assisted the unfortunate emigrants of St. Domingo in the most generous and disinterested manner; General PINCKNEY, who by his talents, prudence, and honourable conduct, has deservedly obtained the confidence and respect of his fellow-citizens; lastly, the worthy Mr. MAN, and his partner Mr. FOLTZ, to whom I had a letter of introduction, and who enjoy a distinguished reputation for benevolence, prudence, and rectitude.

I could have wished to make a tour through North Carolina, before I returned to Philadelphia. But the time, when I was obliged to be in that city, not allowing me to carry this wish into effect, I shall here subjoin the information, which I have received, relative to North Carolina, especially from Mr. IREDWELL, member of the supreme tribunal of the United States, an inhabitant of that country, and a man of distinguished talents, and the most respectable character.

#### NORTH CAROLINA.

The coast of North Carolina was visited as early as the beginning of last century, but the first permanent settlements were formed in 1710, by emigrated inhabitants of the Palatinate. The proprietors of Carolina encouraged these settlements, and granted to the new settlers the tract of land between Albemarle-sound, formed by the river Roanoc and Bath-bay, which is formed by the river Tar. This settlement was almost completely destroyed by the Tuscarora Indians in 1721, from motives which remain unknown; for the history of North Carolina is involved in greater obscurity than that of any other state. About one hundred and twenty-seven inhabitants were murdered, and the survivors demanded vengeance from the Governor of South Carolina, to which the country at that time belonged. A war ensued, in which the Indians sustained very severe losses,

losses, and wherein the small army of South Carolina received a powerful assistance from several other Indian tribes. The Tuscaroras, who did not perish in the war, left North Carolina, to join the five nations on the Great Lake. The colony, which remained tolerably quiet since that time, increased in populousness and prosperity until 1729, when the seven proprietors transferred their right to the Crown. The country was at that time disjoined from South Carolina, and by the order of George the Second erected into a distinct province, under the name of North Carolina.

In 1776 the constitution of North Carolina was formed, on principles much resembling those of the other states. The House of Representatives consists of two members for each county, the whole state being divided into fifty-eight counties, and of two members for each considerable town, such as Edenton, Newbern, Wilmington, Salisbury, Hillsborough, Halifax, and Fayetteville. The representatives must have resided a twelvemonth in the county, by which they are elected, and possessed six months an estate of one hundred acres. The Senate is composed of one member for each county; no inhabitant can be elected a senator, without having resided a twelvemonth in the county, and possessing three hundred acres.

Those who elect the senators must be twenty-one years old, and have inhabited twelve months within the state, and possessed six months an estate of fifty acres. The electors of the representatives must be of the same age, and resided as long in the state; but it is sufficient, that they have paid the taxes for the last year, without possessing any property.

The Governor, as well as his council, composed of seven members, are elected by both houses. The necessary qualification for the place of a Governor are, an age of thirty years, a five years residence in the state, and the possession of a property to the amount of one thousand pounds sterling, or two thousand five hundred dollars. (The money of North Carolina is like that of New York, worth only eight shillings the dollar.) All places under government are in the gift of the two houses; the secretary of state is appointed every three years. The judges, as well as the attor-

ney-general, are nominated in the same manner; but they receive their appointment from the governor, and keep their places as long as they conduct themselves in a proper manner. The governor bears no share in the execution of the laws. The constitution declares unworthy of being appointed to any public place, or elected representatives; all persons who believe not in God, in the truth of the Protestant religion, and the divine origin of the Old and New Testament.

The public expenditure fluctuates from thirty-seven thousand five hundred to forty-five thousand dollars.

The taxes are as follows, viz. eight pence, or two-thirds of a shilling, for every hundred acres of land, without the least distinction in regard to quality and situation,—they begin as soon as the occupiers of the lands enter upon their possession; two shillings for every hundred pounds taxable property, or two hundred and fifty dollars in town-lots; two shillings for every white inhabitant or negro, whether a freeman or slave, from the twelfth to the fiftieth year of age; ten shillings for every stallion; forty shillings for the licence to keep a tavern, or for selling spirituous liquors; and from eight to twenty shillings for every sentence or decree, according to the different courts by which they are pronounced.

The state, in regard to the collection of taxes, is divided into fifty-eight districts, which may be altered by the county-courts. The justices of the peace are, by virtue of their places, collectors of the taxes; they are appointed by the county-courts, and receive six per cent on the amount of the taxes, which they collect, and sixpence for every mile which they travel for this purpose. In 1795, the taxes amounted to fifteen thousand six hundred and eighty-one pounds sterling, or thirty-nine thousand two hundred dollars; the taxes on town-lots two thousand five hundred dollars; on lands, six thousand three hundred and eighty-six pounds ten shillings sterling—(the number of taxable acres amounts to one million three hundred and ninety-nine thousand six hundred and seventy);—the poll-tax, twenty-five thousand four hundred dollars; the taxes on law-suits, billiards, and horses, two thousand five hundred; making in the whole

whole forty-six thousand ~~one~~ hundred and eighteen dollars. Deducting from this sum the expence of collecting the taxes, and the loss arising from defaulters, there remains a neat surplus of thirty-nine thousand two hundred dollars.

The public debt consists in bills of credit to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, or three hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, which are either in the treasury or in circulation. By the determination of the commissioners the debt, which the Union owes to this state, amounts to five hundred and one thousand eight hundred and eighty-two dollars.

The Apalachian or Alleghany Mountains divide the state into two parts, which, in point of climate and soil, widely differ from each other. The low lands, which might be cultivated in as advantageous a manner, as those of the same description in Virginia and South Carolina, are far from having attained the same degree of culture. The great difficulties by which the river navigation is obstructed, and especially the want of harbours, which impedes the exportation of commodities, cannot but check the progress of cultivation, and bar the prosperity of North Carolina, especially as, from want of money, these impediments cannot possibly be removed. The greatest obstacle of the navigation of the rivers consists in their mouths being shut up by large sand-banks, originating either from the rapidity of the streams, from strong currents of the Gulf of Mexico, or perhaps from both these causes, and which probably will prevent North Carolina, for a considerable length of time, from enjoying all the advantages, which she might otherwise derive from her soil and situation.

The entrance of those places which are called harbours, is so very difficult, and the depth of water in the narrows so inconsiderable, that, properly speaking, there exist no ports in North Carolina. The best of them is Wilmington, thirty-five miles from Cape Fear. Ships of three hundred tons burthen may enter this port; but the entrance is rendered extremely difficult by a large shoal, known to seafaring people under the name of the Rocks of Cape Fear. The north-eastern branch of the river Fear

is navigable as far as Fayetteville, one hundred miles beyond Wilmington, for vessels of eighteen or twenty tons burthen. This navigation, which is of a much greater extent than any other river-navigation in the state, contributes much to enliven the trade of Wilmington. The commodities of the back country are sent thither, as well as the produce of the Antilles, and European manufactures. Fayetteville derives some importance from this state of things, and its commerce is daily encreasing. Wilmington chiefly trades to the Antilles. European goods are sent thither from Charleston, Baltimore, and Norfolk. The exports of Wilmington amounted, in 1791, to two hundred and fifty-eight thousand seven hundred and twenty-eight dollars; in 1792, to two hundred and sixty-two thousand four hundred and ninety-eight dollars; in 1793, to one hundred and seventy-one thousand five hundred and sixty-nine dollars; in 1794, to one hundred and thirty-three thousand one hundred and sixty-seven dollars; and in 1795, to two hundred and fifty-four thousand one hundred and fifty-one dollars.

The most considerable parts, next to Wilmington, are Edenton and Newbern. Newbern is seated on the river Neuse, at its confluence with the Trent, one hundred miles from the sea, from which the coast of North Carolina is separated by long and small islets, from Cape Lookout to the borders of Virginia. Ships coming from sea pass between these islets to enter the large bays, into which all the rivers of Carolina empty themselves. Ships from one hundred and eighty to two hundred tons burthen sail as far as twelve miles above Newbern, and the river is navigable for smaller vessels one hundred miles farther up the river. Vessels of upwards of one hundred tons burthen are frequently obliged to unload. The exports of Newbern amounted, in 1791, to one hundred and five thousand six hundred and eighty-five dollars; in 1792, to one hundred and one thousand three hundred and sixty-seven dollars; in 1793, to sixty thousand six hundred and ninety-five dollars; in 1794, to sixty-nine thousand six hundred and seventeen dollars; and in 1795, to seventy-three thousand six hundred and fifty-two dollars.

Edenton is situated on the river Roanoke, near the point of Albemarle

marle-found, and one hundred and fifty miles from the island of Roanoke, one of the above islets. Ships of one hundred and fifty tons burthen can sail as far as Edenton, and some miles farther up. Thence to the rapids, that is, to the distance of seventy miles from Edenton, the river is only navigable for *batteaux* of twenty or thirty tons burthen. The Roanoke waters the most fertile parts of North Carolina. The exports from Edenton amounted, in 1791, to ninety-two thousand three hundred and six dollars; in 1792, to eighty-seven thousand two hundred and three dollars; in 1793, to fifty-nine thousand five hundred and seventy-six dollars; in 1794, to fifty thousand six hundred and forty-eight dollars; and in 1795, to seventy-seven thousand nine hundred and seven dollars.

The produce of the country above the rapids is unshipped at the spot where they begin, and transported by land to Petersburg in Virginia. When the projected canal through Dismal swamps shall be finished, which is to connect Albemarle-found with the river Elizabeth, all the commodities, which are at present exported from Edenton, will be transported to Norfolk, as the communication with Albemarle-found becomes more and more difficult. The county of Camden, situated on Albemarle-found, and nearer to the sea than Edenton, has a custom-house, as well as the town of Wilmington, seated on the river Fear, one hundred miles from the island Ocrecok. Their situation being less favourable, than that of the three former, their exports are in consequence less considerable. From the books of these five custom-houses it appears, that the exports from North Carolina amounted, in 1791, to five hundred and twenty-four thousand five hundred and forty-eight dollars; in 1792, to two hundred and twenty-seven thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine dollars; in 1793, to three hundred and sixty-five thousand four hundred and fourteen dollars; in 1794, to three hundred and twenty-one thousand five hundred and eighty-seven dollars; and in 1795, to four hundred and ninety-two thousand one hundred and sixty-one dollars. These exports are almost entirely drawn from the lower parts of North Carolina, and consist in *tar*, turpentine, resin, barks, boards, shingles, staves,



staves, deer and calf skins, tobacco and rice, (of the last two articles but small quantities are exported), pork, bacon, tallow, bees-wax, myrtle-wax, &c. The productions of the upper parts of North Carolina are exported to the eastern states, which in return supply Carolina with flour, cheese, hides, potatoes, hardware, hats, and European goods. The high price of labour and difficult navigation obstruct the building of ships, although the country produces the finest ship-timber in the greatest abundance.

The lower parts of North Carolina are as unhealthy as those of South Carolina; nay more so, although there are not as many rice-swamps in the former, as in the latter province. In winter fevers and pleurifies are very frequent. The climate of the upper parts is very healthful; they are washed by many rapid streams, and not liable to the same dangers. In both, but especially in the upper parts, the woods are full of pigs and calves, which furnish considerable articles of exportation. The population of North Carolina amounted, in 1791, to three hundred and ninety-three thousand seven hundred and fifty souls, one hundred and five thousand and sixty-one of whom were slaves. The exactness of this estimate is, however, doubted, and the population, it is asserted, was already in 1791 more considerable, than it appears by this estimate. Since that period it has been increased more from its own stock, than by emigration from other states; for though colonists arrive from these parts, yet on the other hand many settlers emigrate again to Georgia, South Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Since 1788, Raleigh is the capital and seat of government, which, previously to that time, removed from one place to another. The towns in Carolina are few in number and insignificant. Most of the proprietors reside on their plantations, and live there like Virginians, but not quite so well, as in general they possess not so much wealth, as the Virginia planters. They are busied, it is said, in perfecting their mode of agriculture, and are good and mild masters to their slaves. I have not been able to obtain either the regulations concerning them, or any other law.

The

The most numerous sect in North Carolina is that of the Presbyterians, especially in the western parts, which are inhabited by emigrants of Pennsylvania. But there are also great numbers, of Calvinists, Luthero-Episcopalians, and Quakers; they perform, however, no more divine service in a regular manner, than they do in Virginia and South Carolina. Here is also a settlement of Moravians.

This is the information, that I have been able to collect, relative to North Carolina, of all the states apparently most remote from that improved state of culture, which, from the quality of its soil and productions, it is perfectly capable of attaining. North Carolina will, no doubt, in time advance to a more perfect degree of cultivation; her future opulence will depend on the quality of commodities she produces; but, from the nature of her coast and rivers, she will never be able to acquire any considerable rank among trading and commercial states.

THE END.



## P O S T S C R I P T.

*[Since the sheet was printed off which contains the remarks on the policy of the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, the following authentic Document has been put into the hands of the Editor, who, in justice to the character of the respectable General, has here presented it to the Reader.]*

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## S P E E C H

OF HIS EXCELLENCY

*JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE, ESQUIRE,*

Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, &amp;c. &amp;c. &amp;c.

Upon proroguing the Fifth Session of the Provincial Parliament of Upper Canada.

*Honourable Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and**Gentlemen of the House of Assembly!*

**T**HE public business of the sessions being brought to a conclusion, it is with pleasure, I consider your proceedings therein, have been marked with the same attention to the welfare of the province, which has distinguished your conduct throughout the whole of this, the first provincial parliament of Upper Canada; and which draws near to its termination agreeably to the laws.

It is not possible for me, without emotion, to contemplate, that we have been called upon to execute the most important trust that can be delegated by the King and British Parliament, during a period of awful and stupendous events, which still agitate the greater part of mankind, and which have threatened to involve all that is valuable in civil society in one promiscuous ruin. However remote we have been happily placed

from the scene of these events, we have not been without their influence; but, by the blessing of God, it has only been sufficient to prove, that this province, founded upon the rock of loyalty, demonstrates one common spirit in the defence of their king and their country.

In the civil provisions for the establishment and maintenance of our constitution, and the benefits flowing therefrom, we shall, I trust, always recollect with great satisfaction, that we have been actuated and guided by a fair and upright desire to lay the foundations of private right and of public prosperity.

I humbly believe that his Majesty, the father of his people, and the beneficent founder of this loyal province, will accept our endeavours to perpetuate these blessings, which it is his wish should attend his faithful subjects and their remotest posterity.

*Honourable Gentlemen, and Gentlemen!*

It is our immediate duty to recommend our public acts to our fellow-subjects by the efficacy of our private example; and to contribute in this tract of the British empire, to form a nation, obedient to the laws, frugal, temperate, industrious;—impressed with a steadfast love of justice, of honour, of public good; with unshaken probity and fortitude amongst men, with Christian piety and gratitude to God!

Conscious of the intention of well-doing, I shall ever cherish, with reverence, and humble acknowledgement, the remembrance, that it is my singular happiness to have borne to this province the powers, the privileges, the principles, and the practice of the British constitution; this perpetual monument of the good-will of the empire, the reward of tried affection and loyalty, can best fulfil the just end of all government, as the experience of ages hath proved, by communicating universally, protection and prosperity, to those who make a rightful use of its advantages.

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